

Encyclopedia OF
IRISH
History AND Culture

Ireland

- International boundary
- Provincial boundary
- - - - County boundary
- County borough
- County town



Encyclopedia OF
IRISH
History AND Culture

James S. Donnelly, Jr.

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Karl S. Bottigheimer, Mary E. Daly, James E. Doan, and David W. Miller

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Volume

1



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Encyclopedia of Irish History and Culture

James S. Donnelly, Jr., Editor in Chief

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Preface



The purpose of this encyclopedia is to provide a basic source of reference for the extremely wide audience of people interested in the history and culture of Ireland, from the earliest times down to the present day. Although scholars will have many reasons to consult these two volumes, the editors and the publisher have had especially in mind the educated lay public in the selection and presentation of the wealth of material that appears in these pages. We hope that the merits of this encyclopedia will strongly commend it to public libraries and university libraries in North America, and indeed in those many other parts of the world where interest in Ireland and the Irish has also taken deep root. That such an interest is remarkably widespread can hardly be denied. Among some observers the phenomenon has earned the sobriquet of “Celtsomania.” In relation to this encyclopedia that phrase is at least suggestive of the outpouring in recent decades of both scholarly and popular writing on Ireland—an outpouring that the editors of this volume, and above all the contributors, have sought to distill and explore.

From the outset of this enterprise the editors and the publisher have made a serious intellectual commitment to developing a standard work of reference covering the whole spectrum of Irish history and culture. The list of articles reflects the editors’ firm resolve to embrace and to give a reasonable amount of attention to all the major chronological periods (early, medieval, early modern, modern, and contemporary) and to the different varieties of history (political, social, economic, and cultural). The members of the team of editors who came together to plan and construct these volumes—James E. Doan, Karl S. Bottigheimer, David W. Miller, James S. Donnelly, Jr., and Mary E. Daly—were origi-

nally chosen with a deliberate view to securing the range of expertise that would allow the project to achieve its goal of comprehensiveness. In turn, the editors enlisted a similarly broad range of experts (the contributors number 205) in the writing of the articles that comprise about 70 percent of the whole work.

The articles themselves—just over 400 altogether—were selected on the basis of a carefully considered plan that aims to provide (in articles of over 2,000 words) fairly sweeping coverage of long periods and large topics as well as in-depth analysis of important subjects and major historical figures in articles of intermediate (1,000–2,000 words) and shorter length (under 1,000 words). When designing articles treating individuals, the editors decided that we did not wish to produce a work that had the features of a biographical dictionary. The space devoted to major figures in separate articles is therefore limited deliberately. In our view it is more important in a work of this kind to address the major developments and broader trends in the long evolution of Irish history and culture, and we generally place leading personalities firmly within those contexts.

Among the special features of this encyclopedia is a copious selection of historical documents that collectively comprise almost a quarter of the entire two-volume work. These documents are intended to amplify many of the articles (articles are tied to the documents by systematic cross-references), to provide detailed substantiation for a host of important matters, and to allow readers to gain an appreciation for the rich variety of ways in which contemporary actors and observers perceived or responded to events or developments. The editors and the publisher have also expend-

PREFACE

ed much energy and treasure in choosing and gathering an impressive array of illustrations to enrich and enliven the encyclopedia. Drawn from many different sources or created expressly for this work, the illustrations include maps, diagrams, engravings, paintings, photographs, and even some cartoons. There is a strong visual dimension to the encyclopedia that accentuates its overall intellectual impact. At the front of the encyclopedia the editors have inserted an extensive chronology of important events and other significant dates in Irish history and culture.

In assembling a work of this scale and scope, the editors have incurred a series of debts that they freely wish to acknowledge. Jill Lectka, the commissioning editor at Macmillan Reference when we began this project, brought her great experience to bear in helping us to lay solid foundations at the outset. Dawn Cavalieri did a superb job in communicating with the contributors, in supervising the laborious editorial process, and

in driving the enterprise relentlessly forward. We cannot praise too highly the dedication and professionalism that she lavished on this grand cooperative enterprise. For his support of our project at an especially critical juncture, the editors are very grateful to Frank Menchaca, publisher at Macmillan Reference. We appreciate the expert assistance rendered by Eric G. Zuelow, especially in compiling the chronology. During the production process the editors were the beneficiaries of skilled assistance from Senior Editor Sharon Mooney Malinowski and others, but above all from Alja K. Collar, whose steady hand at the tiller and unerringly wise decisions as an editor have guided this big ship safely into port. Our heaviest debt is to our contributors. We salute every one of them for their hard work and their patience with our penchant for revisions.

James S. Donnelly, Jr.

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Chronology



- c. **3000 B.C.E.** Organized farming and food production at the Céide Fields in County Mayo.
- 3000 B.C.E.** Megalithic period begins.
- c. **2500 B.C.E.** Passage tombs at Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth constructed.
- c. **2000 B.C.E.** Bronze Age begins.
- THIRD CENTURY B.C.E.** Iron Age begins.
- 297–c. 450** Irish launch raids on Roman Britain.
- 431** Pope Celestine sends Palladius to Ireland as first bishop of Ireland.
- 432** Reputed date of St. Patrick’s mission to Ireland.
- c. **490** Earliest Irish monastery on Aran founded by St. Éndae.
- 493** Reputed death of St. Patrick.
- 520–c. 620** High point of early Irish monastic period.
- 546** St. Colum Cille (Columba) founds Derry.
- 547/48** St. Ciarán founds Clonmacnoise.
- c. **550–c. 600** Earliest Irish texts written.
- 563** Iona founded.
- c. **590** St. Columbanus undertakes Irish mission to the Continent.
- c. **597** The oldest known Irish manuscript, the *Cathach*, written.
- c. **650–750** Period of fine Irish metal and stonework, including construction of early high crosses. High point of the Brehon legal system.
- c. **668–730** Dynastic polity gradually replaces old tribal social structure.
- c. **700–c. 900** Classical Old Irish linguistic period.
- c. **750–800** *St. Gall Gospels* and the *Book of Kells* illuminated at Iona.
- c. **770–c. 840** Céle Dé reform movement.
- 795** First Viking raids.
- 807–813** Vikings raid west coast of Ireland.
- 837–876** Period of intense Viking activity in Ireland.
- 841** Vikings establish permanent camps at Dublin and Annagassen, Co. Louth.
- 876–916** Period of relative peace (“40-year peace”).
- 900–1100** While Latin learning goes into decline, native Irish traditions are elaborated. Monastic schools are increasingly secularized. Middle Irish literature flourishes.
- c. **909–c. 924** Scripture-based high crosses constructed at Monasterboice, Co. Meath, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly, and elsewhere.
- 916–937** Renewed period of Viking activity.
- 978** Brian Bóruma mac Cennétig (Brian Boru) becomes king of Munster after defeating Máel Muad mac Brain.
- 999** Máel Morda, king of Leinster, and Sitric Silkbeard are defeated by Brian Boru at Glen Máma.
- 1000** Dublin captured by Brian Boru.
- 1002** Brian Boru acknowledged as high king of Ireland.
- 1005** On a visit to Armagh, Brian Boru confirms primacy of see of Armagh.
- 1006** After claiming hostages from the north, Brian Boru becomes undisputed high king of Ireland.

CHRONOLOGY

- 23 APRIL 1014** After Brian Boru's death at the Battle of Clontarf, Máel Sechnaill II assumes high kingship.
- 1022–1072** High kingship dormant.
- c. 1090–1120** Irish Romanesque metalwork flowers.
- 1101** First Synod of Cashel.
- 1111** Synod of Ráith Bressail—diocesan organization of Irish church planned.
- 1124** Round tower at Clonmacnoise finished.
- 1127–1226** Flourishing of Romanesque architecture and sculpture.
- 1132** St. Malachy made archbishop of Armagh.
- 1134** Consecration of Cormac's chapel at Cashel.
- 1142** Foundation of Mellifont Abbey, Ireland's first Cistercian house.
- 1152** Synod of Kells convened, later moved to Mellifont.
- 29 SEPTEMBER 1155** Invasion of Ireland considered and rejected at the Council of Winchester.
- NOVEMBER 1155–JULY 1156** John of Salisbury visits Rome and attains papal approval for planned invasion of Ireland by Henry II.
- 1162** Synod of Clane reaffirms primacy of Armagh and orders that only alumni of Armagh should be recognized as lectors in Irish churches.
- Control of Dublin attained by Diarmait Mac Murchada.
- 1166** Tigernán Ua Ruairc marches to Ferns and sacks Diarmait Mac Murchada's castle.
- Mac Murchada flees to Bristol after being banished from Ireland by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair.
- 1167** After returning to Ireland with a small Flemish force commanded by Richard fitz Godebert of Rhos, Mac Murchada reclaims kingdom of Uí Chennselaig.
- 1169** Mac Murchada captures Wexford with Norman assistance.
- 23 AUGUST 1170** Strongbow (Richard de Clare) lands at Wexford.
- 25 AUGUST 1170** Strongbow captures Wexford and marries Diarmait Mac Murchada's daughter Aoife.
- 21 SEPTEMBER 1170** Mac Murchada and Norman allies capture Dublin.
- 1 MAY 1171** After Mac Murchada's death his son-in-law Strongbow succeeds him.
- 17 OCTOBER 1171** Henry II of England lands near Waterford.
- 11 NOVEMBER 1171** The English Pale is shaped when Henry II arrives in Dublin and receives submission of kings of north Leinster, Bréifne, Áirgialla, and Ulster.
- 1 APRIL 1172** Henry II grants Meath to Hugh de Lacy.
- 20 SEPTEMBER 1172** Pope Alexander III asks Irish kings to offer fealty to Henry II.
- 6 OCTOBER 1175** Treaty of Windsor.
- MAY 1177** John, Henry II's ten-year-old son, made "Lord of Ireland."
- 25 APRIL–17 DECEMBER 1185** John, lord of Ireland, visits Ireland.
- c. 1200** Bardic schools standardize classical Modern Irish grammar.
- 1204** Center of royal administration established at Dublin Castle.
- 1207** Minting of first national coinage to feature the harp.
- 20 JUNE 1210** King John lands at Waterford.
- 28 JULY 1210** The de Lacys flee after Carrickfergus is captured by King John.
- 1216–1227** "Conspiracy of Mellifont."
- 12 NOVEMBER 1216** Magna Carta issued for Ireland.
- 1224** Dominicans establish their first foundations at Dublin and Drogheda.
- c. 1224–1230** Irish Franciscans establish their first foundations at Youghal and Cork.
- 21 MAY 1227** Richard de Burgh is given all of Connacht as a fief.
- 1257** Battle of Credran, Co. Sligo; O'Donnells stop northward advance of Maurice FitzGerald, lord of Sligo.
- 1258** The sons of the kings of Thomond and of Connacht acknowledge Brian O'Neill as king of Ireland at Caeluisce, Co. Sligo.
- 16 MAY 1260** Battle of Downpatrick.
- 1261** Battle of Callan.
- 1262–1263** Haakon IV, king of Norway, is offered high kingship of Ireland in exchange for support in expelling English from Ireland.
- 18 JUNE 1264** Parliament of Castledermot.
- 1270** Battle of Áth in Chip.
- 1297** Widespread political representation begins at the parliament in Dublin where liberties and counties are both represented.

- 9 FEBRUARY 1310** Parliament of Kilkenny passes a statute banning the reception of Irishmen into Anglo-Irish religious houses.
- 26 MAY 1315** Edward Bruce arrives at Larne.
- 29 JUNE 1315** Edward Bruce inaugurated “high king” after capturing Dundalk.
- 1315–1317** Widespread famine in western Europe and Ireland.
- c. 1 MAY 1316** Edward Bruce crowned king of Ireland.
- 14 OCTOBER 1318** Bruce defeated and killed by John de Bermingham at Battle of Faughart.
- c. 1327–1328** “Divers men of Ireland” submit petition to Edward III asking that English law be available to Irishmen without special charter.
- 1331** Ordinances for conduct of Irish government decree that there should be one law for the Irish and the Anglo-Irish.
- AUGUST 1348** Plague strikes at Howth and Drogheda.
- 19 FEBRUARY 1366** Parliament of Kilkenny: “Statute of Kilkenny” announced.
- 1394** First visit of Richard II to Ireland.
- 1399** Second visit of Richard II to Ireland.
- 1 APRIL 1435** Irish poets and musicians banned from Anglo-Irish areas.
- 1446** “Pale” used for the first time to describe area under Dublin control.
- 8 FEBRUARY 1460** Parliament at Drogheda.
- 30 DECEMBER 1460** Duke of York killed at Battle of Wakefield.
- 29 MARCH 1461** After Henry VI is deposed on 4 March, Edward IV, son of Richard, duke of York, replaces him as king.
- 1 APRIL 1463** Thomas Fitzgerald appointed lord deputy by Edward IV after succeeding his father as eighth earl of Desmond.
- 22 AUGUST 1485** Richard III killed at the Battle of Bosworth (England) and succeeded by Henry VII.
- 1 DECEMBER 1494** Poyning’s Law enacted.
- 23 MAY 1520** Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey and lord lieutenant of Ireland, travels to Ireland with 500 troops.
- SEPTEMBER 1520** Surrey ordered to subdue Irish by legal means.
- 30 JUNE 1521** Surrey submits program to the king for reconquest of Ireland.
- 1–3 MAY 1536** “Reformation parliament” meets in Dublin.
- OCTOBER–DECEMBER 1537** Acts passed by parliament against authority of the pope.
- 1539** Beginning of dissolution of monasteries within the Pale.
- AUGUST 1539** Lord Deputy Grey routes O’Neill and O’Donnell at Bellahoe.
- 1540–1543** Initiation of “surrender and regrant.”
- 18 JUNE 1541** Act of Irish parliament makes Henry VIII “king of Ireland.”
- 1542** First Jesuit mission to Ireland.
- 1547–1553** Edwardian Reformation in Ireland.
- 14 MARCH 1549** First English Act of Uniformity.
- 1555** Beginning of plantation of Offaly and Laois as King’s and Queen’s Counties.
- 14 APRIL 1552** Second English Act of Uniformity.
- 1553–1558** Marian reaction in Ireland.
- JULY 1559** Shane O’Neill succeeds Conn O’Neill as The O’Neill.
- 11 JANUARY–12 FEBRUARY 1560** Elizabeth’s first Irish parliament restores royal supremacy.
- 1561–1567** Shane O’Neill’s rebellion.
- 1568–1573** First Desmond rebellion.
- JUNE 1571** First Irish-language printing in Dublin.
- 1573–1576** Attempt by earl of Essex to establish colony in Antrim.
- 26 JULY 1575** Rathlin Island massacre by Essex’s soldiers.
- 1579–1583** Second Desmond rebellion.
- 26 APRIL–25 MAY 1586** Hugh O’Neill takes seat in House of Lords as earl of Tyrone.
- DECEMBER 1585** Scheme for plantation of Munster.
- SEPTEMBER 1588** Some 25 ships from Spanish Armada wrecked off Irish coasts.
- 3 MARCH 1592** Incorporation of Trinity College, Dublin.
- 14 AUGUST 1598** Battle of Yellow Ford: Victory of Hugh O’Neill over English army led by Henry Bagenal.
- 1595–1603** Hugh O’Neill, earl of Tyrone, leads rebellion.
- OCTOBER 1598** Earl of Desmond attacks Munster plantation.
- 24 DECEMBER 1601** Battle of Kinsale.
- 24 MARCH 1603** Accession of James I.

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- 30 MARCH 1603** Tyrone surrenders at Mellifont and is pardoned in exchange for surrender.
- JANUARY–FEBRUARY 1606** Gavelkind banned by royal judges.
- 4 SEPTEMBER 1607** “Flight of the Earls.”
- DECEMBER 1607** Departed earls declared traitors and their lands forfeit.
- 1608–1610** Beginning of plantation of six Ulster counties found forfeit.
- APRIL–MAY 1610** British undertakers assigned lands in Ulster.
- 18 MAY 1613** Dublin parliament opened.
- 20 JANUARY 1621** Approval of plantations in parts of Leitrim, King’s County, Queen’s County, and Westmeath.
- 24 MAY 1628** Charles I grants fifty-one “Graces” in return for financial subsidy.
- 1632–1640** Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford from 1640, becomes lord deputy and then lord lieutenant of Ireland.
- AUGUST 1640** War breaks out in Scotland.
- 23 OCTOBER 1641** Rising in Ulster begins.
- 19 MARCH 1642** “Adventurers’ Act” offers Irish land in return for loans.
- SUMMER 1642** First Civil War begins in England.
- 14 OCTOBER 1642** “Confederate Catholics” convene at Kilkenny.
- 15 SEPTEMBER 1643** Truce between Confederates and royalists.
- 1646** End of First Civil War in England.
- 28 MARCH 1646** “Ormond Peace.”
- 12 AUGUST 1646** Rinuccini and O’Neill condemn “Ormond Peace.”
- 19 JUNE 1647** Dublin surrendered to parliamentary forces.
- MAY–AUGUST 1648** Second English Civil War.
- 17 JANUARY 1649** Second Ormond Peace.
- 30 JANUARY 1649** Charles I executed.
- 15 AUGUST 1649** Oliver Cromwell arrives in Dublin.
- 11 SEPTEMBER 1649** Cromwell takes Drogheda.
- 11 OCTOBER 1649** Cromwell takes Wexford.
- 19 OCTOBER 1649** New Ross surrenders to Cromwell.
- 12 AUGUST 1652** “Act for the Settling of Ireland.”
- JUNE–SEPTEMBER 1653** Arrangements for “Transplantation to Connacht.”
- 3 SEPTEMBER 1658** Death of Cromwell.
- FEBRUARY 1660** Dublin parliament restored.
- 14 MAY 1660** Charles II made king.
- 13 SEPTEMBER 1660** Navigation Act; Ireland and England made one economic unit.
- 27 JULY 1663** “Cattle Act” protects English producers from Irish exports.
- 28 SEPTEMBER 1678** Popish Plot alleged.
- 1 JULY 1681** Oliver Plunkett executed in London.
- 6 FEBRUARY 1685** James II crowned.
- 5 NOVEMBER 1688** William of Orange arrives in England; James II flees.
- 18 APRIL 1689** Siege of Derry begins.
- 22 JUNE 1689** Temporary repeal of Cromwellian land settlement.
- 28 JULY 1689** Siege of Derry ends.
- 1 JULY 1690** Battle of the Boyne (12 July on modern calendar).
- 9–30 AUGUST 1690** First siege of Limerick.
- 26 SEPTEMBER 1690** First meeting of Presbyterian Synod of Ulster.
- 12 JULY 1691** Battle of Aughrim.
- SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER 1691** Second siege of Limerick.
- 3 OCTOBER 1691** Treaty of Limerick.
- 1691–1703** Williamite land confiscations.
- 7 SEPTEMBER 1695** First “Penal Laws” enacted in Irish parliament.
- 25 SEPTEMBER 1697** Irish parliament banishes Catholic bishops and regular clergy, that is, those in orders.
- 26 JANUARY 1699** Export of Irish woollens restricted by English and Irish parliaments.
- 4 MARCH 1704** Sacramental test imposed for public office on both Catholics and Protestants, excluding both Catholics and Dissenters.
- 2 NOVEMBER 1719** Toleration Act for Protestant Dissenters (Protestants not taking communion in the Church of Ireland).
- 7 APRIL 1720** “Declaratory Act” passed by British parliament.
- JUNE 1726** Non-subscribing Presbyterians separate from Synod of Ulster to form presbytery of Antrim.

- 6 MAY 1728** Catholics lose franchise.
- 14 JUNE 1739** Duties on imports of Irish woolen yarn into Britain removed.
- 1739–1741** Catastrophic famine.
- DECEMBER 1753** Money Bill crisis.
- 20 JUNE 1758** Importation of Irish cattle into Britain legalized.
- MARCH 1760** Formation of Catholic Committee.
- OCTOBER–DECEMBER 1761** Whiteboy movement develops in Munster.
- 1763** Oakboy disturbances in Ulster.
- 7 JUNE 1766** Tumultuous Risings Act.
- 14 OCTOBER 1767** Lord Townshend begins vicerealty.
- 16 FEBRUARY 1768** Octennial Act.
- JULY 1769** Steelboy disturbances begin in Ulster.
- 2 JUNE 1772** Catholics attain right to lease bog land.
- 27 OCTOBER 1775** Henry Flood appointed vice-treasurer.
- 15 DECEMBER 1775** Henry Grattan delivers his maiden speech in House of Commons and inherits Flood's place as leader of opposition.
- APRIL 1776** New anti-Whiteboy legislation.
- 17 MARCH 1778** Volunteer movement begins (Belfast).
- 14 AUGUST 1778** Catholic Relief Act grants right to lease land and inherit property.
- 4 NOVEMBER 1779** Volunteers march as champions of free trade.
- 24 FEBRUARY 1780** Free-trade legislation passes.
- 15 FEBRUARY 1782** Dungannon convention.
- 16 APRIL 1782** Grattan proposes Irish legislative independence for the third time and the motion is carried unanimously in the Irish parliament.
- 4 MAY 1782** Catholic Relief Act gives Catholics right to own land outside parliamentary boroughs.
- 4 MAY 1782** Bank of Ireland established.
- 21 JUNE 1782** Declaratory Act repealed.
- 27 JULY 1782** Yelverton's Act.
Catholic Relief Act grants Catholics education rights.
- 17 APRIL 1783** Renunciation Act.
- 8 SEPTEMBER 1783** Second Volunteer convention at Dungannon.
- 10 NOVEMBER–2 DECEMBER 1783** National Volunteer convention in Dublin.
- 19 NOVEMBER 1783** Rejection of Volunteers' parliamentary-reform bill.
- 14 MAY 1784** Corn Law imposes sliding scale for export subsidies based on domestic prices.
- JULY 1784** Emergence of Defenders and Peep o' Day Boys in Ulster.
- SEPTEMBER 1785** Renewed Whiteboy (or Rightboy) disturbances.
- AUGUST 1785** Antiburgher Seceding Presbyterian Synod founded.
- 5 NOVEMBER 1788–10 MARCH 1789** Regency crisis.
- AUGUST 1791** Publication of Theobald Wolfe Tone's *Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*.
- 14 OCTOBER 1791** Foundation of the Society of United Irishmen in Belfast.
- 9 NOVEMBER 1791** Formation of the Dublin branch of the United Irishmen.
- 18 APRIL 1792** Catholic Relief Act grants Catholics the right to practice law.
- 25 JULY 1792** Tone made assistant secretary of the Catholic Committee.
- 3–8 DECEMBER 1792** Catholic Convention.
- DECEMBER 1792** Deputation from Catholic Convention presents civil-rights petition to the king.
- 11 MARCH 1793** Suppression of the Volunteers.
- 9 APRIL 1793** Catholic Relief Act—Catholics receive franchise if qualified, the right to serve in the military, and other benefits.
- 15 FEBRUARY 1794** Publication of the United Irishmen's plans for parliamentary reform.
- 1 MARCH 1794** Catholics given statutory right to attend Trinity College, Dublin.
- 23 MAY 1794** Suppression of the Dublin branch of the United Irishmen.
- 4 JANUARY–23 MARCH 1795** Fitzwilliam affair.
- 21 SEPTEMBER 1795** Battle of the Diamond.
- 1 FEBRUARY 1796** Tone arrives in France.
- 24 MARCH 1796** Insurrection Act.
- 22 NOVEMBER 1796** French fleet, including Tone, sails into Bantry Bay.
- 7 DECEMBER 1796** French forced to leave by stormy weather.

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- SUMMER AND AUTUMN 1797** Severe measures taken by government to disarm the disaffected in the North.
- 8 MARCH 1798** Orange Order meets in Dublin and begins nationwide movement.
- 12 MARCH 1798** Arrest of leaders of United Irishmen.
- MAY–JUNE 1798** Rising of United Irishmen in Leinster.
- 21 JUNE 1798** Wexford rebels finally defeated at Vinegar Hill.
- 8 SEPTEMBER 1798** French invasion force defeated near Ballinamuck.
- 19 NOVEMBER 1798** Tone dies six days after cutting his throat rather than be hanged for treason.
- 21 MAY 1800** Consideration of Act of Union begins in Irish parliament.
- 1 JANUARY 1801** Union of Great Britain and Ireland takes effect.
- 23 JULY 1803** Robert Emmet leads rising in Dublin.
- MAY–SEPTEMBER 1808** Controversy about royal veto over Catholic episcopal appointments brings Daniel O’Connell to prominence.
- AUGUST 1808** Edmund Rice founds the Christian Brothers in Waterford.
- 30 APRIL 1811** Grattan introduces Catholic Relief Bill at Westminster. It is narrowly defeated on 24 May.
- AUGUST–OCTOBER 1816** Potato-crop failure leads to famine, made worse by outbreak of typhus.
- 1817** Typhus epidemic continues, claiming 50,000 lives.
- 1818** Wesleyan Methodist connexion formed; Primitive Wesleyan Methodists remain in communion with Church of Ireland.
- 10 JULY 1818** Burgher and Antiburgher Presbyterians unite to form Secession Synod.
- SEPTEMBER–NOVEMBER 1821** Potato-crop failure.
- 12 MAY 1823** Daniel O’Connell founds Catholic Association.
- 24 JANUARY 1824** “Catholic rent” introduced.
- 19–29 JUNE 1826** General election returns pro-Catholic Members of Parliament (MPs) following extensive efforts by O’Connell to mobilize voters.
- 24 JUNE 1828** O’Connell wins County Clare by-election.
- 13 APRIL 1829** Catholic Relief Act provides Catholic emancipation.
- 30 JULY 1829** O’Connell returned to parliament unopposed.
- 25 MAY 1830** Remonstrant Synod of Ulster formed by non-subscribing Presbyterians forced out of Synod of Ulster.
- 3 MARCH 1831** Tithe war begins.
- NOVEMBER 1831** National Education system initiated.
- 7 AUGUST 1832** Parliamentary Reform Act increases Irish seats from 100 to 105 and enlarges the electorate to 1.2 percent of the population.
- 29 AUGUST 1833** Tithe Arrears Act.
- 22–30 APRIL 1834** House of Commons debates Repeal following a motion by O’Connell.
- 17 DECEMBER 1834** First railway in Ireland opens between Dublin and Kingstown.
- 18 FEBRUARY 1835** First meeting leading to “Lichfield House Compact.”
- 14 APRIL 1836** Dissolution of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland.
- 20 MAY 1836** Irish Constabulary formed.
- 10 APRIL 1838** Father Mathew and William Martin found total-abstinence movement.
- 31 JULY 1838** Poor Law extended to Ireland.
- 15 APRIL 1840** Daniel O’Connell forms National Association. Organization renamed Loyal National Repeal Association on 16 July.
- 10 JULY 1840** Synod of Ulster and Seceding Synod unite to form General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.
- 10 AUGUST 1840** Municipal Reform Act.
- 17 APRIL 1841** Thomas Davis joins Repeal Association.
- JANUARY 1842** Having attracted three million people, Father Mathew’s total-abstinence movement reaches its peak.
- 15 OCTOBER 1842** First issue of the *Nation* published.
- 15 AUGUST 1843** Huge throng attends “Monster Meeting” at the Hill of Tara.
- 7 OCTOBER 1843** “Monster meeting” at Clontarf prohibited. O’Connell cancels it rather than face violent confrontation with crown forces.
- 10 FEBRUARY 1844** Daniel O’Connell and others convicted of conspiracy and other charges. Sentence overturned on 4 September.
- 9 SEPTEMBER 1845** Dublin newspaper reports appearance of the potato blight.

- 9–10 NOVEMBER 1845** Peel orders purchase of Indian corn from America to provide famine relief.
- 18 NOVEMBER 1845** Government appoints relief commission.
- 5 MARCH 1846** Parliament authorizes county relief works to alleviate distress in Ireland.
- 26 JUNE 1846** Peel secures “repeal” of the corn laws.
- 30 JUNE 1846** Lord John Russell succeeds Peel as prime minister.
- 28 JULY 1846** O’Connell and Young Irelanders split over question of physical force. Young Irelanders soon form Irish Confederation.
- 26 FEBRUARY 1847** “Soup Kitchen Act” allows outdoor relief. More than 3 million fed at soup kitchens by July.
- 8 JUNE 1847** Poor Relief Act permits outdoor relief to non-able-bodied but incorporates the “Gregory Clause” facilitating mass evictions.
- 29 JULY 1848** William Smith O’Brien leads Confederate (Young Ireland) “rising” at Boulagh Commons near Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary.
- 28 SEPTEMBER–23 OCTOBER 1848** Confederate leaders tried and convicted of treason. Death sentences commuted to transportation for life on 5 June 1849.
- NOVEMBER 1848** Beginning of cholera outbreak.
- 12 JULY 1849** Sectarian riot at Dolly’s Brae in County Down.
- OCTOBER 1849** Queen’s Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway opened.
- 9 AUGUST 1850** Foundation of Irish Tenant League.
- 22 AUGUST–10 SEPTEMBER 1850** Synod of Thurles led by Archbishop Paul Cullen initiates major reforms within Catholic Church.
- 19 AUGUST 1851** Formation of Catholic Defence Association.
- JULY 1852** General election returns roughly 40 MPs favoring the Tenant League.
- DECEMBER 1853** Queen’s Island shipyard opens in Belfast.
- JULY–SEPTEMBER 1857** Sectarian rioting in Belfast follows controversial street preaching.
- 17 MARCH 1858** James Stephens founds what is later called Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in Dublin.
- MARCH–NOVEMBER 1859** Religious revival occurs in Belfast.
- APRIL 1859** John O’Mahony founds Fenian Brotherhood in New York.
- 10 NOVEMBER 1861** Funeral for Terence Bellew McManus held at Glasnevin by the IRB.
- 7 AUGUST 1862** Poor Relief Act abolishes “Gregory Clause.”
- 8–25 AUGUST 1864** Sectarian rioting in Belfast precipitated by Protestant reaction against unveiling in Dublin of O’Connell monument.
- 22 JUNE 1866** Archbishop Cullen becomes first Irish cardinal.
- 5–6 MARCH 1867** Fenian rising in Munster counties and around Dublin.
- 20 JUNE 1867** Foundation of Clan na Gael in New York City.
- 17 AUGUST 1867** Colonel Thomas J. Kelly succeeds Stephens as head of the IRB.
- 18 SEPTEMBER 1867** IRB rescue of Kelly and Captain Timothy Deasy in Manchester.
- 23 NOVEMBER 1867** “Manchester Martyrs” (Allen, Larkin, and O’Brien) executed.
- 13 JULY 1868** Irish Parliamentary Reform Act extends borough franchise.
- 26 JULY 1869** Irish Church Disestablishment Act.
- 19 MAY 1870** Isaac Butt launches Home Rule movement Dublin.
- 1 AUGUST 1870** Gladstone’s first Land Act.
- 16 JUNE 1871** “Westmeath Act.”
- 18 JULY 1872** Ballot Act.
- 18–21 NOVEMBER 1873** Home Rule League founded in Dublin.
- FEBRUARY 1874** General election returns 60 Home Rulers.
- 30 JUNE–2 JULY 1874** Butt’s Home Rule motion debated and defeated at Westminster.
- 19 APRIL 1875** Charles Stewart Parnell returned to parliament as MP for County Meath.
- 31 JULY–1 AUGUST 1877** Parnell and other MPs engage in parliamentary obstruction.
- 28 AUGUST 1877** Parnell becomes president of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain at Liverpool.
- 1877–1879** Major agricultural depression.
- 27 OCTOBER 1878** American Fenian leaders announce the “New Departure.”
- 20 APRIL 1879** Land war begins with meeting at Irishtown, Co. Mayo.

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- 21 OCTOBER 1879** Foundation of Irish National Land League in Dublin.
- MARCH–APRIL 1880** General election provides substantial victory for Parnell, Home Rule, and the Land League.
- 17 MAY 1880** Parnell becomes chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party.
- 24 SEPTEMBER–25 NOVEMBER 1880** “Boycotting” employed by tenants after Captain Charles C. Boycott attempts to enforce payment of rents due to Lord Erne.
- 26 JANUARY 1881** Land League establishes Ladies’ committee under Anna Parnell. Forerunner of Ladies’ Land League in Ireland.
- 2 MARCH 1881** Protection of Person and Property Act.
- 21 MARCH 1881** Peace Preservation Act.
- 22 AUGUST 1881** Second Gladstone Land Act legalizes the “three Fs.”
- 13 OCTOBER 1881** Arrest of Parnell and other Land League leaders.
- 18 OCTOBER 1881** No Rent Manifesto.
- 20 OCTOBER 1881** Land League declared illegal.
- APRIL 1882** Parnell agrees to “Kilmainham Treaty.” On 2 May the cabinet approves it.
- 2 MAY 1882** Release of Parnell and other Land League leaders.
- 6 MAY 1882** Phoenix Park murders.
- 12 JULY 1882** New Coercion Act.
- 18 AUGUST 1882** Arrears of Rent Act.
- 17 OCTOBER 1882** Irish National League founded to succeed banned Land League.
- JUNE 1884** Fenians launch “dynamite campaign” in England.
- 1 NOVEMBER 1884** Gaelic Athletic Association founded.
- 6 DECEMBER 1884** Franchise Act triples Irish electorate.
- 1 MAY 1885** Foundation of Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union.
- 21 NOVEMBER 1885** Parnell calls on Irish in Great Britain to vote against Liberals.
- 23 NOVEMBER–19 DECEMBER 1885** Home Rule party wins 86 seats in general election and seems to hold balance of power at Westminster.
- 8 APRIL 1886** Introduction of Gladstone’s Home Rule bill at Westminster.
- 8 JUNE 1886** Home Rule bill defeated by 30 votes.
- 3 JUNE–25 OCTOBER 1886** Rioting in Belfast, occasioned by Home Rule bill, causes 32 fatalities, £90,000 in property damage.
- 23 OCTOBER 1886** Plan of Campaign—a rent strike—announced.
- APRIL–DECEMBER 1887** *The Times* publishes “Parnellism and Crime” articles.
- 13 NOVEMBER 1887** Over 100 injured during clash of radicals and Irish nationalists with police in London: “Bloody Sunday.”
- 20 APRIL 1888** Rome condemns Plan of Campaign and boycotting.
- 13 AUGUST 1888** Special commission created to investigate charges by *The Times* against Parnell.
- 20–22 FEBRUARY 1889** Special commission finds that articles published in *The Times* were forged.
- 24 DECEMBER 1889** Captain William O’Shea files petition for divorce, citing his wife’s adultery with Parnell.
- 13 FEBRUARY 1890** Parnell and associates exonerated of weightiest charges made in *Times* articles.
- 17 NOVEMBER 1890** O’Shea divorce granted.
- 25 NOVEMBER 1890** Parnell re-elected chairman of Irish parliamentary party.
- 25 NOVEMBER 1890** Publication of Gladstone–Morley letter pressuring Parnell to resign as party leader.
- 1–6 DECEMBER 1890** Committee Room 15 debates leading to Irish party split.
- 10 MARCH 1891** Irish National Federation (anti-Parnellite body) launched.
- 25 JUNE 1891** Parnell marries Katharine O’Shea.
- 5 AUGUST 1891** Arthur Balfour’s Land Purchase Act.
- 6 OCTOBER 1891** Parnell dies in Brighton.
- 11 OCTOBER 1891** Parnell buried at Glasnevin after massive Dublin funeral.
- DECEMBER 1891** John Redmond succeeds Parnell as leader of Irish party minority.
- 17 JUNE 1892** Ulster Unionist Convention in Belfast.
- 29 SEPTEMBER 1892** Formation of Belfast Labour Party.
- 13 FEBRUARY 1893** Introduction of Gladstone’s second Home Rule bill.
- 25 FEBRUARY 1893** Report of Evicted Tenants Commission.

- 21–22 APRIL 1893** Second reading of Home Rule bill leads to disturbances in Belfast.
- 31 JULY 1893** Gaelic League founded.
- 2 SEPTEMBER 1893** Home Rule bill passes House of Commons by 301 to 267.
- 9 SEPTEMBER 1893** House of Lords rejects Home Rule bill by 419 to 41.
- 27–28 APRIL 1894** First Irish Trade Union Congress.
- 29 MAY 1896** Irish Socialist Republican Party formed.
- 12 AUGUST 1898** Local Government Act.
- 8 MAY 1899** Irish Literary Theatre (founded 1898) debuts in Dublin; it becomes the Abbey Theatre in 1904.
- 6 FEBRUARY 1900** Redmond elected leader of newly united Irish party.
- 30 SEPTEMBER 1900** Arthur Griffith founds Cumann na nGaedheal.
- 11 JUNE 1903** Independent Orange Order set up in Belfast.
- 14 AUGUST 1903** “Wyndham Act” passed—greatly extends land purchase.
- 27 DECEMBER 1904** Abbey Theatre opens in Dublin.
- 3 MARCH 1905** Ulster Unionist Council formed.
- 5 MAY 1906** Griffith’s *Sinn Féin* first published.
- 21 APRIL 1907** Sinn Féin League established.
- 28 AUGUST 1907** Evicted Tenants Act.
- 5 SEPTEMBER 1907** National Council and Sinn Féin League combine to create new body—called Sinn Féin from September 1908.
- 29 DECEMBER 1908** Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union formed.
- 29 APRIL 1909** “People’s Budget” introduced by David Lloyd George.
- 16 AUGUST 1909** Fianna Éireann—a movement of girl scouts—formed.
- JANUARY–FEBRUARY 1910** Irish party holds balance of power after general election.
- 21 FEBRUARY 1910** Sir Edward Carson elected chairman of Irish unionist MPs.
- DECEMBER 1910** Irish party once again holds balance of power after another general election.
- 18 AUGUST 1911** Parliament Act removes absolute veto power of House of Lords and grants suspensive veto of two years.
- 9 APRIL 1912** Andrew Bonar Law promises Tory support for Ulster unionists.
- 28 SEPTEMBER 1912** Ulster unionists sign Solemn League and Covenant in opposition to Home Rule—“Ulster Day” ceremony.
- 16 JANUARY 1913** Third Home Rule bill narrowly passes House of Commons.
- 30 JANUARY 1913** Third Home Rule bill defeated in House of Lords by large margin.
- 31 JANUARY 1913** Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) established.
- JULY 1913** Home Rule bill again passes Commons but fails in Lords.
- 30 AUGUST–1 SEPTEMBER 1913** Labor disturbances in Dublin.
- 3 SEPTEMBER 1913** “Lock-out” by Dublin employers begins against Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union.
- 24 SEPTEMBER 1913** Unionist leaders plan “provisional government” for Ulster.
- 19 NOVEMBER 1913** Irish Citizen Army founded.
- 25 NOVEMBER 1913** Irish Volunteers founded under Eoin MacNeill.
- JANUARY–FEBRUARY 1914** “Lock-out” ends in heavy defeat for workers.
- 20 MARCH 1914** “Curragh Incident”—a near-mutiny against Home Rule.
- 2 APRIL 1914** Cumann na mBan—female branch of Irish Volunteers—founded.
- 24–25 APRIL 1914** Larne gun-running—UVF now well armed.
- 25 MAY 1914** Home Rule bill passes the House of Commons for the third time.
- 21–24 JULY 1914** Buckingham Palace conference fails to solve Ulster question.
- 26 JULY 1914** Howth gun-running brings some arms to nationalists.
- 3–4 AUGUST 1914** First World War begins.
- 18 SEPTEMBER 1914** Third Home Rule bill suspended after receiving royal assent.
- 20 SEPTEMBER 1914** Redmond calls on Irish Volunteers to support British war effort.
- 24 SEPTEMBER 1914** Redmond’s leadership rejected by small minority (Irish Volunteers) but accepted by vast majority (National Volunteers).
- 20 APRIL 1916** *Aud* captured by Royal Navy—German arms for rising lost.
- 24 APRIL 1916** Easter Rising begins.

CHRONOLOGY

- 29 APRIL 1916** Pearse orders rebels to surrender. Casualties amount to about 3,000 (450 killed).
- 3–12 MAY 1916** Fifteen leaders of the Easter Rising shot by British military.
- 5 FEBRUARY 1917** Count Plunkett elected as Sinn Féin candidate for Roscommon North.
- 9 MAY 1917** Joseph McGuinness elected as Sinn Féin candidate for Longford South.
- 10 JULY 1917** Eamon de Valera elected as Sinn Féin candidate for Clare East.
- 23 APRIL 1918** General strike against conscription—part of furious nationalist opposition to threat of enforced enlistment.
- 11 NOVEMBER 1918** First World War ends.
- 14–28 DECEMBER 1918** General election returns large Sinn Féin majority (73 seats won).
- 21 JANUARY 1919** Two policemen are killed at Soloheadbeg in Tipperary—later viewed as start of war for independence.
- 21 JANUARY 1919** First meeting of Dáil Éireann.
- 20 AUGUST 1919** Dáil decides that the Volunteers must pledge allegiance to the “Irish Republic” and to the Dáil itself. The Irish Volunteers gradually become known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA).
- 12 SEPTEMBER 1919** Dáil Éireann proscribed by British government.
- 2 JANUARY 1920** First British recruits join Irish police units later called “Black and Tans.”
- 21 JUNE–4 JULY 1920** Catholics expelled from Belfast shipyards and engineering works.
- 25 OCTOBER 1920** IRA commander and Cork May or Terence MacSwiney dies on hunger strike.
- 21 NOVEMBER 1920** “Bloody Sunday”: following IRA killings of the “Cairo Gang,” police “Auxiliaries” fire on a crowd at Croke Park, killing twelve.
- 23 DECEMBER 1920** Government of Ireland Act attempts to confer Home Rule separately on North and South.
- 4 FEBRUARY 1921** Sir James Craig elected leader of Ulster unionists.
- 24 MAY 1921** General election in Northern Ireland returns a unionist majority. Southern nationalists in effect boycott Dublin parliament.
- 7 JUNE 1921** James Craig elected prime minister of Northern Ireland.
- 11 JULY 1921** Truce between British army and IRA comes into effect.
- 16 AUGUST 1921** Sinn Féin MPs elected in the South meet as second Dáil Éireann.
- 6 DECEMBER 1921** Anglo-Irish Treaty signed in London.
- 7 JANUARY 1922** Dáil Éireann approves Anglo-Irish Treaty by 64 to 57. Anti-treatyites storm out.
- 7 APRIL 1922** Special Powers Act (Northern Ireland).
- 31 MAY 1922** Royal Ulster Constabulary formed.
- 16 JUNE 1922** General election in South returns protreaty majority to Dáil Éireann.
- 22 JUNE 1922** IRA assassinates Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson in London.
- 28 JUNE 1922** Civil War begins with attack on IRA garrison in the Four Courts.
- 12 AUGUST 1922** Arthur Griffith, president of Dáil Éireann, dies.
- 22 AUGUST 1922** Michael Collins, commander in chief of the National (Free State) Army, killed in ambush at Béal na mBláth, Co. Cork.
- 9 SEPTEMBER 1922** William Cosgrave elected president of provisional government.
- 25 OCTOBER 1922** Constitution of Irish Free State approved by Dáil.
- 17 NOVEMBER 1922–2 MAY 1923** 77 “Irregulars” (members of the antitreaty forces) executed by Free State government.
- 5 DECEMBER 1922** British government approves Free State Constitution Act.
- 6 DECEMBER 1922** Irish Free State formally established. T. M. Healy sworn in as first governor general of Free State.
- 7 DECEMBER 1922** Both houses of Northern Ireland parliament opt out of Free State.
- 31 MARCH 1923** Customs barriers become effective between Free State and United Kingdom (including Northern Ireland).
- 24 MAY 1923** Civil War ends with de Valera’s order to “Irregulars.”
- 16 JULY 1923** Censorship of Films Act becomes law in Free State.
- 8 AUGUST 1923** Garda Síochána (Civic Guard, or police) founded.
- 27 AUGUST 1923** Cumann na nGaedheal wins plurality in Free State elections.
- 10 SEPTEMBER 1923** Free State joins League of Nations.
- 15 SEPTEMBER 1923** Belfast branch of BBC radio opened (2BE).

- 6 JUNE 1924** Incorporation of Irish Tourist Association.
- 6 NOVEMBER 1924** First meeting of the Boundary Commission.
- 10 DECEMBER 1923** W. B. Yeats receives Nobel Prize for Literature.
- 1925** George Bernard Shaw wins Nobel Prize for Literature; his prize announced in 1926.
- 4 JULY 1925** Authorization of the Shannon hydro-electric scheme.
- 3 DECEMBER 1925** Free State, United Kingdom, and Northern Ireland agree to existing borders and termination of the Boundary Commission.
- 1 JANUARY 1926** 2RN, later RTÉ, begins radio broadcasts in Dublin.
- 16 MAY 1926** De Valera launches Fianna Fáil party.
- 10 JULY 1927** Assassination of justice minister Kevin O’Higgins.
- 11 AUGUST 1927** Fianna Fáil TDs take seats in Dáil Éireann.
- 16 APRIL 1929** Proportional representation abolished for elections to Northern Ireland parliament.
- 12 FEBRUARY 1930** Censorship board appointed under Censorship of Publications Act.
- 17 SEPTEMBER 1930** Free State joins League of Nations council.
- 5 SEPTEMBER 1931** De Valera’s *Irish Press* begins publication.
- 11 DECEMBER 1931** Statute of Westminster confers broad powers on dominions.
- 16 FEBRUARY 1932** Fianna Fáil wins Free State general election. De Valera heads Executive Council.
- 30 JUNE 1932** De Valera withholds payment of land annuities owed to Britain and thus launches the “Economic War.”
- 4–13 OCTOBER 1932** Labor unrest in Belfast.
- 16 NOVEMBER 1932** Parliament buildings at Stormont open near Belfast.
- 22 FEBRUARY 1933** Eoin O’Duffy dismissed as Garda Síochána head.
- 20 JULY 1933** Army Comrades Association (“Blueshirts”) adopts name “National Guard.”
- 22 AUGUST 1933** National Guard proclaimed illegal.
- 2 SEPTEMBER 1933** United Ireland party (later called Fine Gael) launched on amalgamation of Cumann na nGaedheal, National Guard, and the Centre party.
- 21 DECEMBER 1934** Coal–Cattle Pact between Free State and Britain.
- 18 JUNE 1936** IRA banned in Free State.
- 14 AUGUST 1936** Aer Lingus established by law as national airline.
- 12 DECEMBER 1936** External Relations Act recognizes crown for purposes of external relations only.
- 14 JUNE 1937** De Valera’s constitution bill approved by the Dáil.
- 1 JULY 1937** Voters approve new constitution in referendum.
- 25 APRIL 1938** Anglo–Irish agreement returns “treaty ports” to Irish control.
- 25 JUNE 1938** Douglas Hyde becomes first president of Ireland.
- 16 JANUARY 1939** Yearlong IRA bombing campaign in Britain begins.
- 14 JUNE 1939** Offences against the State Act becomes law.
- 27 JULY 1939** Irish Tourist Board established.
- 2 SEPTEMBER 1939** De Valera announces Irish neutrality in wartime.
- 3 JANUARY 1940** Oireachtas receives two emergency anti–IRA bills.
- 25 NOVEMBER 1940** J. M. Andrews becomes prime minister of Northern Ireland.
- 27 DECEMBER 1940** Consecration of John Charles McQuaid as archbishop of Dublin.
- 15–16 APRIL 1941** German air–raids on Belfast kill over 700 and badly wound 400.
- 1 MAY 1943** Sir Basil Brooke becomes prime minister of Northern Ireland.
- 8 DECEMBER 1943** Córas Iompair Éireann (CIE) established.
- 14 JANUARY 1944** National Labour party founded.
- 25 APRIL 1945** Fifteen trade unions form Congress of Irish Unions.
- 8 MAY 1945** War ends in Europe—“VE Day.”
- 16 JUNE 1945** Seán T. O’Kelly elected president of Ireland.
- 1 JUNE 1946** Bord na Móna (Turf Board) established.
- 6 JULY 1946** Clann na Poblachta (republican party) founded.
- JULY–AUGUST 1946** Ireland applies for membership in United Nations (UN).

CHRONOLOGY

- 4 FEBRUARY 1948** General election deals defeat to de Valera; John A. Costello soon becomes taoiseach (prime minister) and head of first interparty government.
Health Services Act introduces British-style National Health Service to Northern Ireland.
- 7 SEPTEMBER 1948** Costello announces forthcoming repeal of External Relations Act.
- 21 DECEMBER 1948** Republic of Ireland Act.
- 18 APRIL 1949** Ireland declared a republic and leaves Commonwealth.
- 11 APRIL 1951** Health minister Noël Browne resigns over the "Mother and Child Scheme."
- 13 JUNE 1951** De Valera becomes taoiseach again after Fianna Fáil wins general election on 30 May.
- 14 JUNE 1952** Social Welfare Act sets up social-insurance system.
- 25 JUNE 1952** Seán T. O'Kelly becomes president of Ireland a second time.
- 3 JULY 1952** Tourism Traffic Act establishes An Bord Fáilte for tourism development and Fogra Fáilte to promote Irish tourism.
- 13 DECEMBER 1952** Adoption legalized in Republic.
- 5–23 APRIL 1953** Republic of Ireland holds first An Tóstal festival.
- 3 MAY 1953** Gael-Linn established to promote Irish language.
- 2 JUNE 1954** Costello of Fine Gael again becomes taoiseach and head of second interparty government.
- 21 MARCH 1955** Fogra Fáilte and An Bord Fáilte combined to create Bord Fáilte Éireann.
- 21 JULY 1955** First regular television service in Northern Ireland launched.
- 14 DECEMBER 1955** Republic of Ireland admitted to UN.
- 5 MARCH 1957** General election returns de Valera and Fianna Fáil to power.
- 25 MARCH 1957** Treaty of Rome establishes European Economic Community (EEC).
- 20 MARCH 1958** General election in Northern Ireland returns another unionist majority. Brooke continues as prime minister.
- 11 NOVEMBER 1958** First *Programme for Economic Expansion* presented to the Oireachtas (both houses of the Irish parliament).
- 17 JUNE 1959** De Valera elected president of Ireland. Proposal to abolish proportional representation in elections defeated by referendum.
- 23 JUNE 1959** Seán Lemass succeeds de Valera as taoiseach and leader of Fianna Fáil.
- 27 JULY 1960** Republic sends first Irish troops to serve with UN forces in the Congo. Ireland is a frequent participant in future UN missions.
- 20 SEPTEMBER 1960** F. H. Boland elected president of UN General Assembly.
- 9 APRIL 1961** Census records population of Irish Republic at 2,818,341—lowest figure on record.
- SUMMER 1961** Ireland announces intentions to apply for membership in the EEC in response to news of British intention to apply for membership.
- 4 OCTOBER 1961** General election in Republic returns Fianna Fáil to government.
- 31 DECEMBER 1961** Radio Éireann begins television broadcasts.
- 31 MAY 1962** Unionists win another general election in Northern Ireland. Brooke continues as prime minister.
- 6 JULY 1962** *The Late Late Show* with Gay Byrne debuts on RTÉ.
- 25 MARCH 1963** Captain Terence O'Neill becomes prime minister of Northern Ireland.
- 26–29 JUNE 1963** John F. Kennedy visits Ireland.
- 22 AUGUST 1963** *Second Programme for Economic Expansion* published.
- 14 JANUARY 1965** Historic Lemass–O'Neill meeting in Belfast concerning cross-border cooperation in tourism promotion, electricity supply, etc.
- 2 FEBRUARY 1965** Nationalist party accepts role as official opposition at Stormont.
- 9 FEBRUARY 1965** O'Neill visits Lemass in Dublin.
- 7 APRIL 1965** General election returns Fianna Fáil to power in the South. Seán Lemass continues as taoiseach.
- 25 NOVEMBER 1965** General election in Northern Ireland. O'Neill continues as prime minister.
- 14 DECEMBER 1965** Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement signed.
- 10 APRIL 1966** Commemoration of fiftieth anniversary of Easter Rising begins.
- 17 APRIL 1966** Census records population of Irish Republic at 2,884,002—first significant increase since the famine.
- APRIL–MAY 1966** Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) established.
- 1 JUNE 1966** De Valera re-elected president of Ireland.
- 28 JUNE 1966** UVF declared illegal.

- 26 JULY–19 OCTOBER 1966** Reverend Ian Paisley and followers imprisoned for failing to pay £30 fine for unlawful assembly.
- 10 SEPTEMBER 1966** Donagh O'Malley, minister for education (Republic), pledges to introduce universal free post-primary education in September 1967.
- 8 NOVEMBER 1966** Lemass announces his forthcoming resignation (10 November).
- 9 NOVEMBER 1966** Jack Lynch elected leader of Fianna Fáil party.
- 10 NOVEMBER 1966** Lynch succeeds Lemass as taoiseach.
- 19 DECEMBER 1966** Lynch meets U.K. prime minister Harold Wilson to discuss issues of common interest in relation to the EEC.
- 29 JANUARY 1967** Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) formed.
- 11 MAY 1967** Republic and United Kingdom reapply for EEC membership.
- 11 DECEMBER 1967** Lynch and O'Neill meet at Stormont.
- 8 JANUARY 1968** O'Neill and Lynch meet in Dublin.
- 24 AUGUST 1968** First of a series of civil-rights marches in Northern Ireland (Coalisland to Dungannon).
- 3 OCTOBER 1968** Intended civil-rights and Apprentice Boys' marches banned.
- 5 OCTOBER 1968** Clash between police and civil-rights marchers in Derry leads to riots.
- 9 OCTOBER 1968** Formation of Derry Citizens' Action Committee.
Body later called People's Democracy set up in Belfast.
- 16 OCTOBER 1968** Heavy defeat of referendum on abolition of proportional representation in Republic.
- 22 NOVEMBER 1968** Announcement of O'Neill's five-point reform program for Northern Ireland.
- 11 DECEMBER 1968** Craig dismissed as minister of home affairs in Northern Ireland.
- 4 JANUARY 1969** Ambush of People's Democracy March from Belfast to Derry by militant Protestants.
- 24 JANUARY 1969** Unionist party split worsens when Brian Faulkner resigns as Northern Ireland's minister of commerce.
- 24 FEBRUARY 1969** General election in Northern Ireland returns unionist majority yet again. O'Neill continues as prime minister.
- 3 MARCH 1969** Cameron Commission appointed to investigate Northern Ireland violence since October 1968.
- MARCH 1969** *Third Programme: Economic and Social Development, 1969–1972*, presented to Oireachtas.
- 12 APRIL 1969** Riots in Derry.
- 23 APRIL 1969** O'Neill wins small majority for "one man, one vote" principle.
- 28 APRIL 1969** O'Neill resigns and is succeeded by James Chichester-Clark.
- 18 JUNE 1969** General election in Republic returns Fianna Fáil to government. Lynch continues as taoiseach.
- 12–16 JULY 1969** Further riots in Derry.
- 5 AUGUST 1969** Bombing of RTÉ headquarters in Dublin by UVF.
- 12–15 AUGUST 1969** Rioting in Derry spreads to Belfast, resulting in the deployment of British troops.
- 19 AUGUST 1969** "Downing Street Declaration" embraces principle of civic equality for all Northern Ireland citizens.
- 12 SEPTEMBER 1969** Publication of Cameron Commission report on recent violence in Northern Ireland.
- 10 OCTOBER 1969** Release of Hunt Committee report calling for disbandment of "B-Specials" (sectarian police reserves) in Northern Ireland.
- 23 OCTOBER 1969** Samuel Beckett wins Nobel Prize for Literature.
- 25 NOVEMBER 1969** Northern Ireland Electoral Law Act broadens local-government franchise but postpones elections until 1971.
- 18 DECEMBER 1969** Ulster Defence Regiment established.
- 11 JANUARY 1970** IRA split into "Official" and "Provisional" groups at Sinn Féin convention in Dublin.
- 26 MARCH 1970** Police force in Northern Ireland reshaped and partly reformed.
- 21 APRIL 1970** Alliance party founded in Northern Ireland.
- 30 APRIL 1970** Ulster Defence Regiment assumes duties of "B-Specials."
- 29 MAY 1970** Macrory report recommends reforms of both local government and the provision of social services in Northern Ireland.

CHRONOLOGY

- 26–29 JUNE 1970** MP Bernadette Devlin arrested, leading to further demonstrations and the first Provisional IRA activity in Belfast.
- 6 MAY 1970** Ministers Charles Haughey and Neil Blaney dismissed from government in Republic after allegations of arms smuggling. Third minister (Kevin Boland) resigns over Northern Ireland policy of Republic.
- 28 MAY 1970** Haughey and Blaney arrested and charged with conspiracy to import arms.
- 25 JUNE 1970** Catholic bishops drop old prohibition on Catholics attending Trinity College, Dublin.
- 21 AUGUST 1970** Social Democratic and Labour party (Northern Ireland) formed.
- 6 FEBRUARY 1971** First British soldier killed in Northern Ireland conflict since 1968.
- 20 MARCH 1971** Chichester-Clark resigns and is soon succeeded by Brian Faulkner as prime minister of Northern Ireland.
- 9 AUGUST 1971** Internment without trial reintroduced in Northern Ireland, setting off furious nationalist reaction.
- AUGUST 1971** Ulster Defence Association (UDA) appears in Belfast.
- 27 AUGUST–8 SEPTEMBER 1971** Tripartite talks at Chequers between Heath, Lynch, and Faulkner.
- 30 JANUARY 1972** “Bloody Sunday”: 13 civilians killed by British paratroopers in Derry after banning of civil-rights march.
- 2 FEBRUARY 1972** British embassy in Dublin burned.
- 24 MARCH 1972** Stormont parliament is suspended and direct rule from Britain is introduced.
- 10 MAY 1972** Referendum on entry of Irish Republic into EEC approved by 83 percent of voters.
- 29 MAY 1972** Official IRA suspends operations in Northern Ireland.
- 26 JUNE–9 JULY 1972** Truce between Provisional IRA (PIRA) and British army.
- 21 JULY 1972** “Bloody Friday” in Belfast: 22 PIRA bombs kill 11 and injure 130 in single day.
- 30 OCTOBER 1972** Publication of *The Future of Northern Ireland* Green Paper declaring that Britain does not oppose Irish unity by consent.
- 7 DECEMBER 1972** “Special position” of the Catholic church removed from Republic’s constitution by referendum.
- 1972** Peak year of violence in Northern Ireland leaves 467 dead. The total number of killings since 1969 reaches 678.
- 1 JANUARY 1973** Irish Republic, United Kingdom, and Denmark join EEC.
- 20 JANUARY 1973** Car bomb in Dublin kills one and injures 17.
- 28 FEBRUARY 1973** General election results in a Fine Gael–Labour coalition headed by Liam Cosgrave.
- 30 MAY 1973** Erskine Childers elected president of Ireland.
- 28 JUNE 1973** General election for Northern Ireland assembly demonstrates splintering of unionism into warring factions.
- 18 JULY 1973** Northern Ireland Constitution Act abolishes Stormont parliament and provides for appointment of new executive.
- 31 JULY 1973** Disorder concludes first meeting of Northern Ireland assembly.
- 22 NOVEMBER 1973** Agreement reached by Official Unionists, Alliance, and SDLP to form power-sharing executive under Brian Faulkner’s leadership.
- 6 DECEMBER 1973** United Ulster Unionist Council formed by militant Protestant groups to oppose “power-sharing.”
- 6–9 DECEMBER 1973** Sunningdale Agreement: Conference of British, Irish, and Northern Irish political leaders at Sunningdale in Berkshire reaches agreement on power-sharing and the “Irish dimension.”
- 1 JANUARY 1974** Northern Ireland executive assumes office under Faulkner.
- 17 MAY 1974** Car bombs in Dublin and Monaghan town kill 29 people and injure over 100.
- 28 MAY 1974** Resignation of Faulkner and unionist members of executive after paralyzing strike by the Ulster Workers’ Council.
- 29 MAY 1974** Direct rule from Westminster revived and strike canceled.
- 17 NOVEMBER 1974** Childers, president of Ireland, dies.
- 3 DECEMBER 1974** Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh chosen as president of Ireland.
- 1 MAY 1975** General election for Northern Ireland constitutional convention returns strong anti-Sunningdale unionist majority.
- 8 MAY 1975** Northern Ireland convention meets.

- 7 NOVEMBER 1975** Northern Ireland convention rejects power-sharing by 42 to 31.
- 5 DECEMBER 1975** Internment without trial terminates in Northern Ireland.
- 5 MARCH 1976** Northern Ireland convention dissolved.
- 18 AUGUST 1976** Faulkner's intended retirement from politics announced.
- 23 OCTOBER 1976** President Ó Dálaigh resigns with great dignity after defense minister calls him "a thundering disgrace."
- 9 NOVEMBER 1976** Patrick Hillery selected as president of Ireland.
- 16 JUNE 1977** Fianna Fáil regains power in general election, with Lynch becoming taoiseach.
- 8 JANUARY 1979** Oil-tanker explosion causes disaster at Whiddy Island (Cork).
- 13 MARCH 1979** European Monetary System instituted.
- 30 MARCH 1979** End of one-for-one parity with sterling announced.
- 27 AUGUST 1979** Earl Mountbatten and three others assassinated by PIRA at Mullaghmore, Co. Sligo; 18 British soldiers killed in IRA ambush at Warrenpoint, Co. Down.
- 29 SEPTEMBER–1 OCTOBER 1979** Pope John Paul II visits Ireland and attracts 2.7 million to events.
- 5 DECEMBER 1979** Lynch announces intention to resign as taoiseach and is succeeded by Charles Haughey on 11 December.
- 21 MAY 1980** Haughey and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher meet to discuss Northern Ireland situation.
- 1 MARCH 1981** Bobby Sands begins hunger strike at the Maze prison and is later joined by other republican prisoners.
- 9 APRIL 1981** Sands elected Sinn Féin MP for Fermanagh–South Tyrone.
- 5 MAY 1981** Bobby Sands dies. Between 12 May and 10 August nine other hunger-strikers die. Serious violence results. Militant nationalist recruits flock to Provisional Sinn Féin and IRA.
- 11 JUNE 1981** General election results in Fine Gael–Labour coalition government led by Garret FitzGerald as taoiseach.
- 6 NOVEMBER 1981** FitzGerald and Thatcher meet in London and agree to set up Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council.
- 18 FEBRUARY 1982** General election returns Fianna Fáil to power. Haughey again becomes taoiseach.
- 6 APRIL 1982** Publication of White Paper *Northern Ireland: A Framework for Devolution*.
- 2 MAY 1982** Irish government affirms neutrality in relation to Falklands war.
- 6 OCTOBER 1982** Haughey survives no-confidence vote.
- 20 OCTOBER 1982** General election for Northern Ireland assembly returns unionist majority.
- 24 NOVEMBER 1982** General election brings Garret FitzGerald and Fine Gael–Labour coalition to power in Republic.
- 7 SEPTEMBER 1983** Referendum to acknowledge constitutional right to life of the unborn carried by margin of 2 to 1.
- 7 NOVEMBER 1983** First session of Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council meets.
- 3 DECEMBER 1983** Dr. Patrick Hillery begins second term as president of Ireland.
- 12 OCTOBER 1984** PIRA bomb explodes at Conservative party conference in Brighton, England, killing 5 and wounding 34.
- 15 NOVEMBER 1985** FitzGerald and Thatcher sign Anglo-Irish Agreement giving the South a consultative role in certain affairs of the North.
- 21 NOVEMBER 1985** Dáil Éireann approves Anglo-Irish Agreement.
- 27 NOVEMBER 1985** House of Commons approves Anglo-Irish Agreement.
- 21 DECEMBER 1985** Party called Progressive Democrats formed in Republic.
- 26 JUNE 1986** Referendum in Republic continues ban on divorce.
- 14 FEBRUARY 1987** General election in Republic returns Fianna Fáil to government, with Charles Haughey as taoiseach.
- 1987–1992** Government in Republic puts its financial house in order, setting stage for "Celtic Tiger" beginning in 1993.
- 8 MAY 1987** British Special Air Service (SAS) soldiers kill eight Provisionals at Loughgall, Co. Armagh.
- 26 JULY 1987** Stephen Roche wins Tour de France cycle race after winning the Giro d'Italia in June. Later the same year, he wins the world championship.
- 8 NOVEMBER 1987** PIRA bomb kills 11 and wounds 63 at Enniskillen Remembrance Day ceremony.
- 6 MARCH 1988** SAS soldiers kill 3 Provisionals in Gibraltar. Loyalist Michael Stone attacks Gibraltar

CHRONOLOGY

- funerals at Milltown cemetery in Belfast, killing 3 mourners (16 March).
- 12 JULY 1989** Fianna Fáil and Progressive Democrats form coalition led by Haughey.
- 1 JANUARY 1990** Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act.
- 9 NOVEMBER 1990** Mary Robinson elected president of Ireland.
- 6 FEBRUARY 1992** After Haughey's resignation, Albert Reynolds becomes leader of Fianna Fáil and taoiseach.
- 18 JUNE 1992** Referendum approves Maastricht Treaty.
- 10 AUGUST 1992** UDA banned.
- 25 NOVEMBER 1992** General election in Republic.
- 12 JANUARY 1993** Reynolds elected taoiseach and heads Fianna Fáil-Labour coalition government.
- 15 DECEMBER 1993** Reynolds and John Major sign Downing Street Declaration—landmark in cooperation between British and Irish governments on Northern Ireland “peace process.”
- 31 AUGUST 1994** PIRA cease-fire announced—greeted skeptically by Britain.
- 15 DECEMBER 1994** John Bruton becomes taoiseach following collapse of Fianna Fáil-Labour coalition and heads “Rainbow Coalition” consisting of Fine Gael, Labour, and Democratic Left.
- JULY–AUGUST 1995** Orange Order Marches at Drumcree, Portadown, Ormeau Road (Belfast), and elsewhere lead to violence.
- 8 SEPTEMBER 1995** David Trimble assumes leadership of Ulster Unionist party.
- 8 SEPTEMBER 1995** *Irish Press* stops publication.
- 5 OCTOBER 1995** Seamus Heaney wins Nobel Prize for Literature.
- 24 NOVEMBER 1995** Divorce referendum passes by extremely narrow majority.
- 24 JANUARY 1996** Mitchell Commission report recommends that decommissioning and inclusive interparty talks occur in tandem.
- 9 FEBRUARY 1996** Canary Wharf bombing in London (2 killed, over 100 injured) ends first PIRA cease-fire.
- JULY 1996** Swimmer Michelle Smith wins three Olympic gold medals. Her achievement is later tarnished by evidence of drug use.
- 2 JUNE 1997** Alban Maginness (SDLP) elected first nationalist lord Mayor of Belfast.
- 6 JUNE 1997** General election results in Fianna Fáil-Progressive Democrat coalition government, with Bertie Ahern as taoiseach.
- 20 JULY 1997** IRA cease-fire reinstated.
- 20 JULY 1997** Unveiling of national memorial to commemorate the Great Famine.
- SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER 1997** Sinn Féin agrees to “Mitchell principles” and all-party talks begin.
- 7 OCTOBER 1997** Foreign minister Ray Burke resigns over bribery allegations.
- 31 OCTOBER 1997** Mary McAleese elected president. Mary Robinson soon becomes UN Commissioner for Human Rights.
- 10 APRIL 1998** Historic Good Friday or Belfast Agreement reached, transforming Northern Ireland politics and North-South relations.
- 22 MAY 1998** Good Friday Agreement endorsed by referendums in both North and South.
- 15 AUGUST 1998** Omagh bombing by dissident republicans (“Real IRA”) kills 29 people and injures 220 in worst single event of the whole conflict since 1968.
- 10 DECEMBER 1998** David Trimble and John Hume receive Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo.
- 2 JANUARY 1999** Euro launched.
- APRIL 1999** Republic achieves a record exchequer surplus of over £1R1 billion.
- 2 DECEMBER 1999** Northern Ireland devolution occurs. David Trimble becomes first minister of power-sharing executive.
- 19 JANUARY 2000** Legislation announced to replace Royal Ulster Constabulary with “Police Service of Northern Ireland.”
- 27 MARCH 2000** Saville inquiry into “Bloody Sunday” (30 January 1972) opens.
- 26 JUNE 2000** Some IRA arms dumps opened to inspectors.
- 28 JULY 2000** Last of 428 prisoners released as part of Good Friday Agreement.
- 21 AUGUST 2000** Loyalist feud in Belfast brings British troops back onto streets.
- 21 SEPTEMBER 2000** “Real IRA” rocket attack on MI6 headquarters in London.
- 30 DECEMBER 2000** Ireland's national debt reaches record low-point.
- 2001** Pace of “Celtic Tiger” slows considerably.
- 12 FEBRUARY 2001** European Union (EU) Commission reprimands Irish government for allowing tax cuts and tolerating fiscal laxity.

- 23 FEBRUARY 2001** Outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease among livestock in United Kingdom, leading to rapid response by Irish authorities.
- 28 FEBRUARY 2001** Foot-and-mouth disease breaks out in Northern Ireland.
- 22 MARCH 2001** Single case of foot-and-mouth disease occurs in County Louth.
- 7 JUNE 2001** Irish voters reject Nice Treaty on expansion of the EU.
- 30 JUNE 2001** Trimble announces resignation as first minister in North.
- 6 AUGUST 2001** IRA releases plans to put weapons "beyond use."
- 7 AUGUST 2001** Trimble rejects IRA plans.
- 10 AUGUST 2001** Northern assembly suspended for 24 hours.
- 13 AUGUST 2001** Three members of IRA/Sinn Féin arrested in Colombia for training FARC guerrillas.
- 14 AUGUST 2001** IRA withdraws decommissioning offer. But IRA and Sinn Féin are soon forced by Colombia episode and by events of 11 September in the United States to begin actual decommissioning at last.
- 1 JANUARY 2002** Euro adopted as official currency in Irish Republic.
- 6 MARCH 2002** Referendum designed to tighten Irish Republic's laws on abortion is narrowly defeated.
- 17 MAY 2002** General election in Republic returns Fianna Fáil–Progressive Democrat coalition. Bertie Ahern remains taoiseach.
- 28 SEPTEMBER 2002** Interim Flood Tribunal report on political and financial corruption published, bringing massive public response.
- 14 OCTOBER 2002** Northern executive suspended after Trimble demands Sinn Féin's exclusion following discovery of an IRA/Sinn Féin spying operation at Stormont and elsewhere.
- 19 OCTOBER 2002** Nice Treaty referendum passes with 62.8 percent of the vote, allowing enlargement of EU to proceed.



Abernethy, John

Irish Presbyterian minister John Abernethy (1680–1740), an early leader of the New Light movement, which challenged the Presbyterian Church's traditional Calvinism and obligatory subscription of the Westminster formularies by ordinands, was born on 19 October 1680, the son of the Rev. John Abernethy of Brigh, Co. Tyrone. All of Abernethy's siblings died in the violence of 1689 in Ulster, but he escaped to his mother's family in Scotland.

After studies in Glasgow and Edinburgh universities Abernethy was ordained in Antrim in 1703. He was one of the founders of the Belfast Society, whose members exchanged books and discussed theological and philosophical questions. A sermon preached by him to the society in 1719 and published in 1720, *Religious Obedience Founded on Personal Persuasion*, began a controversy between conservatives and liberals, subscribers and nonsubscribers in Irish Presbyterianism, which continued until the 1820s.

The conservative John Malcolme of Dunmurry accused Abernethy and his associates of "pretending to give New Light to the world in the room of church government," and the name "New Light" stuck; the conservatives were known as "Old Lights." New Light was often unpopular in Ulster Presbyterian congregations, and Abernethy lost some members of his Antrim congregation before moving in 1730 to Dublin to succeed the eminent Joseph Boyse in his fashionable Wood Street congregation. There Abernethy had greater freedom to preach liberty of opinion in religion. He advocated the supreme authority of the enlightened individual conscience in defiance of the authority of church or state.

Abernethy died of gout in 1740. He was twice married, and the famous London surgeon John Abernethy was his grandson. His *Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God* were much admired and frequently reprinted, but his autobiographical diary has been lost.

SEE ALSO Presbyterianism

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Finlay Holmes

Act of Union

By the Act of Union in 1800, the British and Irish parliaments created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and

Ireland, whose continued existence had become the central issue in Irish politics by the end of the nineteenth century, when Irish politics was sharply divided into unionist and nationalist camps. In return for consenting to the abolition of its venerable legislature, Ireland was empowered to send one hundred representatives to the House of Commons and twenty-eight representative peers to the House of Lords at Westminster. Significantly, because the Act of Union did not provide for the abolition of the executive, headed by a lord lieutenant and a chief secretary, and allowed for the gradual amalgamation of the financial structures of the two kingdoms over a quarter-century, the degree of integration achieved was far from complete. This fact was lost sight of in the nineteenth century, no less completely than the fact that the Act of Union was welcomed by many in Ireland. British support for a union had grown during the late eighteenth century in response to mounting problems in Ireland, while the concession to Irish Catholics of the parliamentary franchise in 1793 persuaded many Irish Protestants of the desirability of a closer connection with their British coreligionists. Given this context, it was therefore not surprising that the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland in 1798 should be the spur that prompted Prime Minister William Pitt, who had long believed that a union was the optimal solution to Anglo-Irish relations, to authorize Lord Cornwallis, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and his chief secretary, Lord Castlereagh, to secure Irish approval for the measure in 1799. But their preparations were insufficient to overcome the opposition of a complex of commercial metropolitan, Whig, Patriot, and ascendancy interests, and the scheme could not proceed at this point. Determined to prevail, Cornwallis and Castlereagh redoubled their efforts. Through the distribution of an exceptional amount of patronage, the authorization of funds to compensate borough owners, public lobbying, and the suggestion to Catholics that Emancipation would follow the implementation of a union, they were able to present the measure to the Irish Parliament in 1800 with greater confidence of success. The coalition of opposition interests put up a robust rearguard resistance, but the deployment of secret-service funds transmitted illegally from Great Britain was indicative of official determination to ensure that the measure reached the statute book. The inability of the opposition to sustain strong public resistance, or to overcome their own internal suspicions and animosities was also important, with the result that the administration prevailed by a comfortable margin in every division that mattered. The British Parliament passed the same measure without serious dissent, and it took effect on 1 January 1801.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Government from 1690 to 1800; Orange Order: Origins, 1784 to 1800; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Repeal Movement; Unionism from 1885 to 1922; **Primary Documents:** Irish Act of Union (1 August 1800)

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James Kelly

Adams, Gerry

Born into a strongly republican family in the Falls area of West Belfast on 6 October 1948, Gerry Adams was a vice president of Sinn Féin and was instrumental in bringing about the Belfast Agreement of 1998. A scholarship boy, he was educated locally by the Irish Christian Brothers, leaving school at seventeen to become a barman. Radicalized by the 1964 "Tricolour Riots" in Belfast (when nationalists clashed with the Royal Ulster Constabulary which had removed an Irish flag), he joined Sinn Féin and, at its inception in 1967, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA).

Following the split in the republican movement in 1970, Adams aligned himself with the militant Provisional wing in Belfast's Ballymurphy estate. Interned on suspicion of Irish Republican Army (IRA) involvement in March 1972, he was released dramatically in July to take part in secret but abortive talks in London between an IRA delegation and the British secretary of state, William Whitelaw. He was again imprisoned by the British authorities in 1973 and 1978 but was acquitted of IRA membership.

On his release, Adams was elected vice president of Sinn Féin (1978) and played a key policy-making role



Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams arrives at Hillsborough Castle, Northern Ireland, for peace talks, 5 May 2000. Martin McGuinness is pictured behind Adams (left). © REUTERS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

during the 1981 Hunger Strike (when ten republican prisoners starved themselves to death in support of political-prisoner status), from which his party emerged as a serious political force. In 1983 he became president of Sinn Féin and abstentionist MP for West Belfast, unseating the former Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) leader Gerry Fitt.

Though badly wounded by loyalist gunmen in 1984, Adams steadily pushed Sinn Féin toward greater political participation, overthrowing the southern-based "Old Guard" and paving the way for recognition of the Dáil in 1986 and the Hume-Adams dialogue between 1988 and 1994. These secret conversations between Adams and John Hume, the respected leader of the nonviolent SDLP, on the possibility of a peaceful alternative to "armed struggle" culminated in the first IRA cease-fire of August 1994 through February 1996.

Following its reinstatement in July 1997, Adams led his party into the all-party talks, which resulted in the Belfast Agreement of 1998, swinging grassroots support behind it. When Sinn Féin won a record 17.6 percent of the vote in the subsequent Northern Ireland

Assembly elections, Adams steered his party into the new power-sharing executive, the devolved administration under the agreement first set up in December 1999, while declining a cabinet post himself.

In October 2001 Adams welcomed the IRA's historic decision to put some arms "beyond use," which helped to stabilize the Belfast Agreement and acknowledged unionist fears of Irish unity. In 2002 he launched his party's bid to gain a foothold in the Dáil, but he courted controversy in the United States by his refusal to testify at a congressional hearing on alleged IRA involvement in Colombia.

SEE ALSO Decommissioning; Hume, John; Irish Republican Army (IRA); Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: The United States in Northern Ireland since 1970; Trimble, David; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule; **Primary Documents:** Irish Republican Army (IRA) Cease-Fire Statement (31 August 1994); Text of the IRA Cease-Fire Statement (19 July 1997); The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (10 April 1998)

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Éamon Phoenix



Agriculture

1500 TO 1690	KENNETH NICHOLLS
1690 TO 1845	MARTIN W. DOWLING
1845 TO 1921	MICHAEL TURNER
AFTER WORLD WAR I	ALAN MATTHEWS

1500 TO 1690

In agricultural practice, as in social and political structures, Ireland in 1500 fell into two distinct zones, with a large transitional area in between. In the Pale counties (Dublin, Meath, Louth, most of Kildare, and part of Westmeath) and some outlying areas of the southeast, agriculture in general followed a typical Western European pattern, with a strong emphasis on tillage. In the purely Gaelic areas of the north and west, however, there was a much greater emphasis on pastoralism, and tillage tended to be a monoculture of oats. The difference between the plow of the former colonial areas and the more primitive “short plow” of Gaelic Ireland was notable. Although both were drawn by a team of four horses, hitched abreast, and led by a driver ahead, the short plow also required the services of a “beam-holder” to hold the front of the plow in the ground, and was usually drawn by being tied to the horses’ tails. There is evidence from County Louth of the occasional use of plow oxen in this period. By 1500 the old colonial areas seem to have universally adopted the three-course rotation of autumn-sown crop, spring-sown crop, and a fallow year in which the land was plowed but left unsown until the autumn. The autumn-sown crops were wheat, bere (six- or four-rowed barley) or, to a lesser extent, rye; the usual spring crop was oats, although peas, beans, and spring-sown barley are also recorded. So invariable was the three-course rotation that crops in these regions were universally reckoned in “couples,” a couple being the unit of an acre of autumn-sown “hard corn” and an acre of oats. In the transitional areas, as in the Gaelic regions, the low population and

abundance of land could lead to the fallow year being extended for much longer. In the Gaelic regions it was usual to cultivate oats—the standard food crop—for two years and then to let the ground grow grass for several years. Flax was grown extensively, at least in the Gaelic regions, to supply the widespread linen trade, but as a crop grown in small patches by the poor, it was rarely noted. There is some uncertainty about the seventeenth-century spread of the potato. The surviving evidence suggests that Irish crop yields, at least in the Pale, did not differ appreciably from those in contemporary England, but there is no information on the ratio between seed sown and crops reaped. The townland was commonly treated as an agricultural unit for cultivation or grazing; boundary banks were usual between townlands, while otherwise the fields lay open and unenclosed. When it was necessary to make enclosures to protect crops, this was done with fences of posts and wattles, with an expected lifetime of two years. In the agricultural zones there existed around the coasts a belt in which abundant supplies of seaweed for fertilizer made possible an intensive agriculture in which corn crops could be raised, year after year, from the same land. The evidence suggests that in this period and in many areas, both Gaelic and Old English, there existed a class of “rural capitalists” who cultivated large areas with the help of their dependents, laborers, and sharecroppers of varying status. Conversely, without the stock or dependents to adequately exploit it, land could be of little value to those who owned or worked it.

THE PASTORAL ECONOMY

In Gaelic Ireland pastoralism was more important than tillage. Its mainstay was cattle, which provided not only meat and milk products but also the hides that were Ireland’s principal export. Cattle were a mobile asset that could be quickly and easily moved to a safer locality in time of war as well as in search of fresh pasture. There has perhaps been too much readiness to identify all movements of the herds with transhumance (“booleying”), the movement from winter quarters in the lowlands to upland summer grazing. Gaelic legal custom allowed the grazing of unoccupied land either by the neighbors, if they were ready to pay tribute due to the lord out of the land, or by the lords themselves. The adverse side of this mobility was the prevalence of cattle raiding or rustling, not only in time of war. The herds—the *caorugheachta* or *creaghts*—were particularly large and mobile in Ulster. The Gaelic Irish did not make hay, and the practice was instead to leave certain lands unused during the summer to provide winter grazing for the cattle. Irish cattle of the period are described as small, a description supported by what infor-

mation there is on dead weights, but there was a larger breed in eastern Ulster. Sheep and pigs played a lesser role in the economy, but there is evidence of very large flocks of sheep in Munster. The native Irish sheep seems to have resembled the present Shetland breed, with a long coarse fleece, which was plucked in summer instead of being sheared and from which the famous Irish rug mantles were made. Pigs were fed on acorns in the woods in the usual European manner. To complete the pastoral picture, lords and other important persons kept great herds of mares for breeding purposes.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

From the time of the Munster Plantation of the 1580s, English settlers (the “New English”) moved into Ireland in large numbers, importing English agricultural techniques and the superior English breeds of cattle and sheep. Although interrupted by the Rising of 1641 and the subsequent wars, this immigration continued through the seventeenth century. The greater financial resources of the settlers, as well as their farming expertise, made English tenants as welcome on the lands of native Irish landlords as on those of the New English. Among the innovations that they brought were the liming of land with lime produced by burning limestone and the digging and spreading of marl, a lime-rich subsoil. The Irish before this time seem to have used only local sources of agricultural lime, such as seaside-shell sands and rare inland deposits of lime-rich sand. The coming of the settlers coincided with an expansion of the native population, leading to a more intensive utilization of the land and a shift from pastoralism to tillage. As a result of this, and of a timber trade supplied by unsustainable exploitation of Irish forests, the period saw a rapid clearance of woodland. It also saw the beginnings of the process of permanent enclosure, hastened by the increasing scarcity of wood for the traditional temporary fences. It is difficult to tell how far the imported techniques influenced the native Irish, but evidence indicates that in County Sligo haymaking was already common by 1638. That English agricultural practices were not more widely adopted by the native Irish may have been due as much to lack of the necessary capital for innovation as to innate conservatism. The Scottish settlers in Ulster and the bordering regions, unlike the English, had little to teach the Irish in the way of tillage practices but the cattle which they brought with them were, to judge by their higher value, of a better breed than the native stock.

The most striking development in seventeenth-century Irish agriculture was the introduction of the potato. Research has shown that the potato, introduced into Ireland probably by merchants from the southern

ports trading into Spain some time around 1600, must have been the Chilean variety, already adapted to a temperate climate, rather than the Peruvian, which required a longer growing season than was available in the British Isles (O’Riordan 1988). By the 1640s potatoes were being widely grown across the southern half of the country. The acid soils so prevalent in Ireland suited the potato, and it became an ideal crop for land reclamation. It was eventually to transform the hitherto unproductive wastelands of Ireland.

By 1700 over most of southern and eastern Ireland a class of large progressive farmers—usually of English origin—had emerged side-by-side with a native population, who were often relegated to the poorer lands and who continued to farm by traditional methods. Much of the Scottish settler population in Ulster resembled the latter class rather than the former.

SEE ALSO Economy and Society from 1500 to 1690; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Petty, Sir William; Restoration Ireland; **Primary Documents:** From *The Total Discourse of His Rare Adventures* (1632)

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Kenneth Nicholls

1690 TO 1845

Between 1690 and 1845 a number of European regions experienced massive transformations from rural-based economies toward urban industrialization. The Irish economy, on the other hand, was still as strongly based in the countryside in 1845 as it had been a century and

a half earlier. By the eve of the Great Famine the economy had changed utterly in its intensity and efficiency, supporting three or four times as many people as it had in the seventeenth century. However, it was still essentially a supplier of its own subsistence and an exporter of food to industrial Britain. Outside the textile center of the northeast, Ireland had no identifiably industrial regions.

UNSTABLE GROWTH: 1690 TO 1745

Like the rest of Europe in the 1690s, Irish agriculture was beginning a recovery from nearly a century of political and economic instability, war, depressed prices, and lackluster growth. The new colonial property system set in place during the course of the previous century, under which Scottish and English settlers owned approximately 80 percent of the land, was still taking root. The political upheaval of the previous century had left the native commercial classes in a shambles, with market and credit systems in an undeveloped state. According to William Petty, a trustworthy observer during this period, over 90 percent of profitable land was under grass in the 1680s. The production of crops was largely restricted to a region in the southeast of the country that had supplied wheat to Dublin and abroad. The mass of the rural population was still occupied in a pastoral, livestock-based economy that had not fundamentally changed for centuries.

The 1690s saw a promising resurgence of the agricultural economy, particularly in tillage, a trajectory of development that continued into the early eighteenth century. This modest growth was strongly influenced by the incentives and constraints of a framework of trade legislation that included the Cattle Acts of the 1660s, the various Navigation Acts passed in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Woollen Act of 1699, and the legislation of 1705 placing bounties on Irish linen exports. The Cattle Acts, which banned the export of livestock to England, and the Navigation Acts, which banned imports from the new world directly into Ireland, skewed Irish agricultural and industrial development. Although the livestock export trade was shut down, the Irish were allowed to supply beef for the provisioning of Atlantic trading and war vessels. Prohibited from exporting either live sheep or woollen goods, Irish graziers responded by exporting raw wool. The textile industries in Ireland were largely suppressed by this legislation, with the crucial exception of linen. The legislation of 1705 allowed linen exports not only to England but directly to the American colonies and the continent as well.

The effect of this legislative framework was to create hothouse conditions for provisions and linen

goods in the Atlantic economy. Rapid commercialization and increased specialization ensued. Linen production developed rapidly, with flax producers and importers supplying a far-flung network of rural hand-spinners whose output in turn supplied the growing ranks of farmer-weavers in the north. The business of cattle rearing saw rapid specialization and commercialization as well. A wide variety of producers—dairymen selling young cattle, small farmers who raised young cattle but also engaged in tillage farming, spinning, and/or weaving, and larger graziers buying two- or three-year-old cattle for maturing and final fattening for market—all interacted in a mushrooming network of markets and fairs. However, until the 1740s the countryside still proved to be tragically vulnerable to the type of subsistence crises that historians associate with a primitive economy. The high level of emigration to the New World, particularly by the Protestant population of the north, is additional evidence of this economic fragility.

The Atlantic shipping trade also fuelled the relentless deforestation of the Irish countryside to meet the demand for barrels, staves, and other equipment. The process began in the early seventeenth century but greatly increased in pace in the first half of the eighteenth, so that by the early nineteenth century Ireland had been almost completely denuded of its forests.

A GREAT ACCELERATION: 1745 TO 1815

The second half of the eighteenth century saw a tremendous expansion of this commercial agrarian economy. Two interrelated factors were important. First, Ireland began to play an important role in supplying food to the rapidly urbanized and industrialized British economy. By mid-century, food prices were rising sharply across England. By the 1770s Britain had become a net importer of food, and much of those imports came from Ireland. By the end of the century Ireland was supplying over 40 percent of Britain's imports of grain, meat, and butter, and by the 1820s this figure had reached 75 percent. Secondly, the liberalization of trade legislation removed the straightjacket constraining the economy in the first half of the century. The restrictions on Irish cattle exports were lifted by legislation in 1758. The Navigation Acts were mostly removed in 1778, though exports of crucial industrial products such as wool, woollen manufactures, and cotton were still prohibited. And in 1784 the Irish Parliament passed legislation consolidating a system of export bounties on agricultural products.

Expanding pastoral production was an important component of the great acceleration of the late eigh-

teenth century, but the real driving force was an explosion of tillage and textile production from the small-farm sector. Linen remained the leading export. Unlike wool and cotton, its production methods remained labor-intensive and suited to cottage hand production throughout the eighteenth century. Most linen producers, whether they were flax growers, spinners, weavers, or all three, also tilled the land, producing oats or wheat for distant markets and potatoes and other garden crops for local consumption. To these may be added a third key component of small-farm land use: the quasi-agricultural activity of harvesting turf. Turf cutting and saving, worth nearly £2 million a year in 1840, provided not only cheap energy but opened up new cultivable land. Successive crops of potatoes prepared former bog for grain cultivation, and potatoes then became a permanent part of the rotation of grain cultivation, simultaneously providing subsistence and renewing the soil. Together, these activities formed an interlinked microeconomy that fuelled not only a great increase in output but also demographic explosion and a massive expansion in land use. The period of the Napoleonic wars, by artificially increasing and sustaining food prices in England, fanned the flames of an already roaring productive and demographic acceleration.

PRODUCTIVITY AND DISTRIBUTION: 1785 TO 1845

Between 1785 and 1845 the fruits of the agricultural economy were unevenly distributed. From the early eighteenth century on, profits flowed overwhelmingly into the hands of landowners, middlemen, and the large graziers and stockholders. The three decades after 1785 were golden years for substantial farmers, but the benefits trickled down even to the lower reaches of society, with real wages for farm and construction labor rising. Irish rural life in this era was crowded, dirty, and short of luxuries, but the inhabitants of the countryside were relatively tall, well fed, and long-lived. Though the nature of agricultural and hand textile work was often backbreaking and monotonous, Irish workers had considerably more leisure time than their counterparts in industrial Britain.

Research published in the 1980s shows that, by comparison to the rest of the United Kingdom, Belgium, and France, Irish agriculture before the famine was reasonably productive. But the nature of its productivity was peculiar and impoverishing. Ireland lacked a number of crucial features of agricultural efficiency obtaining elsewhere: centuries of farm enclosure and rationalization, strong urban industrial development to soak up excess rural populations, strong incentives for capital accumulation and a well-developed system for its circu-

lation. Nevertheless, the Irish climate gave rural producers unique endowments, and they were generally exploited effectively. Though its soils were poor, Ireland's climate gives it a natural advantage in grass, and therefore in livestock, production. Though lacking in capital intensity, Irish agriculture made very effective use of cheap labor and capital-poor techniques (such as better weeding, more intensive spade work, and more intensive seeding) suited to rocky and wet soils.

The decades after Waterloo saw a reversal in the upward price trend in agricultural products that lasted until the Crimean War of 1853 to 1856. In addition, technical advances in the mechanical wet spinning of linen yarn in the 1820s and the beginning of a shift in demand away from linen to lighter textiles painfully undercut the rural hand-spinning and weaving trades. While the corn law of 1815 offered some protection to Irish farmers from the prevailing trend in grain prices, the mass of the peasantry lacked access to sufficient land to produce grain and livestock efficiently. This scenario caused poverty and inequality to increase dramatically in the 1830s and 1840s. Grain producers with access to land were able to capitalize on a flooded labor market and produce crops profitably. Landless laborers, on the other hand, were faced not only with declining money wages but also with rising prices of land offered by farmers in "conacre," on a short-term arrangement that allowed laborers to produce a subsistence crop of potatoes. These developments left a growing population in a position of heightened risk of impoverishment. Although Ireland was certainly not careening toward a Malthusian apocalypse in the 1840s, the structure of the economy, and the political and legislative circumstances that governed it, left the countryside completely vulnerable to the terrible shock of the potato blight in the late 1840s.

SEE ALSO Banking and Finance to 1921; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Land Questions; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Population Explosion; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail; **Primary Documents:** On Irish Rural Society and Poverty (1780)

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Martin W. Dowling

1845 TO 1921

The extraordinary decline in crop production and conversely the rise of cattle and milk production characterized Irish agriculture in the eight decades after the Great Famine. In land-use terms the country became greener. The hay and pasture acreage increased from nearly 10 million acres in 1851 to 12.4 million acres by 1911. Conversely, over the same period the cultivated acreage declined from 4.6 to 2.3 million acres. The wheat acreage alone declined dramatically from half a million acres in 1851 to 150,000 acres by 1881, and finally to 45,000 acres by 1911. There was a brief turnaround in these trends during the plough-up campaign during World War I: In 1918 the arable area recovered to 3.1 million acres, hay and pasture fell to 11.2 million acres, and wheat lands rose to 157,000 acres (this last slipping back to 43,000 acres by 1921). At its lowest level, in 1904, there were only 31,000 acres of wheat. The only significant extension of the cultivated area occurred in response to the demand for animal-fodder crops. The turnip was formerly a neglected crop, but in the second half of the nineteenth century it was grown in large quantities. The ratio of pasture to arable rose from 2:1 in 1851 to nearly 6:1 in 1921. By 1900 one-half or more of all land was under permanent grass. This move toward pasture occurred everywhere in Ireland.

Land use captures the essence of agricultural change, but one specific regional observation might be

made. For every hundred acres of hay and pasture (i.e., per unit of the main animal food), it was the northern counties (Ulster) that had the greatest density of cattle in the middle to late nineteenth century. It was not until the turn of the century that the counties of the south and west came into their own as substantial cattle producers. This reflects the more mixed and highly developed farming systems in the north around mid-century, but it also suggests the potential that existed for larger change elsewhere. Mixed farming continued to characterize Ulster in the second half of the nineteenth century.

AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT AND AGRICULTURAL CHANGE

In terms of the value to Irish agricultural output, tillage represented nearly 60 percent of final output in the early 1850s, but it slumped more or less progressively thereafter to less than 20 percent by the late 1890s. Conversely, the share of livestock and livestock products rose from about 40 percent in the early 1850s to over 80 percent by 1900, and peaked at 84 percent in 1910. The cash crops of wheat, barley, and flax declined from between 8 and 5 percent of output in the early 1850s to only 1 or 2 percent each from the 1880s. Potato output fell from a fifth or a quarter of output in the early 1850s to about 10 percent or less from 1860 onwards, and to an all-time low of about 5 percent in 1897. Conversely, cattle output rose from 20 percent in 1860 to over 30 percent by the late 1870s. Milk, as revealed in butter production, also accounted for 20 percent in 1860, though it declined after 1880 to about 18 percent. Therefore, the two components of cattle output contributed close to 40 percent of final agricultural output in the 1860s, rising to nearly 50 percent by the early 1870s, with a peak of 59 percent in 1903. By 1914 even hens and ducks added more to agricultural output than wheat, oats, and potatoes combined—crops that had contributed more than half of output in about 1840.

The postfamine changes illustrated by these statistics were not induced by the famine alone. In fact, the total cultivated area rose during the first twenty years or so after the famine, but thereafter it declined. The severe decline in population from 6.55 million in 1851 to 4.39 million by 1911 helps to explain the fall in the cultivated area, but not entirely the changes within agriculture. Purely for the purposes of self-sufficiency a much smaller land area was adequate as the decades proceeded, but the population of animals actually grew in numbers. In other words, the developments in Irish agriculture were not just negative responses to the famine; they were also positive responses to other circumstances.



Livestock fairs, held in the streets of many Irish towns, were common scenes until the 1950s. On these occasions business and recreation were fused together, as this 1870 sketch of a lively pig fair at Trim in County Meath suggests. Publicans and shopkeepers quickly relieved pig-sellers of some of their gains. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 7 MAY 1870.

The increase in North American grain reaching Western Europe at lower and lower prices by the late 1870s in an atmosphere of free trade may have led to the steep decline of corn growing in England, but in Ireland the economy had already adjusted output to cash products other than wheat before the 1870s. This is an important conclusion for the history of Irish agriculture, indicating that its reconstruction was ahead of that of many European rivals. While the flight from cereal production was pronounced in Ireland, in both Denmark and Germany there was actually an increase in the land devoted to cereals, and in France and Holland the cereal acreage held up very well.

External economic stimuli were increasingly important, but in Ireland, even on the eve of the Great Famine, the export trade accounted for as much as 27 percent of all Irish agricultural output. Thereafter it grew in response to the rise in demand for meat and dairy products generally in Western Europe, especially after the 1870s and particularly in Britain. At first, the milk and butter trades were important, but this gave way to the rising tide of fat-cattle and store-cattle rear-

ing and export, especially after 1880. This was reflected in animal numbers. Milch cattle constituted about 70 percent of all cattle over two years of age in 1855, but thereafter their numbers dwindled, falling to less than 60 percent by the end of the century and only recovering slightly thereafter. The export trades to Britain were at full steam. By 1908, 58 percent of the net value of livestock production came from exports. In the 1850s between 35 and 40 percent of the cattle that “disappeared” each year from the annual enumeration were exported to Britain, increasing to 50 percent in the mid-1860s and to 70 percent by the end of the century. From 1850 to 1875 annually between 30 and 50 percent of the sheep were exported, and more than 30 percent of the pigs were exported as live animals and an untold proportion in the form of bacon.

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSIONS AS TURNING POINTS

Apart from the short-lived period in the mid-1850s during the Crimean War, when grain prices generally



Butter-making was a mainstay of agriculture in Munster province before and after the famine. So much butter made on Munster farms went to the Cork Butter Exchange for inspection and sale that it became by far the largest such market in Ireland. In this post-1880 photograph, exchange employees are standing amid one day's supply of firkins and boxes full of butter. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF JAMES S. DONNELLY, JR.

rose in Western Europe, giving some respite to the arable sector, there were two agricultural depressions in Ireland during the period. These were the depressions of 1859 to 1864 and 1879 to 1882. They have both been identified as watersheds in Irish agriculture, the first related to agricultural change, and the second very much associated with the tenant and landlord conflict known as the Land War. In the first period, for six continuous seasons, either grassland suffered from drought or the arable and fodder sector experienced either drought or too much rain. Crop yields turned down dramatically, but now the price for such crops was influenced more by the larger British or European market than by conditions in Ireland itself. Coincidentally, the cotton famine spilling over from the U.S. Civil War gave a brief encouragement to Irish flax production, and for this rea-

son alone the depression hit Ulster less severely than elsewhere. The war also gave a brief respite to wool prices. But Ireland emerged from the depression finally realigned to pastoral agriculture. Before the depression the milk and butter trade was relatively ascendant, but it was already under threat from the cattle trade. The ratio of calves to milch cows declined from 45 per hundred in 1854 to only 34 in 1861, indicating the growing sale of calves to the veal trade and a greater concentration on milk and butter. Thereafter this ratio rose dramatically until in about 1865 it was 74 per hundred, and it remained at about 70 per hundred in subsequent years. The store-cattle trade had come into its own, and it flourished as the second half of the century unfolded.

It has been suggested that for much of the third quarter of the century there was a rising tide of expecta-

tion in the agricultural sector, especially for the stability or even improvement of tenant incomes. If true, this adds weight to the interpretation of the second depression, between 1879 and 1882, as a watershed in tenant-landlord relationships. The rising tide was stopped and replaced by a disgruntled tenantry struggling to pay their fixed rents at a time when their incomes were in rapid decline. The ensuing rent arrears had consequences in terms of credit restrictions, credit-worthiness, and the reduced incomes of the large service sector of shopkeepers and other suppliers on whom agriculture depended. The general malaise of relative and sometimes absolute poverty also hit landlords whenever their tenants were in arrears with their rents. The ensuing spate of land legislation resulted in a large transfer of ownership to the tenants. In 1870 perhaps 3 percent of Irish holdings were owner-occupied, but by 1908 the corresponding figure was about 46 percent.

SEE ALSO Banking and Finance to 1921; Congested Districts Board; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Famine Clearances; Great Famine; Indian Corn or Maize; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon; Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 and the Gregory Clause; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail

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Michael Turner

AFTER WORLD WAR I

At independence in 1922 the agricultural sector in the Republic accounted for about one-third of the gross domestic product, just over half of total employment, and almost three-quarters of merchandise exports (Kennedy, et al. 1988). Economic growth over the past century has reduced the relative importance of agriculture dramatically. In the year 2000 it contributed 3 percent, 7 percent, and 6 percent of national output, employment, and exports respectively. Similar trends can be observed in Northern Ireland, although the more industrialized status of the North has meant that agriculture there was always less important in the economy. It accounted for 2.6 percent of Northern output and 5 percent of employment in 2000. This shift from an agrarian economy to a predominantly urban, postindustrial one is the defining change in Irish society during this period. Although the declining importance of farming is something that Ireland shares with all developing economies, the particular pattern of adjustment that it experienced was influenced by a specific combination of historical legacy, market constraints, and policy interventions.

POST-WORLD WAR I TO 1960

The fortunes of the agricultural sector in the Republic over the past century can usefully be chronicled by distinguishing between three periods: spanning the early independence period from World War I to 1960; a brief burst of growth between 1960 and the mid-1980s; and a period of adjustment to tightening farm supports since then. In the period from the aftermath of World War I to around 1960 there was very limited growth in overall agricultural output. The policy dilemma throughout this period was that the pursuit of Ireland's comparative advantage in grass-based cattle production conflicted with the social imperative of employment creation. Cattle farming had been substituting for tillage production since the middle of the previous century, but its limited labor requirements meant that it was accompanied by a substantial decrease in the demand for rural labor. The extensive nature of cattle farming was also unsuited to the structure of predominantly small, family-owned farms inherited as a result of the land reforms at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. The promotion of efficiency in farming conflicted with the social objective of maintaining the maximum number of farm families on the land.

Successive governments responded to this dilemma in different ways. The Cumann na nGaedheal government (1922–1932) rejected any policy of widespread support to the sector on the grounds that in a predomi-

A horse-drawn plow. Agriculture remained the most important source of income for independent Ireland until the 1960s. COURTESY OF THE HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF IRISH FOLKLORE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN.

namely rural economy the costs of farm support would fall largely on farmers themselves. Both internal and external circumstances changed in the 1930s. The onset of the Great Depression led to a general rise in protectionist barriers. Fianna Fáil came to power in 1932 on a platform of stimulating local industry, including arable agriculture, behind tariff barriers. Price supports were paid to encourage local wheat, dairy, and sugar production. The refusal to pay the land annuities led to the “Economic War” with the United Kingdom, in which Britain placed tariffs on imports of Irish cattle. The costs of this episode were largely borne by agriculture, which also saw its terms of trade fall during the period. The conflict ended with the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1938, which relaxed access conditions for cattle to the U.K. market again.

Irish agriculture failed to capitalize on the U.K. market deficit during the Second World War, in part because input shortages limited the potential expansion in output and in part because the United Kingdom put mo-

nopoly-purchasing arrangements in place that limited the scope for price increases. The 1948 trade pact with the United Kingdom signalled a return to a more export-oriented agricultural strategy. Though agricultural output slowly increased during the 1950s, intense competition in the main export market in the United Kingdom and inadequate attention to marketing meant that prices were depressed and farm incomes remained low.

THE PRODUCTIVIST PERIOD: 1960s TO MID-1980s

An important change in the Republic was the emergence of a nascent urban-based industrial sector in the 1960s, which allowed the possibility, for the first time, of significant net transfers to the farm population. Price guarantees were strengthened for dairy products and extended to beef under the terms of the 1965 Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. The next quarter-century saw a brief flowering of the “productivist” period in Irish agriculture. Deliberate efforts were made, under

Milk being brought to the creamery by donkey and cart, 1969. This traditional image, beloved of tourists, was not in keeping with the needs of a modern dairying industry. COURTESY OF THE HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF IRISH FOLKLORE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN.

successive Programmes for Economic Expansion, to stimulate agricultural output through grant aid and other incentive schemes. Agricultural output responded; the output volume in 1970 was 31 percent higher than in 1960. But the growing budgetary cost of providing support would not have been sustainable without the benefits granted to the Republic by its membership in the European Union (EU) beginning in 1973.

Agricultural output per worker was marginally lower in Northern Ireland compared to the South in the 1920s, but the South subsequently lost most of its advantage. Indeed, over the period 1926 to 1962, output growth in the North of 150 percent contrasted with the growth of output in the South of just 30 percent

(Ó Gráda 1994). The U.K. policy of free trade in grains stimulated farmyard-enterprise production in the North (i.e., pigs, eggs, and poultry), and beef and dairy farmers benefited from the introduction of postwar price supports in the United Kingdom. Southern agriculture suffered from policy disincentives in the 1930s, input shortages in the 1940s, and underinvestment in the 1950s, but with the increased protection given to farmers in the Republic in the 1960s, overall agricultural performance converged.

The importance of EU membership for the Republic lay not so much in the improved terms of trade for farm produce that access to the high-price EU market brought about, for this was quite short-lived. Rather, it

was the fact that for the first time since World War I, Irish agriculture had unrestricted access to its main export markets. At the same time the cost of farm support was no longer borne by the Irish exchequer but by the EU taxpayer and consumer. Agricultural output continued to grow rapidly by a further 52 percent from 1970 to 1985. New technologies, including the use of fertilizers, silage-making instead of hay-making for forage conservation, improved animal breeds, and greater use of compound feeds, led to a marked improvement in productivity. Average farm incomes narrowed the gap with nonfarm incomes and in some years exceeded them. Agriculture in the Republic also began to reverse the productivity gap that had emerged with Northern Ireland agriculture as successive governments in the South exploited the limited discretion available within the EU's agricultural policy in favor of farmers, while policy in the United Kingdom (and hence Northern Ireland) tended to keep prices lower in favor of consumers.

Not all farms shared in the growing prosperity. The modernization of farming was accompanied by the growing marginalization of the small-farm sector. A significant divide opened up between the larger farmers in the south and east of the country who were quick to adopt the new technologies and the smaller farmers in the more disadvantaged western region who fell farther behind. The self-sustaining nature of the small-farm economy began to break down as the deterioration in its relative economic position was reflected in a growing proportion of single, elderly farmers without immediate heirs. While the acceptance of off-farm employment became an increasingly important strategy for viability on smaller farms, a growing proportion of farm households disengaged from commercial agriculture and became increasingly dependent on state welfare payments to maintain their living standards.

TIGHTENING OF FARM SUPPORTS: MID-1980S TO THE PRESENT

The productivist period in Irish farming was relatively short, brought to an end in the mid-1980s by changes in EU farming policy. The costs to the EU of farm support were spiralling out of control, and increasing awareness of the environmental, animal-welfare, health, and food-safety consequences of intensive agricultural practices forced new concerns onto the policy agenda. The growth of milk output, which had expanded by 5 percent per annum over the previous two decades, was brought to a halt by the introduction of milk quotas in 1984. Grant aids for farm modernization were severely curtailed in the reform of EU structural policy in the following year. The MacSharry and Agen-

da 2000 CAP reforms substituted direct payments for market-price support, but in doing so, they introduced effective ceilings on beef, sheep, and cereal output. The growth of agricultural output slowed from 2.6 percent in the period 1970 to 1985 to 1.4 percent between 1985 and 2000 and 0.7 percent between 1990 and 2000.

Similar trends are evident in Northern Irish agriculture, although the strength of sterling in the second half of the 1990s relative to the euro and the difficulties caused for beef exports by the "mad cow" crisis have meant that farm incomes in the North have been under much greater pressure. Total income from farming at the end of the 1990s was less than half what it was at the beginning of the decade in real terms.

On the threshold of the new century agriculture faces a number of challenges. Farm incomes, though comparable to nonfarm incomes on average, remain hugely dependent on subsidies or off-farm income. EU farm-support mechanisms are under considerable challenge both externally, in the context of World Trade Organization negotiations on trade liberalization, and internally, because of the budgetary implications of extending these levels of support to farmers in the candidate countries of central and eastern Europe. Farmers also face the challenge of integrating environmental concerns into agricultural production, including stricter pollution regulations and the public's desire for environmentally benign and animal-friendly (but technically inefficient) management practices. Farmers must also respond to the calls for traceability and quality production from consumers who, in light of an increasing number of health scares, want ever-higher standards of reassurance that their food supply is safe and wholesome. The role of agriculture may have shrunk in importance over the past century, but its capacity to cause controversy and debate remains undiminished.

SEE ALSO Common Agricultural Policy; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; *Economic Development*, 1958; Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain; European Union; Farming Families; Marshall Aid; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail; **Primary Documents:** Speech to Ministers of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community (18 January 1962)

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Alan Matthews

American Wakes

The American wake—sometimes called the live wake, farewell supper, or bottle night—was a unique leave-taking ceremony for emigrants from rural Ireland to the United States. American wakes took place prior to the Great Famine, but most evidence survives from the late 1800s and early 1900s, when the custom prevailed among Catholics, especially in western Ireland where traditional customs remained potent. Usually held on the evening prior to an emigrant's departure, the American wake resembled its ceremonial model, the traditional wake for the dead, and its most common name signified that many Catholic country people still regarded emigration as death's equivalent—a permanent breaking of earthly ties. Usually hosted by the emigrant's parents, the American wake, like a traditional wake, was attended by kinfolk and neighbors, featured the liberal consumption of food and drink, and exhibited a seemingly incongruous mixture of grief and gaiety, expressed in lamentations, prayers, games, singing, and dancing.

Although its format was archaic, the American wake was an adaptation to postfamine Ireland's social, cultural, and political exigencies. Because emigration was potentially threatening to communal loyalties and

values, the leave-taking ceremony interpreted Irish emigration so as to ensure that the emigrants overseas would remain dutiful to the community left behind. The songs, ballads, and other rituals enacted during the American wakes represented a stylized dialogue between the emigrants and the parents, priests, and nationalist politicians who governed Irish Catholic society. Songs that expressed the latter's perspective often ignored the economic causes of emigration and accused the allegedly "selfish," "hard-hearted" emigrants themselves of "abandoning" their aged mothers and fathers and, by extension, "holy Ireland" itself. In response, the ballads sung from the emigrants' perspective portrayed them not as eager, ambitious, or alienated from Irish poverty or from parental and clerical repression, but as sorrowing "exiles," victims of British or landlord oppression, who would be miserably homesick overseas until they returned as promised to their parents' hearths. Such songs also excused the emigrants' departures and expiated their guilt by pledging that they would send their parents money from the United States and would remain loyal to their religion and to the cause of Irish freedom. Arguably, then, the harrowing effects of the American wake on young emigrants, at the moment they were leaving home and hence were psychologically most vulnerable, helped to ensure their unusually high levels of remittances, religious fidelity, and nationalist fervor in the New World.

SEE ALSO Great Famine; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century

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Kerby Miller

Ancient Order of Hibernians

The Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) of the United States is a benevolent association founded in New York

City in 1836. There was a parent association in Ireland which probably had its origins among the secret societies of the eighteenth century, but the early history of the order in Ireland is largely unknown. The AOH itself was never a secret society, though it did have some secret procedures similar to those in Freemasonry and Orangeism. The secret Molly Maguires, who sought to improve Pennsylvania coalminers' conditions through violence during the 1870s, operated within the AOH but were soon disclaimed; the "Mollies" remained as a pejorative nickname for the order in Ireland. At their heights around 1910 the U.S. order had 100,000 members and the Irish order 60,000. The organizational unit was the division, which elected representatives to county/state and national bodies. Membership at first was restricted to Catholics of Irish parentage, then broadened to include those of Irish descent. Initially proscribed by Catholic Church authorities, the AOH later won their acceptance, although some leading Irish clergy never liked the existence of such a specifically Catholic organization under lay control.

Though linked historically, and by an agreement to accept the transfer cards of migrating members, the orders in Ireland and the United States were independent. The U.S. order was split during the years 1884 to 1898, mainly over the predominance of the New York City divisions and rivalry between the factions of leaders John Devoy and Alexander Sullivan. The Irish order was small until the moderate nationalist Joseph Devlin (1871–1934) developed it as a political machine to stiffen the declining United Irish League. His movement benefited from recognition of the AOH as an approved society by the United Kingdom's National Insurance Act of 1911. Under Devlin's influence the U.S. order favored constitutional nationalism for Ireland in the years 1902 to 1906 and 1910 to 1914; at other times it supported revolution. The main purpose of both orders was mutual support among emigrant and minority communities, underpinned by an appeal based on parades and nostalgia. It was thus stronger in divided Ulster and in Britain than in southern Ireland. After 1918 its political importance waned: In Britain it delivered Irish support to the Labour Party, whereas in Northern Ireland it acquired a "green Tory" image. By the 1980s it had about 20,000 members in the United States and a smaller number in Ireland.

SEE ALSO Orange Order: Since 1800; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Sodalties and Confraternities

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A. C. Hepburn



Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Hillsborough Agreement)

The Anglo-Irish Agreement (AIA) was signed at Hillsborough Castle (the symbolic seat of British power in Northern Ireland) on 15 November 1985 by the British and Irish premiers, Margaret Thatcher and Garret FitzGerald. It was the sixth in a series of intergovernmental summits that began in May 1980. Hillsborough was qualitatively different in that the earlier summits had taken place in an atmosphere strained by the hunger strikes, the Falklands/Malvinas War, and the Brighton bomb. The communiqué accompanying the agreement recognized its historic significance. It came into effect on 29 November after it was ratified by the Dáil and the British House of Commons and was registered at the United Nations on 20 December 1985.

The agreement had a strong institutional framework. Article 2 represented one powerful axis. In part 2(a) it established an Intergovernmental Conference concerned with Northern Ireland and with relations between the two parts of Ireland to deal on a regular basis with "(i) political matters; (ii) security and related matters; (iii) legal matters, including the administration of justice; and (iv) the promotion of cross-border cooperation"; and 2(b) stated that "the United Kingdom Government accepts that the Irish Government will put forward views and proposals on matters relating to Northern Ireland within the field of activity of the Conference insofar as those matters are not the responsibility of a devolved administration in Northern Ireland." It could be said that Article 2 gave constitutional nationalism greater influence than it had ever enjoyed since partition. The countervailing axis existed in Article 1, which attempted to reassure unionists of the prevailing constitutional status of Northern Ireland, and in Articles 4(b), 5(c), and 10(b), which acted as a catalyst toward achieving devolution in place of an enhanced role for the conference. Additionally, Article 11 allowed for a review of the working of the conference within three years.

The AIA is significant for three reasons. First, both governments were now committed to working together on the historic Anglo-Irish conflict. A permanent Anglo-Irish secretariat (staffed by senior personnel from Dublin and London) was a manifestation of its rigor. The structures were built to withstand boycotts, physical threats, general strikes, or whatever. The Intergovernmental Conference, chaired by the British secretary of state and the Irish foreign minister, represented both structure and process. Second, the agreement received much international approbation. A goodwill manifest in Article 10(a) promoted cross-border social and economic development by securing international support through the International Fund for Ireland (IFI), which was established on 18 September 1986 with financial support from the United States, Canada, and New Zealand. In the next fourteen years the IFI was associated with investing 1.1 billion pounds. Third, the agreement symbolized profound attitudinal change. Article 1 represented a historic shift in Irish nationalists' attitude toward Northern Ireland. Equally, British concessions to the Irish heralded an era of intense intergovernmental cooperation. They had set in motion a process of change that was to culminate in the Belfast Agreement of April 1998.

SEE ALSO Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: The United States in Northern Ireland since 1970; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule; **Primary Documents:** Anglo-Irish Agreement (15 November 1985)

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Paul Arthur

Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement of 1965

The Irish attempt to gain entry into the European Economic Committee (EEC) failed in January 1963 with

France's veto of its application, but the government led by Seán Lemass was determined to continue to reorganize the Irish economy in preparation for a world of freer trade. In a classic paradox of Irish trade policy, it was the desire to reduce dependence on the British market that led Ireland once again to seek closer ties with Britain. To prepare Ireland for the eventual entry to the EEC to which it aspired, while expanding its markets in Britain, Taoiseach Seán Lemass sought trade talks with the British government in March 1963. Little progress was made until Harold Wilson replaced Harold Macmillan as British prime minister in November 1964. At a summit of the two leaders in July 1965 it was agreed that a free-trade area between the countries was desirable, and the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement was signed on 15 December 1965. Its preamble firmly rooted it within the context of the principles and objectives of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the harmonious expansion of world trade through the removal of barriers, and the continuing progress toward European economic cooperation. For industry it was agreed that Britain would abolish all import duties on Irish goods on 1 July 1966. On that same date Ireland would cut import duties on all British goods by 10 percent—and by another 10 percent each successive year until all industrial duties eventually disappeared in 1975. For agriculture the agreement allowed unrestricted, duty-free access to the British market for Irish store cattle, store sheep, and store lambs, while the Irish undertook to export at least 638,000 head of cattle per annum. In respect of other agricultural products it was agreed that access to the British market would be related to international commodity agreements involving all substantial producers.

Reaction to the agreement was generally positive, though far from unanimously so. There was dissent, even within the government, on the grounds that Ireland was exposing itself to a stronger economy with which it could not compete in industrial trade, and that the agricultural openings presented did not compensate for this. On balance it appears that the agreement was of greater benefit to Britain. The reduction in Irish protective tariffs enabled British manufacturers to increase sales in Ireland, but the agreement did not exempt Irish manufactured goods from the emergency import taxes that Britain imposed to protect its currency, and Irish agricultural exports had to contend with price cuts and quotas that were not foreseen when the agreement was signed. On a philosophical level, the removal of tariffs imposed since the 1930s marked the symbolic end of the dream of national self-sufficiency. The agreement lapsed on the entry of both countries to the EEC in 1973.

SEE ALSO Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920

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Paul Rouse

Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921

The Articles of Agreement for a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland were signed in London by representatives of the British and Dáil Éireann governments in the most melodramatic of circumstances in the early hours of 6 December 1921. The terms specified stated that a Free State should be established for the twenty-six counties of the south and west of Ireland with a large measure of independence along Canadian and Australian dominion-status lines. An imperial contribution was to be made to the British Exchequer and the so-called treaty ports were to remain under British jurisdiction in order to safeguard defense interests. An oath to the British Crown, watered down to make some allowance for republican sensibilities, had to be sworn by Irish TDs (members of the Dáil Éireann), and a governor-general was to be appointed. Clause XII made provision for a Boundary Commission to be established if Northern Ireland opted out of membership of the new state. The boundary was to be readjusted “in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographical conditions.”

The treaty was quickly accepted by all in the British parliament, except for a small Tory diehard contingent, as the means by which Anglo-Irish relations could be stabilized and the Irish Question taken out of British

politics. In Northern Ireland, however, the document provoked massive violence and disturbance over the next six months, while in the South political and military divisions over the treaty resulted in the Civil War from June 1922; these divisions continued to plague Irish politics and society for much of the rest of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

The treaty's signing ended five months of complex negotiations. Following the truce of 11 July 1921, which halted military hostilities in the Anglo-Irish War, Eamon de Valera led a small group of Dáil ministers to London. After personal meetings with the Irish leader, British prime minister Lloyd George offered a limited dominion-status settlement, which was rejected first by de Valera and then by the Dáil. There ensued a prolonged and convoluted correspondence over the following two months, which sought a form of words on the identity of the Dáil government that would allow full negotiations to begin. Eventually, it was agreed that a conference should discuss “how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.” The conference began on 11 October.

Much controversy, at the time and since, centered on the choice of Irish delegates. De Valera decided not to go to London, and Arthur Griffith was chosen to lead the delegation in the hope that his moderate reputation would win firm concessions from the British. The rest of the team was picked as representing distinct interests: Michael Collins, that of the army and the IRB; Robert Barton and George Gavan Duffy, together with Erskine Childers as the secretary, to provide a republican safeguard. Eamon Duggan, along with Duffy, offered legal expertise. The delegates had the status of plenipotentiaries but were honor-bound to refer any settlement to the Dáil cabinet in Dublin before signing any agreement. This ambiguity was exploited by Lloyd George at the end of the negotiations. The delegation failed to preserve unity within its ranks during the conference and had increasingly strained relations with the Dáil cabinet. The British delegation, by contrast, comprised experienced negotiators, and Lloyd George's choice of prominent Conservatives for the team, notably Lord Birkenhead and Austen Chamberlain, helped to reconcile the Tory Party to previously unpalatable concessions.

Despite preliminary sparring on defense issues, it soon became clear that the make-or-break points were the British insistence that the new state should remain part of the commonwealth and swear allegiance to the Crown, and the Irish determination to make no concessions on either sovereignty or the North. De Valera's strategy for compromise rested on his sophisticated notion of “external association,” in which any recognition



David Lloyd George (far left) with Lord Birkenhead and Winston Churchill leaving No. 10 Downing St., London, and going to the House of Commons, 1922. © HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of British authority would apply solely to foreign and not to domestic affairs. There was never any prospect that the British would agree to this. Lloyd George resorted to private meetings with Griffith, and sometimes Collins, to find some means by which Irish concessions on constitutional status could be related to assurances on “essential unity.” When the Northern Irish prime minister James Craig refused to bow to Lloyd George’s pressure to accept any form of control from Dublin, Lloyd George proposed to Griffith the establishment of the ill-defined Boundary Commission as a means to prevent the North from blocking a settlement. Griffith’s vague acceptance of this overture was made without reference to the rest of the Irish delegation.

As in so many such negotiations, the crucial developments occurred at the very end. On the weekend before the treaty’s signing, a meeting of the Dáil cabinet revealed deep divisions over the British terms. Making last minute concessions on fiscal autonomy, Lloyd George insisted that all members of the Irish delegation sign the final document there and then on the evening of 5 December or face the consequence of “immediate and terrible war”; this threat was probably the most

cynical of tactical maneuvers. After a stormy private meeting all of the Irish delegates—Barton and Duffy with extreme reluctance—signed. The Dáil cabinet, by a majority of one, accepted the treaty, but de Valera publicly rejected the terms. Three weeks of vitriolic debate ensued in the Dáil, at the end of which a motion in support of the treaty was passed by a mere seven votes. Although public bodies and the press spoke up overwhelmingly in favor of the document, around 70 percent of the IRA and a majority of active Sinn Féiners rejected it. In the following months British insistence on adherence to the application of the terms rendered futile desperate efforts for compromise within Sinn Féin and the IRA.

It was scarcely surprising that the failure to preserve either the ideals of a republic or those of Irish unity provoked opposition from committed republicans. No document could have been better calculated to reinforce the divisions within the Sinn Féin movement between pragmatists and idealists. Much of the support came from those desiring peace and normality rather than from any enthusiasm for the terms. The circumstances

of the treaty's signing, moreover, exacerbated the split and infused it with personal animosities.

For all the histrionic circumstances at the time of the treaty's signing, the details of the settlement were predictable and, with the exception of Clause XII, represented the best possible compromise available at that time. A dominion-status settlement had been frequently mooted during the last year of the Anglo-Irish War and supported by powerful interests in Southern Ireland and in Britain. As Michael Collins predicted in the Dáil treaty debates, the terms did have considerable potential for movement toward a republic, but distrust of British intentions and adherence to republican nostrums were widespread. The Civil War in the South and the abject failure of the Southern leadership to focus attention on the needs of the North was to prevent the Boundary Commission from undermining the settlement. The Irish Question, somewhat fortuitously, was largely removed from British consciousness for nearly half a century. Developments in Northern Ireland since 1969 have thrown a new perspective on the document's evasions and shortcomings over Irish unity. Although Lloyd George achieved the Coalition government's short-term survival, Michael Collins was correct to say that he had signed his own death warrant.

SEE ALSO Boundary Commission; Civil War; Collins, Michael; Commonwealth; Cumann na mBan; de Valera, Eamon; Griffith, Arthur; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Unionism from 1885 to 1922; **Primary Documents:** The Anglo-Irish Treaty (6 December 1921); "Time Will Tell" (19 December 1921); Speech in Favor of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921 (7 January 1922); Speech at the Opening of the Free State Parliament (11 September 1922); Constitution of the Irish Free State (5 December 1922)

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Michael A. Hopkinson

Annals of the Four Masters

The *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland (Annála Ríoghachta Éireann)*, as the *Annals of the Four Masters* were originally called, consist of short entries relating to significant personalities and events in Irish history, arranged in chronological order and compiled in the years 1632 to 1636. Together with other earlier annalistic compilations, the *Annals of the Four Masters* are a major source for the ecclesiastical and secular history of early and medieval Ireland. The earliest entry purports to record an event forty days before the Biblical Deluge (Anno Mundi 2242). The final entry relates to the death of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, in 1616 C.E. The structure of the chronological framework is provided by the succession of kings, and the length of the reign of individual kings is usually documented.

Many of the entries are in the form of obituaries that record the deaths of kings and local lords, saints, bishops, abbots, and other clergy. The focus throughout the *Annals* is on the elite of society, both secular and religious. Disputes between rival kin groups are documented. Occasional reference is made to external events and to occurrences in the natural world, such as abnormal weather or the appearance of comets. Within the entry for each individual year personalities and events are mentioned in order of their importance as perceived by the compilers. The annalists left blank spaces throughout the manuscript so that further material could subsequently be inserted at the appropriate place.

The historical material that is now preserved in the *Annals of the Four Masters* is an amalgam derived from a variety of earlier texts written at various dates between the middle of the sixth century and the early seventeenth century. The precise sources for the entries relating to events that occurred before the twelfth century are unknown, but the entries would originally have been the work of Irish monastic scribes. The late medieval entries are derived from historical compilations made by secular learned Gaelic families. The long narrative entries relating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries derive from contemporary sources, including Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* (Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell). Many of the entries relating to the Franciscans were drawn from Francis O'Mahony's *Brevis synopsis provinciae Hiberniae FF Minorum*, compiled at Louvain in 1617–1618 and subsequently translated into Irish.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* differ from earlier annalistic compilations in that their focus is on the whole of Ireland. Earlier annals, such as the *Annals of*

Loch Cé or the *Annals of Connacht*, had a more local focus. However, the O'Donnell bias of some of the entries in the *Annals of the Four Masters* reflects the Donegal origins of the compilers.

The initiative that led to the production of these historical annals in the early seventeenth century came from the Irish Franciscan College of Saint Anthony at Louvain in the Spanish Netherlands. There, a number of scholarly men from Irish learned families had joined the Franciscan order and undertook a major research project on the history of Ireland and its saints. A prime objective of the Irish Franciscan scholars at Louvain was to present Ireland in a favorable light to Catholic Europe, building on the image of Ireland as an "island of saints and scholars." The need to counteract Scottish claims that the early saints from "Scotia" might have been Scottish rather than Irish was an important stimulus to research and publish the lives of Irish saints. An ambitious program of research and publication was planned in the 1620s, and much of it was implemented over the following twenty years. While the primary focus was on collecting the lives of Irish saints, special attention was also given to researching the history of early Ireland because genealogical and historical research into the families from which Irish saints emanated was deemed necessary to demonstrate their noble origins. A lay Franciscan brother from Donegal, Micheál Ó Cléirigh, was chosen to return from Louvain to Ireland to undertake research on manuscripts still in the hands of the scholarly community there. Ó Cléirigh prepared the *Martyrology of Donegal*, a new recension of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann*, and assembled a set of genealogies of Irish saints and kings. The compilation of *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* was Ó Cléirigh's major achievement.

The annals were written at Bundrowes, Co. Donegal, between 22 January 1632 and 10 August 1636 from source material collected throughout Ireland. Ó Cléirigh was assisted by other scholars, including Cúchoigríche Ó Cléirigh, Fearfeasa Ó Maolchonaire, and Cúchoigríche Ó Duibhgeannáin. These four were referred to as the "Four Masters" by the Louvain Franciscan John Colgan in the preface to his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1645) in acknowledgment of their scholarship. Conaire Ó Cléirigh, a "fifth master," was also involved. The patronage of Feargal Ó Gadhra of Coolavin, Co. Sligo, provided the necessary financial support for the research work in Ireland. Two sets of the annals were made, one for the patron (now preserved as Royal Irish Academy, MS C iii 3, and Trinity College, Dublin, MS 1301) and one for Saint Anthony's College Louvain, (now Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 P 6–7, and University College, Dublin, FLK MS A13).

After the text was completed in August 1636, approbations of the kind that prefaced printed works were obtained from bishops and hereditary historians. It was probably intended that the annals would be printed at Louvain, but this did not happen. Hugh Ward, who had commissioned the work, died in November 1635, a few months before the annals were completed. The copy of the annals that was taken to Louvain was used extensively by John Colgan in his work on Irish saints' lives. Some passages from the annals were quoted in Latin in Colgan's publications.

Given the concern of Irish Catholic writers in the early seventeenth century to demonstrate that the Catholic Church was the true church, it is no surprise to find that the *Annals of the Four Masters* presented a version of Irish history that conformed to the ideals of the Counter-Reformation. The annals were part of a major scholarly corpus that emphasized the continuity of the Catholic faith in Ireland and helped to cultivate the idea that loyalty to Catholicism was a defining characteristic of the Irish people.

The text of the *Annals of the Four Masters* was published in its entirety in 1851 in a scholarly, heavily footnoted seven-volume edition edited and translated by John O'Donovan.

SEE ALSO Education: 1500 to 1690; Irish Colleges Abroad until the French Revolution; Literature: Gaelic Writing from 1607 to 1800; O'Donovan, John; **Primary Documents:** Accounts of the Siege and Battle of Kinsale (1601)

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Bernadette Cunningham



Antiquarianism

Until the late eighteenth century the word *antiquarianism* meant the study of ancient cultures and civilizations specifically, and mainly referred to those of Greece and Rome. That Ireland would have been excluded up to this point from such lofty company makes historical and political sense. Its indigenous culture did not constitute a “civilization” by the standards of most British or continental European classicists and scholars; more often it was characterized as barbarous, as in the well-circulated and repeatedly cited writings of Edmund Spenser and Giraldus Cambrensis. All of this changed, however, when a retired British general, Charles Vallancey, began his foundational work in the recovery, interpretation, and promotion of Irish antiquities. That Vallancey was completely wrong about almost every assertion he made concerning ancient Ireland, and especially the Irish language, is not nearly as important as his act of valorizing native Irish culture. Although his work, which was published in serial form (alongside the work of others) in *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* (1770–1804), was full of “fantastical speculations and etymological solecisms,” as Joep Leerssen writes, it was of immense political value to an emerging strand of Irish nationalism in the last decades of the eighteenth century. And so Irish antiquarianism has its roots in the enthusiasm of an amateur who could bestow upon it respectability and political significance, if not philological accuracy.

Charles Vallancey was the main force behind the establishment of a Dublin Society select committee on the study of antiquities in May 1772. One of its members, Sir Lucius O’Brien, would invite the prominent Catholic advocate Charles O’Conor to become a member in a letter that included the following formulation of its purpose: “If our Researches shall turn out of any service to the Publick or of any Honour to Ireland; If by shewing that the Inhabitants of this Islands were at all Times Respectable & often the Masters & more often the Instructors of Brittain we can Convince our Neibours that, alltho Providence has at present given them superior strength, yet ought they not to treat the Irish as a Barbarous, or a Contemptible People” (cited in Leerssen 1997, pp. 347–348). This political objective was later more fully articulated by others, including O’Conor, and it forms the basis for an apologetic nationalism which asserts that the Irish deserve better treatment because they are the inheritors of a civilization older and richer than that of Britain. Arguably, this is one of the rhetorical bases from which Daniel O’Connell made the case for Catholic Emancipation four decades later. Such

a model also paved the way for the familiar analogical linking of Ireland with Greece and Britain with Rome by the Irish Literary Revival, not to mention Matthew Arnold’s related characterization in “On the Study of Celtic Literature.”

Foundational as it was for so many political, social, and literary modes of thinking, antiquarianism consolidated into its most influential institutional forms in the two decades before the union. The successor to the Dublin Society select committee was the Hibernian Antiquarian Society (HAS), which sustained itself from 1779 to 1783. In 1882, just before the demise of the HAS, Vallancey cofounded the Royal Irish Academy, setting as one of its aims the recovery and study of Irish antiquities. With the establishment of the Royal Irish Academy (RIA) came a flood of interest in Irish antiquarianism from both Irish nationalist and unionist quarters. The founding of the RIA meant new respectability and prestige for studies like Vallancey’s. That Vallancey—or the arguments surrounding his “strange researches,” in Seamus Deane’s words—remained central to these institutions was affirmed when the eminent Irish nationalist Henry Flood bequeathed a chair of Irish philology at Trinity College, Dublin, for him in the following terms: “if he shall be then living, Colonel Charles Vallancey to be the first professor thereof . . . , seeing that by his eminent and successful labours in the study and recovery of that language he well deserves to be so first appointed” (cited in Leerssen 1997, p. 362). The support and credibility that Vallancey inspired is further evidenced in letters that O’Conor, his close associate, wrote to colleagues and activists. O’Conor praised him in the highest terms, as, for example, in a letter of 1786 to Joseph Walker: “The extent of his oriental learning and skill in modern languages is vast. In my last to him I ventured to predict that his last performance will draw on him the attention of all the academics of Europe. . . .” (O’Conor 1980, p. 471). “Attention” is one way to put it—debunking, cynical attacks is more accurate. Vallancey’s work sparked a fierce debate over the origins of the Irish (a debate that echoed and derived from that which took place over James Macpherson’s Ossianic “translations”). Vallancey’s most important contribution to Irish antiquarianism was his assertion—without any reliable evidence and without even a basic knowledge of the Irish language—that Irish was a language derivative of ancient Phoenician. This claim was attended by his assertion—again without evidence—of the ancient Carthaginian origins of the Irish people. (Carthage, of course, was located in North Africa. For a helpful map charting Vallancey’s speculations, see Elizabeth Butler Cullingford’s *Ireland’s Others*, Part 2.) These two claims won widespread approval from a broad range of camps. Even James Joyce, lecturing to

a university audience in Trieste in 1907, would cite Vallancey as a respected authority. Writing in 1907, Joyce explained the origins of the Irish language in this way: "This language is eastern in origin and has been identified by many philologists with the ancient language of the Phoenicians, the discoverers, according to historians, of commerce and navigation. . . . The language that the comic dramatist Plautus puts in the mouth of the Phoenicians in his comedy *Poenula* is virtually the same language, according to the critic Vallancey, as that which Irish peasants now speak" (Joyce 2000, p. 110). This was neither true nor even demonstrable, but as Joyce's adoption of this theory indicates, it found a broad and enduring base of support.

The persistence of Vallancey's credibility is a testament not to his academic assiduity but rather to the necessities of certain forms of cultural nationalism, such as the kind that Joyce would articulate in Trieste. Vallancey's unprovable, "speculative and mystifying" ideas (in Leerssen's words) about Irish origins would have consequences beyond enabling apologetic strands of nationalism, however. The reaction to his work, as enshrined in Edward Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland* (2d edition, 1804) formed the basis of nineteenth-century Irish antiquarianism and set the standard for the early-twentieth-century division of the subjects encompassed by antiquarianism into formal categories such as history, archaeology, linguistics, and physical anthropology. The *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* became a forum in which to continue this reaction and the debates surrounding Vallancey's assertions. At the same time, as Seamus Deane has observed, the special section in the *Proceedings* on antiquities became a place where "amateur scholars like Charles O'Connor and Edmund Ledwige [and] politicians like Sir Lawrence Parsons all brought some offering to the new shrine of cultural nationalism, where the new gods of Language and of War presided, converting the old accusations of crudeness in speech and turbulence into symptoms of natural spontaneity and of valour" (Deane 1986, p. 62).

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Gaelic Revival; Literature: Anglo-Irish Literature in the Nineteenth Century; Literature: Gaelic Literature in the Nineteenth Century; O'Donovan, John

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Spurgeon Thompson



Architecture, Early and Medieval

The study of Irish architecture in the medieval period divides naturally into two broad phases. The earlier period began with the conversion of Ireland to Christianity in about 400 C.E. and ended in the twelfth century, when the impact of new styles from Europe and western England became commonplace. After the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169, the pace of change accelerated largely because of English influence. The initial prosperity of the Anglo-Norman colony led to a steady increase in the building of churches, monasteries, and castles, which was only halted by the economic decline of the later thirteenth century and the calamities of the fourteenth. What emerged subsequently was a distinctive style in ecclesiastical and military architecture, modest in scale but unusual in character, which lingered until the seventeenth century in places.

THE EARLY PERIOD

No architecture survives from the missionary period of the fifth and early sixth centuries, but we can infer that dedicated places of Christian worship were constructed and that these were probably of wood. Contemporary domestic architecture favored round wooden houses, but churches were probably rectangular. The earliest extended description of an Irish church occurs in the life of Saint Brigit of Kildare, written in the late seventh century. It describes a large church catering to a double monastery of males and females, divided longitudinally, with what appears to have been a kind of chancel screen hung with images. Flanking the altar were the tombs of Saint Brigit and Bishop Conlaed, over which were suspended crowns. Some idea of the appearance of a complete timber church can be gleaned from the Temptation page of the *Book of Kells*, where the Temple of Jerusalem is shown in the manner of an Irish church with a shingled roof and gabled finials. Miniature versions of churches form the finials of high crosses and are clearly



Beehive stone huts on Skellig Michael, Co. Kerry, dating to the seventh to eighth century. These huts are round outside and square inside, some with wall cupboards (for books and vessels). © MICHAEL ST. MAUR SHEIL/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

also the models for the portable metalwork reliquaries known as house-shaped shrines.

There are hints that some churches may have been made of stone as early as the seventh century—the place name Duleek in County Meath means “stone church.” Churches of wood continued to be built into the twelfth century and probably later. Along the Atlantic seaboard, especially in areas where timber for building was scarce, churches and monastic sites were often constructed of drystone masonry. Many have survived in a remarkable state of preservation. Simple corbelled “beehive” huts, such as those found on the island monastery of Skellig Michael, Co. Kerry, were adapted from secular dwellings. Their simplicity makes them difficult to date. Simple rectangular churches with a profile like that of an upturned boat, such as Gallarus Oratory in County Kerry, have been noted on a number of sites. Rectangular in plan, with inward-curving walls, they represent an adaptation of the corbelling principle of beehive huts to a rectangular form. In structural terms this was not an entirely successful marriage, as the long sides had a tendency to sag inwards and collapse. A range of dates from about the seventh to the twelfth

centuries has been proposed for them. At Church Island, Co. Kerry, excavation showed that there a stone church had succeeded an earlier timber structure.

As far as we can tell, the building of larger churches in mortared stone began in Ireland in the later eighth century. A reference to a stone church at Armagh is the first clear indication of the new fashion. In the absence of documentation, radiocarbon dating has demonstrated the construction of a number of churches over the following four centuries. They were at first simple structures and were typically about one-third longer than they were wide. Construction was of dressed (shaped to fit by hammering) large stones, closely jointed—usually somewhat irregular in shape—and sometimes giving the impression of being exceptionally massive. Doorways (at the west end) were normally of trabeate form—that is, a single massive lintel-stone spanned the entrance. They were occasionally enriched with a simple cross motif or a low-relief carved architrave. Roofs were of slate or shingle, but gradually the classic Irish stone roof evolved. At first this was a simple gabled structure with the weight of the roof propped by trusses. Later, under Romanesque influence, the roofs

were created with lofts or voids to reduce weight and were supported on barrel vaults, such as at Saint Columb's House at Kells, Co. Meath. Other distinctive features included *antae*, a term that denotes projection of the sidewalls beyond the gables. These are thought to have mimicked the corner posts of wooden structures. In some churches it seems that the antae were carried up the gable to meet at the apex. In others the antae stopped at the beginning of the roof-slope and may have been intended to support bargeboards, which met and crossed at the apex. A common feature, which survives on some churches, was a gable finial, which mimicked in carved stone the crossing of the boards.

By the tenth century Irish kings and churchmen were commissioning substantial stone churches, perhaps as part of a consolidation process, following the wars of the early Viking age. The cathedral at Clonmacnoise was one such church: It was probably constructed in the early tenth century at the behest of King Flann Sinna. The great church at Clonfert, Co. Galway, was another. At Inish Cealtra an important church was erected by Brian Boru around the year 1000 C.E.

The round tower, one of the most dramatic inventions of Irish architecture, appeared in the tenth century. These tall, tapering towers, built usually on slight foundations, often rose to a height of 100 feet or more. With their conical caps and windows more or less aligned on the cardinal points, they have been variously identified as watchtowers and refuges. They are suited to be neither. The Irish word for the tower was *cloigtech*, bell-house, and clearly they copied continental campanile. They may have had secondary uses as refuges and storehouses, but history suggests that they were death traps in times of crisis. Round towers were significant statements about the status of important churches, and with their great height they served as a dramatic advertisement of religious foundations—hardly a wise thing if refuge was their predominant purpose. Doorways are often elevated—for sound structural reasons, given the shallow foundations—and frequently of trabeate form. Later examples have arched doorways. One built around 1200 C.E. at Ardmore, Co. Waterford, was constructed of finely cut ashlar masonry. A small number of churches had a diminutive round tower incorporated as a steeple; a good example is Saint Kevin's Kitchen at Glendalough.

IRISH ROMANESQUE

Scholarship now emphasizes a twofold division in the Irish Romanesque. The first part is marked by the appearance of the barrel vault, which survives on a number of unadorned Irish churches. A good example is



Round tower in the center of the Glendalough monastery, Wicklow mountains. © MICHAEL ST. MAUR SHEIL/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Saint Columb's House at Kells, a structure probably built originally around the ninth or tenth century and then later substantially modified. The churches of the second phase are those which, from the twelfth century onwards, were decorated in the Romanesque style. The only really true Romanesque church in Ireland is Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, built with a porch and twin towers of finely cut ashlar: It carries a rich variety of Romanesque ornament. It is roofed in stone in the Irish manner. The chapel, consecrated in 1134, was built under the influence of western English style, symbolizing in stone the changes in church governance that the reformers of the twelfth century were promoting. Elsewhere, Romanesque decorative features were added to traditional Irish architecture; some influence from French sources has also been detected. The spread of the style has been associated with the organization of regular dioceses. Many older churches were modified by the addition of chancels, and many others were being built anew with integrated chancels. A fashion for south doors rather than the traditional western opening

can also be detected at this time. These tendencies may well signal liturgical change that is otherwise undocumented.

Irish churches were often located within a circular or subcircular bank that defined the sacred enclosure. This is not unique, for enclosed monasteries were a feature of Merovingian Gaul and parts of western Britain. As late as the twelfth century larger Irish foundations tended to build clusters of smaller churches rather than single large ones. This had its roots in early traditions of church layout and contributed to the appearance of what were in a real sense spiritual cities in a largely townless landscape. A harbinger of change was the introduction of the Cistercian Order, which established its first Irish house at Mellifont in 1142 on the regular continental model.

GOthic ARCHITECTURE

The Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169 brought with it a new style of architecture. The magnates of the conquest supported the foundation of many Cistercian and Augustinian monasteries. Built on a unified plan in the gothic style, they were very influential. The most ambitious buildings, however, were the two cathedrals of Dublin, Christ Church and Saint Patrick's, both begun in the early thirteenth century in the early English style. With their mural galleries and ribbed vaults they were fine and substantial buildings. Other ambitious constructions (for example, Tuam Cathedral in County Galway and Athassel Abbey in County Tipperary) were never completed. Other cathedrals were more modest—most Irish dioceses were small and perhaps unable to afford great architecture. The decline of the Anglo-Norman colony retarded the development of architecture in Ireland, and when building resumed in the fifteenth century, a simplified gothic emerged which was inward-looking and rather plain and conservative. The greatest monuments of this time were the friaries, many of them in the west and surviving largely intact if unroofed. Their distinctive slender towers rising at the junction of choir and nave are their most striking feature. Fine examples are preserved at Rosserk and Rosserily, Co. Mayo, and Muckcross, Co. Kerry.

The construction of massive donjons (keeps) within curtain walls with defensive towers is characteristic of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; especially fine examples are Trim and Carrickfergus castles. Royal castles placed the stamp of government on the towns of the colony. Wood and earthen motte-and-bailey castles were also constructed together in the countryside while lesser stone buildings appeared in towns. The tribulations of the early fourteenth century

brought the construction of massive fortifications to an abrupt halt. From the late fourteenth century, castle architecture was dominated by the construction of more modest freestanding towers, often surrounded by a wall but less elaborate than those of earlier times. The fourteenth century saw the emergence of the tower house; about two thousand were erected in Ireland. These were usually modest rectangular towers—essentially fortified houses. Now seen usually in isolation, most were originally enclosed by *bawns* (walled courtyards). Some of these had modest towers. In Ulster both tower houses and more comfortable, but still defended houses of Scottish influence were constructed during plantation in the early seventeenth century. Although the widespread use of artillery made them obsolete, tower houses were constructed in Ireland as late as the seventeenth century; one example, at Derryhivenny, Co. Galway, was built in 1643.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture

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Michael Ryan



Arts

EARLY AND
 MEDIEVAL ARTS
 AND
 ARCHITECTURE

PETER HARBISON

EARLY MODERN
LITERATURE AND
THE ARTS FROM
1500 TO 1800

CÓILÍN OWENS

MODERN IRISH AND
ANGLO-IRISH
LITERATURE AND
THE ARTS SINCE
1800

EAMONN WALL

EARLY AND MEDIEVAL ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

The century that saw Saint Patrick's mission in Ireland is as dark from the artistic point of view as it is from the contemporary native documentation. Yet the fifth century acts as an interesting transition from the age of prehistory to the achievements of early medieval Irish artists and craftsmen. Ireland cannot have been as isolated from the dying Roman Empire as many think, and the knowledge of writing that it received from the neighboring island of Britain led not only to the use of the Ogham script on standing stones (some carved with Christian symbols), but also to a first "lost generation" of manuscripts that would have accompanied the flowering of Christianity in the country.

Iron Age Ireland had a vigorous metal industry that produced objects with La Tène decoration, and what survived of it in the fifth century got new impetus from late Roman Britain, as can be seen by the adoption of new clothing fashions that required the use of a bronze penannular brooch with pin to keep cloaks fastened. Over time, this brooch-type was to be adapted to Irish tastes, with the closure of the opening for the ring making the brooch more ornamental than functional and leading to heights of perfection such as the Tara Brooch, which, like so many of the metal objects mentioned below, is preserved in the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin. It is still unclear how far the enamel techniques used in decorating earlier brooches in the series were descended from prehistoric Irish workshop practice, or were influenced by a British metal industry at the time, or a combination of both. For all we know, decorative wood—and leather—work, too ephemeral to have survived, may have been carried on traditionally from the prehistoric period, using motifs and patterns that were to be given new life by Christian craftsmen.

A number of early manuscripts associated with Saint Columba and his monastic foundations show the influence of metalwork. The shape of a cross in one of the initial letters of the *Cathach* (c. 600) suggests Mediterranean metal prototypes, and the decoration on the figure of the Evangelist Matthew in the *Book of Durrow*



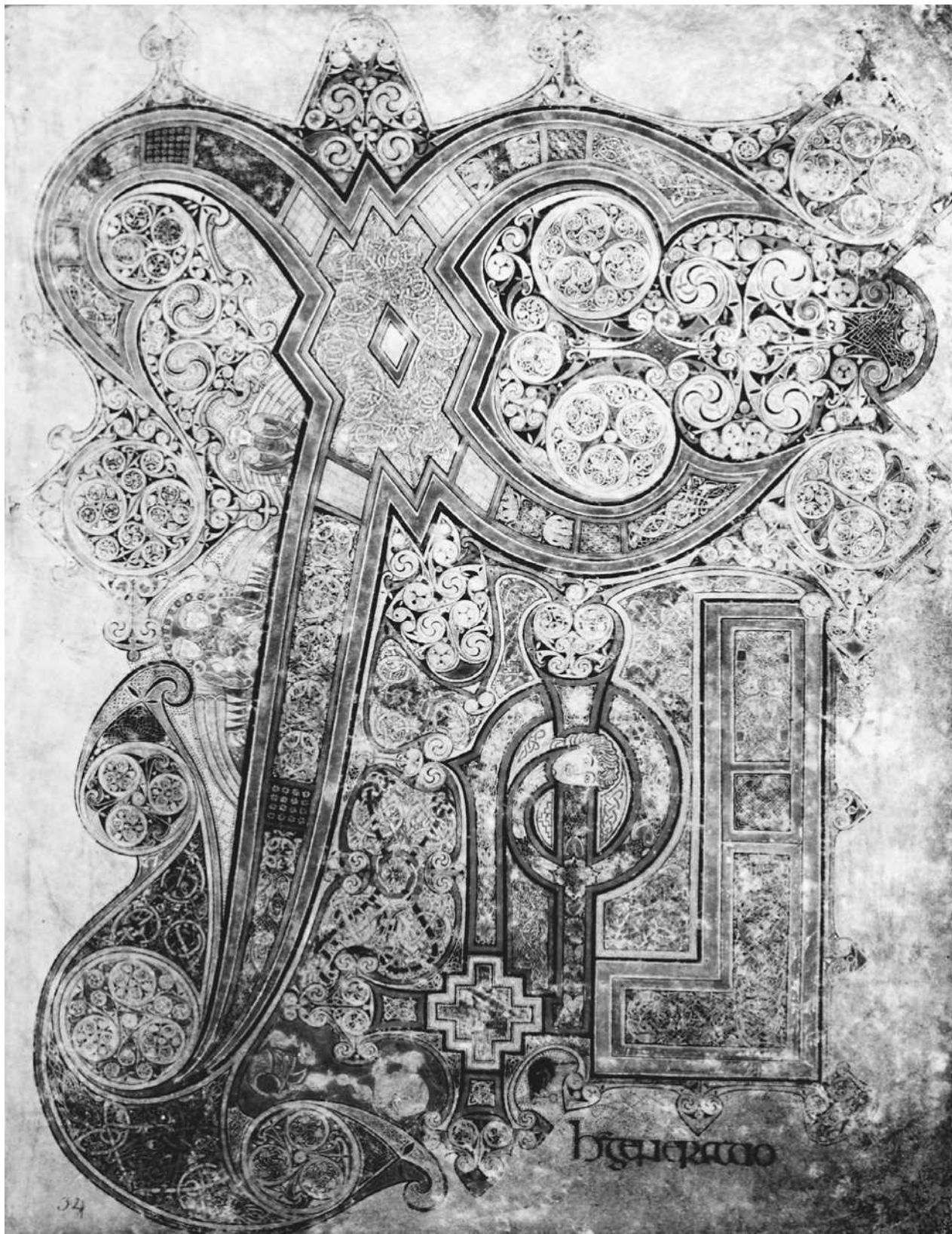
Silver chalice from Ardagh, Co. Limerick, c. 700 C.E. COPYRIGHT © NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

reflects designs that must have come from metal-enamellers.

The three major manuscripts with Columban affiliations—the *Cathach* in the Royal Irish Academy, and the *Book of Durrow* and the *Book of Kells* in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, each roughly a century apart—are survivors from probably a much larger corpus. The *Cathach*, a copy of the Psalms traditionally ascribed to the hand of Saint Columba himself, has an already identifiable Irish script and betrays a combination of Celtic spiral ornament with a fish of Mediterranean origin. By the time that the *Book of Durrow* came to be illuminated, interlace was added to the treasury of Italian motifs used in Irish art, and folio 192v displays animals which can be understood as adaptations of Anglo-Saxon ornament—both of which, when combined with the revitalized La Tène spiral shapes, make up the most important compendium of motifs practiced in myriad variations in early Irish manuscripts and metalwork (though there are of course others, such as fretwork).

EARLY MEDIEVAL METALWORK

Probably sometime around the late seventh century, a spark was ignited by some unknown and ingenious craftsman that was to lead to the creation of metal masterpieces in the following century and more, which were to find few if any equals elsewhere in Europe at the time. One of these is the Ardagh Chalice used to administer wine, which has two handles reflecting models on sumptuous late Roman silver vessels. Silver, too, was the chalice's basic material, added to which were decorations in twisted gold and bosses of enamel, while the concentric circles surrounding the rock crystal at the



The Chi-Rho page from the Book of Kells (c. 800 C.E.), Hiberno-Saxon manuscript illumination. This page, the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel, deals with the Incarnation. The X and P represent the first two letters of Christ's name in Greek (Chi and Rho). THE BOARD OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

center of the underside of the foot present copybook examples of the three major types of art motifs mentioned above—animals, spirals, and interlace.

A more unusual, yet equally high-quality liturgical vessel came to light in 1980 at Derrynaflan, Co. Tipperary, along with another (somewhat later) chalice and a (baptismal?) ladle. This is a silver paten (plate used to carry the Eucharist) on its own stand, the paten decorated with panels bearing human and animal motifs in gold wire, and interspersed with ornate silver-grille and enamel bosses, the stand using the same materials but often differing motifs and techniques, such as die-stamping.

That the Ardagh Chalice was found with four decorative brooches of varying ages raises the question as to whether the Tara Brooch was used with some liturgical garment rather than having been created for a lay client. It shares the use of enamel bosses with the chalice and packs so much ornament into both faces (which have a diameter of only 3.5 inches) that it must be adjudged the most intricate piece of eighth-century jewelry to have survived in Europe. Ecclesiastical use can, however, be ascribed with virtual certainty to a door-handle and two discs discovered at Donore, Co. Meath, which must be among the earliest surviving pieces of church furniture in Ireland. The animal-headed handle is earlier than the lion-headed examples on Charlemagne's cathedral at Aachen, and the discs are engraved with breathtakingly ingenious spiral and trumpet pattern designs which are the superb product of an artistically labyrinthine mind, every bit as complicated as that of any of the illuminators of the *Book of Kells*.

MANUSCRIPTS

The *Book of Kells*, limned perhaps around 800 on Iona or at Kells itself, is the culmination of the art of adornment that had been evolving for more than a century in both Ireland and Britain, and a continuation of the scriptorial triumph that is the *Book of Lindisfarne*. Lindisfarne's ornament is controlled and orderly, while that of Kells is characterized by a wild imagination luxuriating within the bounds of an overall design, the marvelous creation of a gifted team of artists combining successfully to adorn a gospel book for the greater glory of God. They drew on various sources of inspiration, many of them unidentified, with scholars arguing inconclusively about potential influence from great manuscripts emanating from the Court of Charlemagne, of which the *Book of Kells* is certainly a truly worthy but more riotously and richly ornamented insular equivalent. Its joy in coloring, variety in motif, complexity of design (as in the famous Chi-Rho page in-

roducing Christ's name for the first time in the Gospels), depth of meaning, subtlety in multiple interpretation, sheer inventiveness, and perfection of execution at a miniature scale make it into the most decorative codex to have survived from the insular monastic schools of illumination active in the first millennium. Other Irish manuscripts of the period, such as that numbered 51 in the library at Saint Gall in Switzerland, are comparable, if not equal, yet both delight in representing the human figure in stilted or stylized form, either individually or grouped in a narrative context.

STONE CARVINGS

The same attractive stiffness is found in the smaller pocket gospel books created for personal use in the eighth and ninth centuries, but also on stones standing free, particularly in the western half of Ireland, whose dating is contentious. These include representations of pilgrims(?) at Killadeas, Co. Fermanagh, and Ballyvourney, Co. Cork, but also Crucifixions on the County Mayo islands of Inishkea North and Duvillaun More, and a number of different carvings in County Donegal. These include the massive, pedimented slab at Fahan Mura, which finds affinities in Pictish sculpture in Scotland, and the cross at Carndonagh—both of which are seen by many as the first tentative steps in the development of the Irish High Cross in stone, because of the comparison of their interlace ornament with that of the *Book of Durrow* and the presence on the Fahan slab of a Greek inscription bearing a doxology approved by the Council of Toledo in 633. But their seventh/eighth-century dating is by no means secure, and, if they were precursors of the High Crosses, their style would not suggest that they had any direct influence on the development of High Crosses farther south.

Located in a county that had close relations with Scotland since the sixth century, they may, rather, represent the reaction of a local school of talented stone-carvers to experiments they had seen being made in the northern half of Britain. The unique figures on White Island in County Fermanagh are another local product, but without any obvious parallels anywhere.

HIGH CROSSES

These Donegal monuments in particular may be reflecting a growing appreciation of the monumentality of stone that begins to become apparent in the decades around 800, as manifested artistically in the rise of High Crosses in the midlands, east, and north of Ireland. Whereas stone crosses, plain or decorated, may well have been erected in Ireland in the eighth century (for which dating evidence is lacking) the first stirrings to-



Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, Co. Tipperary (1127–1134), Irish Romanesque, showing the influence of German and English Romanesque church-building techniques. © SEAN SEXTON COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ward free-standing stone crosses in the midlands are found around 800 in the area around Clonmacnoise, where pillars and the Bealin cross are decorated with horsemen and lions that may be paying deference to the reigning Pope Leo III (795–816). The same feeling of stylization found there is also reflected in the joyfully graphic (and probably only marginally later) carvings on the cross at Moone, Co. Kildare. Standing in strong contrast with it are the “classic” High Crosses with scriptural panels at places like Clonmacnoise and Durrow, Co. Offaly, Kells, Co. Meath, and Monasterboice, Co. Louth, where the figures—unlike much of early Irish art—are shown in a naturalistic, if somewhat squat fashion, suggesting influence coming ultimately from late antique and early medieval Rome. These Irish crosses comprise the largest corpus of biblical sculpture in Europe for the last quarter of the first millennium, and the composition of their biblical scenes is frequently comparable to those of continental frescoes, both Carolingian and earlier, suggesting that the High Crosses (which were probably painted originally, though no traces of color survive) may have served the same pious, devotional function as frescoes. Late-twentieth-century readings of fragmentary inscriptions on some crosses reveal an unexpected political dimension in that the crosses were commissioned by, or with the aid of, two high kings who were members of the Clann Cholmáin

branch of the southern Uí Néill dynasty—Maelsechnaill I (846–862) and his son Flann Sinna (879–916). Lack of similar patronage may have been a cause of the discontinuation of such crosses later in the tenth century. Although Viking looting of prototype metal crosses could conceivably have been a factor in the creation of these nonremovable High Crosses in the earlier ninth century, it is open to debate as to whether Viking raids could also have been responsible for the increasing simplification of design on metalwork and in the few surviving illuminated manuscripts as the century progressed, or whether both of these media were unable to keep up with the impossibly high standards of the previous century.

ARCHITECTURE

However, the Viking incursions may well have contributed to one important architectural development that corresponds to the idea of an increasing realization of the monumentality of stone around 800, and that is the initial stages of changing from wood to stone in the building of ecclesiastical structures to counteract Viking (and Irish!) arsonists. As with the houses of the affluent for many centuries to come, almost all churches in the first four centuries of Christianity in Ireland were built of wood. A contemporary description exists of an important and perhaps sizeable seventh-century church in Kildare, and wooden churches continued to be built up to the twelfth century. Although a few churches may have been built in stone before 800, it is only in the ninth century that references to them begin to become more common in the Irish annals. Mortar datings suggest that some of the earliest surviving church structures are oratory shrines, such as Teampull Chiaráin at Clonmacnoise or Teampull Molaise on Inishmurray, Co. Sligo, and such buildings may have come into being because earlier wooden shrines protecting the relics of the founding saint would have become too easy a prey for Viking firebrands.

THE ROMANESQUE STYLE

Simple Irish stone churches, and even the tenth-century cathedral at Clonmacnoise, probably copied their wooden forebears in style and scale with, typically, the side walls projecting out beyond the gables. But they atrophied in this state until the advent of the Romanesque in Ireland early in the twelfth century as an expression of church reform in Munster, best exemplified in Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel. So startling were its innovations that details were copied in other churches, but not its overall concept. It may have been preceded by more humble churches decorated in the Romanesque style, much influenced by England, which continued in

the decoration of doorways and chancel arches of small nave-and-chancel churches up to the end of the twelfth century, and even into the early thirteenth century west of the Shannon. Similar ornament was also applied to Round Towers at Timahoe, Co. Laois, and Devenish, Co. Fermanagh, though the genre had been common on Irish monastic sites since the mid-tenth century. The awakening delight in carving decoration on stone churches in Romanesque style during the twelfth century was accompanied by a revival of interest in High Crosses, but now with a very different form, where biblical scenes retreat in favor of high relief figures of Christ and an ecclesiastic. Manuscripts, too, became bearers of a rich and colorful decoration of reds and blues using new variations of animal ornament with a Scandinavian flavor, which was also found to brilliant effect on some of the metalwork shrines of the period, such as that of Saint Lachtin's arm, or Saint Manchan's reliquary in Boher, Co. Offaly.

The twelfth century proved to be a pivotal one for Ireland. The new church reform that had started the century drained the life-blood of many of the old Irish monasteries that had been the fosterers of arts and crafts for many hundreds of years, bringing about the gradual decline of their culture that had managed for so long to set Irish art apart from that of the rest of Europe. Instead, Ireland lost much (though not all) of its artistic individuality and vigor, but it came into the mainstream of European architecture through the two major new arrivals during the twelfth century—the Cistercians and the Normans. The former, followed in the thirteenth century by other monastic orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, brought in a new architectural style for their churches that dwarfed and differed from the simple nave-and-chancel churches built by the Irish prior to 1200. These were larger churches, taller, with nave aisles and transepts, and standing on one side of a quadrangular cloister with monastic quarters attached—a total transplant from the Cistercian motherhouses in France, which were to set the tone for two centuries of Irish church building. Most of them respected Cistercian simplicity in ornamentation, though the Irish as opposed to the Norman houses of the order could not resist decoration, and the naturalistic plant capitals at Corcomroe, Co. Clare, of about 1200, were already anticipating developments that took place later elsewhere in Europe.

THE GOTHIC STYLE AND THE NORMANS

At first, the Cistercian Irish churches such as those at Mellifont, Co. Louth, and Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow, were Romanesque in style, but they were responsible for introducing the Gothic arch into Irish churches be-

fore the end of the twelfth century. The new style was, however, also encouraged by the new Norman arrivals in the cathedrals they completed in Dublin, Kilkenny, and elsewhere. But being more warriors than churchmen, they are best known for their castles with which they staked a fortified claim to the lands that they had conquered speedily from the Irish. None of the Irish twelfth-century castles known from historical sources survive, so that the oldest existing castles are Norman, of which the most notable are those with central keeps at Trim, Co. Meath (begun in the 1170s), and Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, started scarcely a decade later. Some were in towns (e.g., Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, and Limerick), while others used imposing sites in the countryside (e.g., Castlerocke, Co. Louth), and they display various ground plans, of which the most typically Irish is the rectangular keep with rounded turret at each corner, as exemplified in the ruined examples at Ferns, Co. Wexford, and Carlow town. By the end of the thirteenth century the Norman castles in Ireland were sometimes even ahead of their British counterparts in the development of new defensive techniques. By that stage, too, the Normans had long been ornamenting the tombs of their dead with carved effigies of knights, ladies, laymen, and ecclesiastics, which generally aped styles in England, though the Irish nobility occasionally aped themselves in turn (e.g., at Roscommon).

But all of this thriving activity came to an abrupt end with the Black Death of 1348 to 1350. It took fifty years for architecture to recover, and then it was not the Normans but the Franciscans, particularly in the western half of Ireland, who revived monastic architecture and occasionally sculpture in ways that created a new Irish contribution to the architecture of Europe, as there are few adequate parallels elsewhere to these long-halled churches with off-center towers and adjoining two-story cloisters. Carvings in Ennis friary of about 1470 show the skill of Irish stonemasons in adapting successfully to foreign models in the form of English alabasters or continental *Pietàs*. Irish woodcarvers were also able to reproduce competent religious statuary, usually adapting styles current elsewhere, and the O'Dea mitre and gold crozier of 1418 (now on display in the Hunt Museum in Limerick) are among the few late medieval masterworks to have survived the Reformation. They, along with the wooden misericords in the same city's cathedral, show what talent was available, of which so little is known.

The quality of carving in the west of Ireland was, however, also manifest in the eastern parts of the country, where the Plunkett family in Meath set up their tombs bearing armored knights and their ladies in the second half of the fifteenth century, but now supported

by “weeper figures.” The same family began erecting wayside crosses, thereby initiating a custom that was to last for centuries, though cities such as Dublin and Kilkenny had already long had their market crosses. The Butlers of Ormond were soon to emulate the Plunketts, and their own workshop—a rival one run by the O’Tunney family produced similar tomb-sculpture best seen in Saint Canice’s Cathedral in Kilkenny. The Butlers were also responsible for the imaginative variety of figures on the cloister of the Cistercian abbey at Jerpoint in the same county, and for some of Ireland’s finest fifteenth-century stonework at Holy Cross Abbey in County Tipperary.

While the Franciscans and other orders were spreading their friaries throughout the land, the Irish and gaelicized Normans built themselves tower-houses which, though having the reputation of having been sparsely furnished, may sometimes have been decorated with festive frescoes, such as those discovered at Ardammullivan, Co. Galway. These tower-houses were the landowner’s status symbol of the time, a family residence unlike the earlier Norman castles that were fortified barracks. Some of the stoutest examples, such as those at Bunratty, Co. Clare, and Blarney, Co. Cork, were built by native chieftains, while the hibernicized Butlers built themselves castles like that at Cahir, Co. Tipperary. Most of the tower-houses were angular towers, but some were round, and the tower was frequently adjoined by a tall bawn wall to protect both livestock and humans. An unusual feature is the addition of a banqueting hall at Malahide Castle and at a number of locations in County Limerick.

THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Noah’s Ark in the Book of Ballymote and the Crucifixion in the Leabhar Breac, both of about 1400 and in the Royal Irish Academy, are among the rare large illustrations in later medieval Irish manuscripts. But in the realm of smaller arts and crafts, what has been handed down to us from the later Middle Ages is probably only a tiny percentage of what once existed, both Norman and Irish. From what little has survived, we can guess that much work of high quality must have perished through time or the Reformation. The visible strengths of the later medieval heritage in Ireland are the buildings—and the sculptures they contain—which are an important Irish addition to the architecture and sculpture of the time. They often remain underestimated because they stand in the shadow of the towering masterpieces of metalwork, manuscript decoration, and High Cross carving in the earlier Middle Ages, which had made Ireland into a very individualistic culture province in the corpus of European art and architecture.

SEE ALSO Architecture, Early and Medieval; Hiberno-Latin Culture; High Crosses; Literature: Early and Medieval Literature; Manuscript Writing and Illumination; Metalwork, Early and Medieval; Middle English Literature; Norman French Literature; Sculpture, Early and Medieval

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Peter Harbison

EARLY MODERN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS FROM 1500 TO 1800

The cultural history of this three-hundred-year epoch can most easily be understood as divided into two peri-

ods: between the accession of the Tudors (1485) and the conclusion of Cromwell's campaign (1650), and between the subsequent plantation and the Act of Union (1800). The first of these periods features the gradual destruction of the cultural institutions shared by the Irish and the Anglo-Normans since the thirteenth century, and the second is characterized by the coexistence of the Anglo-Irish colonial culture of Dublin and the remains of Gaelic high culture that dwindled into folk forms.

The period can be summarily described as the time of the forcible uprooting of the intertwined Celtic and Christian civilizations that had been growing for the previous millennium, and the transplanting of Anglo-Saxon and Protestant cultural colonies from England and London into the cleared spaces. The relationship between these two cultural traditions during this epoch may be further divided into three stages: the final efflorescence of Gaelic culture during the seventeenth century (as exemplified by Geoffrey Keating's history and Aogán Ó Rathaille's poetry), the burgeoning of Dublin as a center for all the arts during the eighteenth century (as exemplified by Jonathan Swift's writings and James Gandon's architecture), and toward the end of the same century, the beginnings of a rapprochement between these cultures in the rediscovery by antiquarians and folklorists of the remains of the seemingly vanquished native culture (as exemplified by Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* and Edward Bunting's collection, *The Ancient Music of Ireland*).

ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE

Irish writing in the English language is called Anglo-Irish literature to distinguish it from classical English literature on the one side and Gaelic literature on the other. The duality in the term *Anglo-Irish* reflects a tension in the changing political climate under which English-language writers functioned between William Molineux's *Case of Ireland . . . Stated* (1698) and Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800).

Anglo-Irish writers of this period were typically sons of English officials, educated at Irish Protestant grammar schools and Trinity College, Dublin. They usually migrated to London, the center of the literary life of the time, and soon adopted its view of the world. Thus the major Irish literary figures of the age—Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), Sir Richard Steele (1672–1729), Edmund Burke (1729–1797), and Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816)—were variously active in British politics. In his *Drapier's Letters* (1724–1725), Swift makes his dramatic contribution to the claim of the Anglo-Irish to political distinctiveness, briefly insti-

tutionalized in the Irish parliament in 1782. Although he was the voice of eighteenth-century Protestant Ireland, he had some personal links with Gaelic Ireland that appear in some of his poetry and vestigially in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). Burke, on the other hand, while more partial to Catholic Ireland's complaints, expressed himself as a representative of England's global responsibility. Similarly, the essays of Sir Richard Steele and the fiction and poetry of Oliver Goldsmith reveal little of the social origins of these authors. Goldsmith's reputation as the most distinguished poet of Irish birth during the eighteenth century rests on his celebration of rural life in the ambiguously situated *Deserted Village* (1770).

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was little poetry of any merit in English. Luke Wadding's *Small Garland of Pious and Godly Songs* (1684) exhibits the influence of the English metaphysicals. Similarly, during the eighteenth century Anglo-Irish verse is barely distinguishable from English verse of the times. The satirical *Irish Hudibras* (1689) and Samuel Whyte's "The New Ferry" are full of Graeco-Roman references; William Dunkin's brilliant mock epic *The Murphaeid* (1728) and his "Parson's Revels" show the influence of English Augustinianism, just as James Orr's "The Irishman" demonstrates the sentimentality of many late-century English poems. Eighteenth-century fiction reveals a similar concern with cultural and political identity. Thus, William Chagineau's picaresque novel *History of Jack Connor* (1752), Thomas Amory's Rabelaisian fantasy *The Life of John Bunclie* (1756, 1766), and Henry Brooke's sentimental *The Fool of Quality* (1766–1770) are various expressions of the colonial's persistent dilemma: loyal to but estranged from England, yet alien from and fearful of Gaelic Ireland. Again, as in the case of poetry, Goldsmith's genial *Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) and Laurence Sterne's wildly inventive *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767)—neither of which engages Irish affairs—are the only novels of distinction by Irish-born writers of the eighteenth century.

DRAMA AND THEATER

The short-lived Werburgh Street Theatre (1637–1641) was succeeded by Smock Alley (1662–1786), the first Dublin playhouse to be built after the Restoration, and by Spranger Barry's rival Theatre Royal at Crow Street (1758–1820). The cultural programs of these theaters were exclusively from London: John Fletcher and Thomas Shadwell resided in Dublin for brief periods, and many of the most distinguished dramatists of the period were in fact Irish-born and got their start in the Dublin theater. One could go further and assert that the English comedy of manners from the Restoration to the rise of Romanticism was principally the creation

of brilliant Irishmen—George Farquhar, William Congreve, Charles Macklin, Oliver Goldsmith, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Farquhar (?1677–1707), author of the blackly humorous *The Beaux' Strategem* (1707), began as a Smock Alley actor. Congreve (1670–1729), author of the Restoration masterpiece *The Way of the World* (1700), was a fellow student of Swift's at Trinity College, Dublin. Macklin (?1697–1797), who moved from Smock Alley to Drury Lane, wrote *Love à la Mode* (1759). These figures were followed by Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), author of the laughing comedy *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773), and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, whose many plays include the sensations of the age *The Rivals* (1775) and *The School for Scandal* (1779).

As might be inferred from these names and titles, the eighteenth-century theater was predominantly Protestant and colonial, having its focus on London with its clubs, theaters, and townhouses. The only trace of their Irish roots that these writers betray is their occasional injection of the “stage Irishman” into their dramas. This hard-drinking, sentimental figure, eloquent in his thick brogue, spendthrift but generous, pugnacious though cowardly, unmannerly and illogical, was a stereotype on the English stage for two centuries. The character enabled these dramatists to ingratiate themselves with their London audiences, though some, out of patriotic sentiment, criticized the stereotype.

Not surprisingly, this lively theatrical environment produced many distinguished figures on the eighteenth-century stage: the Shakespearean actor Spranger Barry (1719–1779), Thomas Sheridan (1719–1788), actor and father of Richard Brinsley, and the actresses Peg Woffington (?1718–1760) and her rival, Mrs. Bellamy (1727–1788).

GAELIC LITERATURE

The last phase of the early modern or classical modern period in Gaelic literature (1500–1650) is characterized by the prevalence of a standard literary language maintained by professional poets or scholars called *filidh* in Irish and frequently *bards* in English. Their verse compositions are a large part of the literature of the period, principally praise-poems to their patrons among the aristocracy, but also much religious and personal poetry. Among the more distinguished of this mainly hereditary class were Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591), Eochaidh Ó hEódhasa (?1560–1612), and, one of the last in the tradition, Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh (?1540–?1630). They also adapted narrative and pious matter from French and English sources, as well as love poetry in the *amour courtois* (courtly love) genre. A major example is the *Betha Colaim Cille* (Life of Saint Colum Cille), com-

missioned in 1532 by Maghnus Ó Domhnaill, lord of Tyrconnell, which is a stylish compilation of legend, prose, and verse about the patron saint of Donegal.

The early modern period ends with two major syntheses of the record of Gaelic civilization: *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* (Annals of the kingdom of Ireland), compiled under the supervision of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh (?1590–1643), and Seathrún Céitinn's narrative history *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (The basis for a knowledge of Ireland). Seathrún Céitinn (Geoffrey Keating, ?1580–1644) was a vindicator of his nation's honor in the face of English colonial interpretation (from Giraldus Cambrensis to Richard Stanihurst) and a master Irish prose stylist. For poetry, the loss of aristocratic patronage and the need for a more popular audience led to the replacement of the classical syllable-count meters by stress-count meters called *amhrán*. The most prominent poets of the period were the Dominican priest Pádraigín Haicéad (?1600–1654), Dáibhí Ó Bruadair (?1625–1698), and perhaps the most accomplished Gaelic poet of any age, Aogán Ó Rathaille (1670–1729).

A major theme of their poetry, shared with *Foras Feasa*, is the lament for a glorious past unappreciated by the thugs around them, whether Irish or Cromwellian, who are deaf to the poetry of Ireland. Even after literary patronage had totally ceased in the eighteenth century, the traditional literary art was maintained by priests, cultured farmers, artisans, and hedge schoolmasters. These classes continued to make and circulate manuscripts, and to compose occasional and personal poems, sermons and pious material, and prose narratives. They were overshadowed in the popular imagination by more rakish and talented figures such as Cathal Búí Mac Giolla Ghunna (?1680–1756) in southeast Ulster, and in the west Munster tradition, Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin (1748–1784). The most celebrated single work from the last century of this tradition is the long satirical poem by the Clare mathematics teacher Brian Merriman (?1745–1805), *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* (The midnight court), an Augustan parody of the Gaelic *aisling* (poem of vision).

As the number of poets dwindled, they were reduced to beggary. Their works remained in the folk memory, however, and influenced the style of the popular songs that finally replaced their written compositions. The tradition of folk poetry produced the classic lament *Caoinéadh Airt Uí Laoire* (Lament for Art O'Leary) by Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill (?1743–?1800). The oral and manuscript traditions preserved the Fionn or Ossianic sagas from the late Middle Ages, inspiring verse and prose compositions into the eighteenth century. An outstanding example is Mícheál Ó Coimín's *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na nÓg* (Oisín's song about the land of

youth, 1750), which later inspired Yeats. The Ossianic poems of James McPherson (1736–1796), partially drawn from the parallel oral tradition of Gaelic Scotland, stimulated an interest among the Anglo-Irish gentry in the culture of their tenantry. This interest resulted in English translations of Fenian and other poems from hitherto ignored sources, as in Joseph Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (1786) and Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789).

ARCHITECTURE

The rebellions and plantations of the seventeenth century resulted in the change of ownership of land and wealth and the destruction of much of the previously accumulated architectural capital. These uncivil circumstances required designers to accommodate the primary needs of defense. The most distinctive pattern found among the planters, especially in the North, therefore, was the tower house and bawn, a four-story stone dwelling surrounded by a fortified enclosure. Nearly three thousand of these were built by the rising gentry between 1400 and 1650. It was only after 1660 that nonfortified domestic houses were built in town and country, the finest surviving examples of which are Rothe House in Kilkenny city and the Anglo-Dutch Beaulieu in County Louth. Meanwhile, the vast majority of the Irish people lived in stone or clay cottages, a type that remained unchanged into the twentieth century.

The period of the Restoration in England and the arrival in 1662 of the Duke of Ormond as viceroy marked the beginning of one of the greatest ages in the history of Irish civilization. The last decades of the seventeenth century saw the rise of buildings in Dublin and elsewhere in the new classical style. The first such public building was the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, in Dublin. Designed by Sir William Robinson and built between 1680 and 1684, it was a home for retired soldiers modeled on *Les Invalides* in Paris.

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century Palladian architecture, which aimed at a strict reading of classical convention, appeared in Ireland. Many of the larger country houses of the period, such as Castletown (1722–1732) and Russborough (1742), reflect the style. Its leading practitioner was Edward Lovett Pearce, whose Parliament House (1729) was one of the first large-scale Palladian buildings in Ireland. The German architect Richard Castle designed several Palladian mansions during this period: Leinster House (1745), the Rotunda Hospital (1751), and country houses at Westport, Powerscourt, and Carton.

The prosperity of Anglo-Ireland after 1750 allowed for the dramatic expansion of Dublin, provincial cities,

and market towns. This prosperity enabled architects of style and vision to execute works of permanent distinction. At this point, Palladian style gave way to neoclassicism, looking directly to ancient Rome for inspiration. One of the earliest buildings in this style was Thomas Cooley's Royal Exchange (1770s). The great architect of this period was James Gandon (1742–1823). He designed some of the most beautiful public buildings in Dublin, including the Custom House and the Four Courts (1780s), each with a columned riverside facade and topped with a magnificent dome. Among Irish-born architects of the period, Thomas Ivory, Francis Johnston, and Richard Morrison were the most distinguished. Johnston designed many Irish Georgian castles, the General Post Office, and Nelson's Pillar. These works brought the classical tradition in Irish architecture to a close.

Plasterwork was practiced from at least the sixteenth century in Ireland, where new styles introduced by foreign stuccadores were adopted by native craftsmen. The Italian Francini brothers arrived in Ireland around 1735, bringing with them an international late baroque style. Much of their work is characterized by large-scale figure sculpture, fruit, and foliage, in complete departure from the preceding native style. They worked in some of the greatest houses of eighteenth-century Ireland, including the salon at Carton House, Co. Kildare. They were succeeded in the 1750s by the native plasterworker Robert West and later by Michael Stapelton, who returned to a sparer classical style.

The second half of the eighteenth century saw a new interest in town planning, particularly in the cities of Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, where wide streets and residential and market squares and diamonds were created. Elegant townhouses were erected, many decorated with fanlights over their doorways and fine plasterwork interiors. Led by local landlords, commissioners planned many smaller estate towns with visas, tree-lined walks, or village greens. The growing discontent of Catholics, increasing sectarian tensions, the 1798 rebellion, and the Act of Union brought this period of prosperity to an abrupt end.

ART

John Derricke's *Image of Irelande* (1581)—a famous set of twelve woodcuts of events during the rule of Sir Henry Sidney—is one of the first visual records of Irish life and landscape. These colonial images are a dramatic indication of a seismic shift: The dissolution of the monasteries, for a millennium the principal patrons of the visual arts in Ireland, had occurred some sixty years before. Art became a Protestant preserve. At first, guilds



James Barry, *Self-Portrait as Timarthes (1803 or 1804)*, an Irish historical painting in the neoclassical style. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 971. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of urban craftworkers emerged, influenced by England and continental Europe to serve the new order and its ruling class, who sought images of itself from painters and sculptors. Thus, by the mid-seventeenth century the decorative arts of goldsmithery, plasterwork, silver, glass, and furniture flourished under the auspices of such guilds as the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin. As easel painting replaced tapestry and wall painting, family pride rather than aesthetic interest dictated that early paintings were either portraits or maps. A "painters guild," formed in 1670, included in its number such artists as Garrett Morphey (fl. 1680–1716) and James Latham (1696–1747), whose styles derived from contemporary Dutch painters. Morphey was the first Irish painter of quality, and Latham was the best and most influential portrait painter in the first half of the eighteenth century (his most famous work depicted Bishop Berkeley). Other subsequent notable portrait painters were Charles Jervas (?1675–1739), portraitist of Swift and principal painter to the king in 1723, Nathaniel Hone (1718–1784), the fine miniaturist Horace Hone (1756–1825), and Robert Healy (fl. 1765–71), whose masterpiece is the group portrait of the Connolly family at Casteltown House (1768).

The foundation of the Dublin Society (1731) for the purpose of "improving husbandry, manufacture, and the useful arts and sciences" and the foundation of its art schools in the mid-1740s mark a great advance in artistic life in Ireland: For the first time, there was professional training for portrait and landscape painters, sculptors, silversmiths, stuccodores, and so on. Consequently, the third quarter of the century was the greatest period for the visual arts since the Middle Ages. Although heavily inflected by other cultures, a distinctive Irish style, seen in the applied arts such as stucco, silver, and furniture, appeared in the 1760s and 1770s. Simultaneously, artists and intellectuals debated one of the century's most influential works on aesthetics, Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756). Two major figures of the period, the landscape artist George Barret (1732–1784) and historical painter James Barry (1741–1806), were both protégés of Burke. Expressing the excitement of pain or danger (the sublime) or love (the beautiful), the subject matter of painting broadened to include historical and some landscape work, often with classical or mythological allusions.

The precedents for the landscape tradition were the occasional watercolors accompanying mapmaking and some unknown primitives in the 1740s (e.g., at Stradbally and Westport House). Significant examples in this genre are the widely influential landscapes of the Dutchman William Van der Hagen (d. 1745), the illustrations of Waterford and Cork by Anthony Chearnley (fl. 1740–1785), the topographical views of Gabrielle Ricciardelli (fl. 1748–1777), the landscapes of Susannah Drury (fl. 1733–1770), "Powerscourt Waterfall" by George Barret, the brilliant and influential lakes and mountains of Thomas Roberts (1748–1778), and the cultivated scenery of William Ashford (1746–1824). A truly indigenous and rich Irish landscape style was thus developed by a group of painters who thrived on the robust commercial movement between Dublin, Cork, and London; the leading figures of this group were George Mullins (fl. 1763–1775) and Nathaniel Grogan (1740–1807). Of particular historical note for his major canvasses on contemporary Irish affairs (1779–1783) is Francis Wheatley (1747–1801). His example encouraged the engravers Thomas Malton and Jonathan Fisher, the products of a school of engravers that had been established between 1730 and 1750. Thomas Malton's *Views of Dublin* (1793) are the finest ever done, and Jonathan Fisher's *Scenery of Ireland* (1796) were immensely popular.

Irish delftware was manufactured in Belfast from the seventeenth century, in Dublin from the early eighteenth century, and subsequently in Limerick and

Rostrevor, Co. Down. Thomas Frye (1710–1762) founded a Bow porcelain factory in Dublin, and the most distinguished maker in mid-century was Henry Delamain, whose designs parallel those of Chinese, Dutch, and English examples. The ancient craft of silverware was revived with the establishment of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1637, and it thrived to the end of the eighteenth century. Similarly, Irish furniture-making was closely allied in style to English fashions. For a brief period (1735–1775), however, it was distinctive: It was made of very dark mahogany and heavily carved. It was subsequently replaced by straight lines and inlaid satinwood after the Adam fashion. Lead glass-making dates from 1690; it flourished in Belfast, Cork, and Waterford until 1825, when new taxes killed it.

Music

As with the other native arts, the Flight of the Earls in 1607 meant the demise of the patronage upon which professional Gaelic musicians depended. Nevertheless, an impoverished remnant of the class of harpers and composers continued to the end of the eighteenth century. The most distinguished of these was the blind harper, composer, and poet Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin (Turlough Carolan, 1670–1738). Patronized equally by those of native and planter stock, his songs, dance tunes, laments, and religious pieces drew on native tradition as well as the on European baroque composers Vivaldi, Corelli, and Geminiani.

Shortly after Carolan's death, collections of Irish music began to appear in print, but none had greater scope or impact on Anglo Ireland than Edward Bunting's *General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (3 vols., 1796, 1809, 1840). This collection began with Bunting's transcriptions from the Belfast Harp Festival (1792), where he heard from the surviving exponents of an ancient performance tradition, ten aged men. The massive work documented the centrality of music to Gaelic culture, its poetry, dance, and antiquities, and provided the airs for the famous *Irish Melodies* (10 volumes, 1808–1834) to which Thomas Moore matched his patriotic verses. Thousands of popular songs in Irish that were not collected remained in use by the common people, conveying into the eighteenth century some of the formal qualities of classic Gaelic poetry. But as the use of the language declined, street ballads in English replaced them. These ballads celebrated political and topical issues—such as the 1798 rebellion—and were set to traditional airs, exhibiting some of the verbal decorations of Gaelic verse. Meanwhile, the traditional dances—jigs, reels, and hornpipes—were more formally arranged after 1750.

On the other side of the cultural divide, the aristocracy of the Pale cultivated a taste for continental musical culture. Ballad operas and oratorios were especially popular, drawing on the resident choirs of Saint Patrick's and Christ Church cathedrals. This hospitable climate drew George Frideric Handel for an extended visit in 1741 and 1742, leading to the celebrated premiere of the *Messiah* on 13 April 1742 in the Fishamble Street music hall.

SEE ALSO Carolan, Turlough; Country Houses and the Arts; English Writing on Ireland before 1800; Georgian Dublin, Art and Architecture of; Hiberno-English; Literacy and Popular Culture; Literature: Anglo-Irish Literary Tradition, Beginnings of; Literature: Early Modern Literature before the Stuarts (1500–1603); Literature: Gaelic Writing from 1607 to 1800; Music: Early Modern Music; Swift, Jonathan

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Cóilín Owens

MODERN IRISH AND ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE AND THE ARTS SINCE 1800

The nineteenth century opened with the members of the Irish parliament voting themselves out of existence by their approval of the Act of Union. Just two years before, the 1798 Rebellion ended with the bitter defeat of the insurgents and great bloodshed. The mood of the country and its distressed state did not seem conducive to the production of a lively literature. Nevertheless, notable work was produced and the seeds sown that would lead to a great flowering in the twentieth century. The first important figure to emerge was Thomas Moore, who published his *Irish Melodies* between 1807 and 1834. Although his lyrics are sentimental, they

took on great power when sung to native airs, and became enormously popular in England and Ireland. For the English, Moore's *Melodies* were an introduction to Irish Celtic culture which prepared them for what would follow throughout the century. These melodies also became the most popular musical items of the century. Samuel Ferguson produced the century's most important work in translation in such works as *Lays of the Western Gael* and *Lays of the Red Branch*, which introduced readers to the rich poetic tradition in Irish poetry and mythology, and which had much to do with rebuilding a sense of identity that had been lost and diluted through the deprivations of the previous centuries. Thomas Davis was a founder of the *Nation* newspaper in 1842, the organ of the Young Ireland movement, though his greatest legacy has been the political ballad, first published in book form in 1843, and reprinted regularly throughout the century. Another contributor to the *Nation* was James Clarence Mangan, author of "Dark Rosaleen," one of the most famous of all Irish poems. Although Mangan knew little Irish, he was able, with the help of translations, to treat of ancient Irish themes and in this way continue the cultural revival and forward notions of national awareness. Many have considered Mangan to be the Irish Poe by virtue of his decadent work, his addictions, and his early death.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The first—and to some readers the best—Irish novel of the century, was Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, published in 1800. Here, using the voice of Thady, a simpleton narrator, we are shown how the fortunes of the estate-owning Rackrents have been dissipated through four generations of mismanagement. One of Edgeworth's main objectives in her work as a whole is to provide a blueprint for the improvement of the landlord class in Ireland. Time and time again, she urges absentee landlords to return to their estates from London and learn how to manage them properly, a message she conveyed most effectively in *EmmUI* and *The Absentee*. Another well-known novelist and a contemporary of Edgeworth's was Lady Morgan, the author of such historical romances as *The O'Briens* and *the O'Flaherty's*. The first of the great Irish Gothic novelists of the century was Charles Robert Maturin, the author of *Melmoth the Wanderer* and other novels, and he was followed by Joseph Sheridan le Fanu, whose best-known novel is *Uncle Silas*, and by Bram Stoker, whose *Dracula* remains the most revered work in the genre. Nearly all of these Gothic novels are set in the decaying Big Houses of the Protestant Ascendancy whose decay allows for the emergence of deranged souls to fill the vacuum. Appear-

ing at the end of the century was Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, a remarkable Gothic novel by an Irish writer using an English setting. William Carleton is the author of *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (1830–33), in which he provides the most honest and sympathetic portrayal of rural Irish life during the early part of the century. Other notable figures are Gerald Griffin, whose most important work is *The Collegians* (a novel that was granted a second life when it was dramatized as *The Colleen Bawn* by Dion Boucicault in 1860), and John and Michael Banim, who wrote *Tales of the O'Hara Family*.

Many important developments occurred in the final years of the nineteenth century that set the literary agenda for the following century. The Gaelic League was founded in 1893, an organization whose purpose was the promotion of Irish language and culture. One of its guiding spirits was Douglas Hyde, who would eventually become the first Irish president, and it was his belief that Ireland needed to be de-anglicized in order for it to assume an identity separate from England. Hyde was also the collector and translator of the *Love Songs of Connacht*, a popular and important contribution to the literature of the time. Yeats was a prime mover in the founding of the National Literary Society in Dublin in 1892, which, in turn, led to the founding of the Irish National Theatre Society in 1902 and the Abbey Theatre in 1904. A decade that had begun with the fall and death of the Home Rule leader Charles Stewart Parnell in 1891, and the gloom and division that followed, closed with a great degree of forward movement on the cultural and literary front. At the same time as important work was being produced in Ireland, Irish writers resident in England continued to be prominent. Oscar Wilde's plays *Lady Windermere's Fan*, *A Woman of No Importance*, and *The Importance of Being Earnest* were written and performed with great success, and George Bernard Shaw, who had begun to take a central place in London's cultural and political life, published his volume *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant*.

As a result of the mid-century potato famine, emigration, and continuing efforts to suppress it, the Irish language was not spoken as widely throughout Ireland at the end of the nineteenth century as it was at the beginning. Nevertheless, some notable writers made their marks. Brian Merriman, author of *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* (The midnight court), the great burlesque poem, lived until 1803. Antaine Raiftearaí wrote many poems, the most famous being the short lyric, "Mise Raiftearaí" (I am Raiftearaí). The most important nineteenth-century painters are Daniel Maclise and William Mulready. Maclise is best known for his large narrative paintings, most notably *The Marriage of Aoife and Strongbow*, while



Daniel Maclise, *The Marriage of Aoife and Strongbow*, shown in 1854, an example of Irish Romantic painting dealing with historical subject matter. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 205. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Mulready's best work is to be found in such small scale narratives as "The Last In."

TWENTIETH-CENTURY LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

In twentieth-century Irish literature certain important themes recur and are explored, defined, and refined in poetry, fiction, and drama. Irish writers have continued to focus on their relation to place, politics, history, the private world, and those points where the public and the private collide. The early agenda is set by William Butler Yeats, whose figure and achievement continues to cast a large shadow over the enterprise. The principal concerns present in Yeats's work are Irish mythology, Ireland of the revolutionary and postrevolutionary periods with its attendant heroes and villains, and the poet's preoccupations with love, mortality, and his search for immortality through mysticism and art. Although his work is compelling throughout his career, his greatest achievements as a poet are to be found in the second half of his career in such landmark poems as "Easter 1916," his poem about the Easter Rising; "The Wild Swans at Coole," a vision of rural paradise; and "Sailing to Byzan-

tium," a profound meditation on aging and the quest for immortality. Throughout his life as a writer, Yeats continued to produce drama for the Abbey Theatre, most notably *At the Hawk's Well*, *The Words upon the Window-Pane*, and *Purgatory*. He continued to take a leadership role in the Abbey Theatre and was instrumental in seeing many great Irish plays performed at the theatre in the early part of the century. Of particular importance are Lady Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, J. M. Synge's *The Well of the Saints* and *The Playboy of the Western World* (the latter causing some patrons to riot because they felt Synge had insulted Irish womanhood) and Sean O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman* and *The Plough and the Stars*. Yeats was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1923. A contemporary of Yeats's was George Moore, whose memoir *Hail and Farewell* provides an entertaining account of Irish cultural life in the early part of the century, and who also wrote *The Untilled Field*, an important collection of short fiction.

James Joyce, in common with his younger disciple, Samuel Beckett, spent most of his adult life outside Ireland. His most important works are *Dubliners*, a collection of short fiction, and his novels: *A Portrait of the*

Artist as a Young Man, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*. Beckett is best known for *Waiting for Godot*, his absurdist play, and for *Molloy*, *Malone Dies*, and *The Unnamable*, his trilogy of novels. Even though both Joyce and Beckett were considered major innovators internationally, they were slow to be accepted by Irish critics and readers. Another important disciple of Joyce is Flann O'Brien, the author of the comic novels *At Swim Two Birds* and *The Third Policeman*. O'Brien wrote in both English and Irish, and his novel *An Béal Bocht* (*The Poor Mouth*) along with Máirtín Ó Cadhain's *Cré na Cille* (*Graveyard Clay*) are the two most important works of fiction written in the Irish language during the first half of the century.

The middle period of twentieth-century Irish poetry is dominated by Austin Clarke, Louis MacNeice, and Patrick Kavanagh. Clarke is best known for his long poems *Mnemosyne Lay in Dust* and *Tiresias*, and for the short, often pointed lyrics which comprise the major part of his *Selected Poems*. Louis MacNeice was born in Belfast, educated in England, and spent much of his adult life in London. He wrote many memorable Irish poems, the most famous being "Carrickfergus," an autobiographical account of his Ulster upbringing. Patrick Kavanagh, born and raised on a farm in County Monaghan, is the most important poet of this period, and his work has had an enormous influence on many of the poets who were to follow him, Seamus Heaney and Eavan Boland in particular. In his long poems, *The Great Hunger* and *Lough Derg*, Kavanagh shows that the romantic version of rural life presented by Yeats does not match reality. The rural world, in Kavanagh's view, is dominated by various hungers: social, intellectual, sexual, and economic. Toward the end of his life, Kavanagh produced his great lyric poems: "Canal Bank Walk," "Lines Written on a Seat on the Grand Canal, Dublin . . .," and "The Hospital." Other notable poets of the period include the trio of modernists, Denis Devlin, Thomas MacGreevy, and Brian Coffey, as well as the two most prominent Irish language poets, Máirtín Ó Direáin and Seán Ó Ríordáin. Much of the best fiction during the period is in the short story, and the most prominent figures in this genre are Sean O'Faolain, author of *Midsummer Night Madness and Other Stories*; Frank O'Connor, who wrote *Guests of the Nation*; and Mary Lavin, author of *Tales from Bective Bridge*. Also important is Elizabeth Bowen, who wrote *The Last September*, one of the best of the Big House novels, and the trio of James Stephens, Mervyn Wall, and Eimar O'Duffy, all of whom wrote Irish-based fantasies.

In the 1950s a new generation of writers emerged who finally brought Irish writing out from under the shadow of Yeats, Synge, and Joyce and provided it with

new energy. The poets sought to explore and define a new, more prosperous and outgoing Ireland that had begun to replace the isolation of the post-independence nation. Their work has remained thematically innovative and formally daring. In *The Rough Field*, John Montague provides the first extended poetic meditation on the role of history and place in the developing "Troubles" in the North of Ireland, while in *The Dead Kingdom*, he explores the lives of those Irish who became lost in America as part of the Irish diaspora. Thomas Kinsella, a more hermetic poet than Montague, has explored the realm of loss of language and one's place in the world. James Liddy is the most exuberant poet of this generation. His work is influenced primarily by that of the American Beat Generation, and it is through his work that the beat influence was introduced into Irish poetry. The poet Richard Murphy is primarily associated with the west of Ireland, County Galway in particular, and is notable for his exploration of the natural world and the lives of fishermen. Another notable poet of this generation is Pearse Hutchinson, whose work, written in both English and Irish, explores the lives of ordinary people, in particular the urban dispossessed.

The fiction produced by the writers who began publishing in the 1950s is similarly rich. Brian Moore's most acclaimed works are his early Belfast novels, *The Lonely Passion of Judith Hearne* and *The Emperor of Ice Cream*. A significant amount of Moore's work is set outside of Ireland, reflective of the fact that he spent most of his adult life in Canada and the United States, and of a new direction among Irish fiction writers. John McGahern is well known as both a novelist and short-story writer whose best work is *Amongst Women* and *High Ground*. William Trevor has written many novels and collections of short fiction, although his most acclaimed work remains *The Ballroom of Romance*, whose title story is an important exploration of loneliness and sexual longing in rural Ireland. Aidan Higgins has written many volumes of fiction and memoirs, the best of which is his first novel, *Langrishe, Go Down*, an exploration of the Big House on the verge of collapse. Edna O'Brien has been the most controversial writer of this generation. *The Country Girls*, her first novel, banned by the state censor and burned in her local village, became in time a trilogy of groundbreaking work that explores the inner lives and aspirations of women. In drama, the dominant figures are Brian Friel, author of many important plays, the best known of which are *Philadelphia Here I Come*, *Translations*, and *Dancing at Lughnasa*, and Tom Murphy, who wrote *The Morning After Optimism* and *Bailegangaire*. Throughout the century the Abbey has remained the dominant Irish theater, although it has often been challenged by the Gate, and by Galway's Druid Theatre.

The 1960s saw the resumption of the “Troubles” in the North of Ireland as well as the emergence of an important group of poets who have dominated Irish poetry since their inception. The best known of these poets is Seamus Heaney, recipient of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1995. Heaney, born at Mossbawn, about thirty miles northwest of Belfast, has produced a remarkable body of varied work over the last thirty years. Although the political turmoil of Northern Ireland has an important place in his poetry, the work has not been overwhelmed by it. Heaney examines the points of intersection between the natural and human worlds. By contrast, Derek Mahon’s complex, elegant, and highly structured work notes the loss of order in the contemporary world. Michael Longley’s poetry is classical in tone and influence. He gazes at Belfast through the prism of classical literature and philosophy to help define the city, its people and its predicaments.

In the last two decades of the twentieth century a new second wave of poets from the North has emerged. The most prominent figures in this group are Paul Muldoon, Ciaran Carson, Medbh McGuckian, Tom Paulin, and Frank Ormsby. Muldoon’s work, centered both on Ireland, where he grew up, and on the United States, where he lives now, ranges wide in themes, forms, and attitudes, and provides his readers with an ironic and postmodern view of the Irish experience. Ciaran Carson’s best-known book is *Belfast Confetti*, a volume of narrative verse whose purpose is to reveal the vital essences of contemporary Belfast. Medbh McGuckian’s work is sometimes considered difficult, even inscrutable by readers. In her luminous poetry, she reveals the interiors of experience. In recent times important works of fiction have also emerged from the North of Ireland, the most important of which are Robert MacLiam Wilson’s *Ripley Bogle* and *Eureka Street*, and Deirdre Madden’s *Remembering Light and Stone*.

An important development in Irish poetry from the 1980s to the present is the appearance of a brilliant generation of women poets. Until recently, women poets felt excluded and marginalized in the Irish literary world. To date, the most important figure, as both writer and influence, is Eavan Boland. She has articulated the struggles that she faced as a young woman, mother, and poet in her volume of memoirs, *Object Lessons: The Life of the Woman and the Poet in Her Time*, and in many of her poems. Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill has published a number of important volumes, including *The Astrakhan Cloak*, in which Irish mythology is wedded to an original feminist outlook to produce a new Irish poetic vision. Ní Dhomhnaill writes in Irish, and her success has given fresh impetus to other contemporary Irish-language poets, such as Michael Davitt, Louis de Paor,

and Cathal Ó Searcaigh, all of whom have published distinguished recent works. Mary O’Malley, in such volumes as *The Knife in the Wave* and *Asylum Road*, also introduces mythology into her work. In addition, her explorations of the west of Ireland are important and constitute the first sustained feminist interpretation of the western landscape. In Paula Meehan’s work, in addition to many fine poems of love and family, ordinary Dubliners are given a voice. Other recently important women poets include Mary O’Donnell, Rita Ann Higgins, Sara Berkeley, and Moya Cannon. Besides the work produced by women, much important poetry has been published by Theo Dorgan, Tony Curtis, Greg Delanty, Sean Lysaght, Gerard Donovan, Dennis O’Driscoll, Michael Coady, and Pat Boran.

The contemporary theater continues to be dominated by Friel and Murphy, with the most important new talents being Sebastian Barry (*The Steward of Christendom*), Marina Carr (*The Mai*), and Conor McPherson (*The Weir*). Younger Irish fiction writers have found great international success. Roddy Doyle was the first Irish writer to be awarded the prestigious Booker Prize, in 1993, for *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha*, and his *Barrytown Trilogy* has been widely read. Patrick McCabe has found great success, both in literature and film, with *The Butcher Boy*, a gruesome tale of rural deprivation and madness. Similarly gruesome and equally impressive is John Banville’s *The Book of Evidence*. Colm Tóibín’s best-known novel is *The Heather Blazing*, an exploration of how the political and personal could collide in modern Ireland. Colum McCann’s novels *Songdogs* and *This Side of Brightness* are notable for their lyricism and range; McCann views the Irish experience as local, global, and multi-ethnic. Such issues are also explored by Philip Casey in *The Bann River Trilogy*.

Although Ireland is most renowned for its contribution to twentieth-century literature, many notable artists of distinction have also emerged to enrich the other arts. During the period of the Literary Revival, painting was dominated by Nathaniel Hone, Roderic O’Conor, Walter Osborne, Sir William Orpen, Sir John Lavery, and John B. Yeats, whose work was diversely focused on landscape, historical themes, and portrait painting. The most important of the modern painters, Jack B. Yeats, brother of the poet, was able to produce important figurative and landscape painting, and, later in his life, brilliant abstract work. From the 1950s to the present, the best-known visual artists have been Barrie Cooke, Louis de Brocquy, Mainie Jellett, Robert Ballagh, Norah McGuinness, Derek Hill, Camille Souter, and Kathy Prendergast. The founding of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann in 1951 to encourage the development and promotion of traditional music and arts and to train

young people, provided a great boost to traditional music. In the following year the first Fleadh Cheoil festival of traditional music brought musicians together from all over the world. Since the 1950s, Irish traditional music has become popular worldwide. Ireland has also made highly important contributions to popular music, notably through the work of U2 and Van Morrison. From the 1980s to the present, Irish film directors have made many remarkable films, most notably Jim Sheridan's *The Field* and *In the Name of the Father*, and Neil Jordan's *The Crying Game* and *Michael Collins*.

SEE ALSO Antiquarianism; Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Beckett, Samuel; Blasket Island Writers; Drama, Modern; Fiction, Modern; Gaelic Revival; Gonne, Maud; Heaney, Seamus; Joyce, James; Literary Renaissance (Celtic Revival); Literature: Anglo-Irish Literature in the Nineteenth Century; Literature: Gaelic Literature in the Nineteenth Century; Literature: Twentieth-Century Women Writers; Music: Modern Music; Poetry, Modern; Raiftearaí (Raftery), Antaine; Visual Arts, Modern; Wilde, Oscar; Yeats, W. B.; **Primary Documents:** From "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland" (25 November 1892); "Easter 1916" (1916);

"The End" (1926); "Pierce's Cave" (1933); "Scattering and Sorrow" (1936); "An Irishman in Coventry" (1960); "Punishment" (1975); "Inquisitio 1584" (c. 1985); "Feis" ("Carnival") (c. 1990)

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Eamonn Wall



Balladry in English

The ballads or popular songs of nineteenth-century Ireland, as elsewhere, included songs of place, love songs, comic or bawdy compositions, and narratives of shipwrecks, battles, and executions. But those most popular among both the Catholic majority and the loyal Protestant population dealt with the local community in conflict with the authorities or with another hostile community, or with other political subjects.

TYPES OF BALLAD

Political ballads in nineteenth-century Ireland were of three main types. First, there were Irish compositions, generally transmitted orally or in manuscript. The second type was the street ballad, usually an anonymous composition in English (or, infrequently, in Irish), printed on broadsheet by jobbing printers like Haly of Cork or Brereton of Dublin, and sung in public places by traveling singers. The third was the patriotic song composed in English as propaganda by groups or individuals committed to a particular political cause, and published in either newspapers or in specially produced songbooks.

The common characteristic of all ballads was thematic simplicity. Typically, a ballad was based on a single incident and underdeveloped characters, and focused on narrative rather than analysis. It made no attempt to challenge its audience's majority value system. Precisely because of this thematic simplicity, and because its main audience was among the poorer, disaffected sections of society, the ballad was a powerful expression of and shaper of contemporary popular feeling and therefore was regarded by the authorities and by respectable society as disruptive.

THE DISRUPTIVE POWER OF STREET BALLADS

The ballads' power to disturb was threefold. First, by referencing contemporary social distress, millenarian prophecies, and successive O'Connellite reform movements, they fueled popular expectations of great change. Produced within the community, they proved a potent mixture of exciting narrative, emotive words, and familiar airs. Moreover, the mode of their transmission was guaranteed to cause disturbance, sung and sold as they were wherever large crowds gathered, as at fairs, markets, and on the corners of streets.

Second, the ballads were powerful instruments of communal recall, mostly of relatively recent events such as elections, political meetings, or riots. For the Catholic majority, memories that inspired ballads included bloody tithe-war incidents like the killing of a tithe proctor and his police guard at Carrickshock in south Kilkenny in 1831. Among loyalists, ballad memories centered on Orange marches and clashes between Orangemen and their Catholic opponents; the famous incidents at Garvagh in 1813 and at Dolly's Brae in 1849 were typical. Some more long-term recollections, too, proved particularly emotive: the 1798 rebellion, still within living memory in particular areas, was guaranteed to summon phantoms on both sides of the political and religious divide.

Such recall of popular memories was inseparable from the third function of the ballads: the enforcement of communal solidarity through the incitement of popular hostility towards "the enemy." Magistrates, unpopular public representatives, and informers were typical scapegoats, but the main targets were sectarian—either "heretics" or "papists," as time, place, singer, and audience demanded. Territorial and denominational loyalties fused in a powerful sense of identity. Thus one Orange ballad warned its Catholic opponents to: "Stop

counting beads and quit midnight parades, / And put on Orange shoes when you come to Kilrea," while a popular ballad from south Leinster in 1835, recalling 1798, proclaimed: "Success to Kildare and Sweet Wexford, / Their children were never afraid!" (McIlffatrick 1995, p. 19; Cronin 2001, p. 124).

Street ballads were most influential before the Great Famine purged Irish society of its most serious social and economic problems, though they still provoked popular feeling over the following half-century, especially during the Fenian scare of the 1860s and early 1870s and during the Home Rule campaign and Land War of the 1880s. Typical was the Dublin ballad of 1883 targeting James Carey, who had given evidence against those who had assassinated Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke in Phoenix Park in 1882: "May every buck flea from here to Bray / Jump through the bed he lies on, / And by some mistake may he shortly take / A flowing pint of poison" (Zimmermann 1967, p. 283).

THE EMERGENCE OF THE PATRIOTIC SONG

By the 1890s the patriotic song had taken center stage. Sharing the street ballad's one-sidedness and naiveté, and usually of little intrinsic literary merit but extremely emotive when wedded to an appropriate air, this type of song was less a spontaneous reaction to recent events than a deliberately created instrument of politicization. Its genesis can be found in the 1790s when the United Irishmen used song to transmit republican and secular ideas. Many of their compositions, such as "Freedom Triumphant" and "Plant, Plant the Tree," were published and disseminated in *Paddy's Resource*, which first appeared in Belfast in 1795 and was re-issued in Dublin in 1798. On the other side, loyal Protestants, fearful of the passions unleashed during the 1798 rebellion, responded with songs such as "Croppies Lie Down" and "The Tree of Liberty," the latter effectively turning revolutionary imagery on its head: "Around this fair trunk we like ivy will cling, / And fight for our honour, our country, and king; / In the shade of this Orange none e'er shall recline / Who with murderous Frenchmen have dared to combine" (Zimmermann 1967, p. 310). Political song writing, however, really took off in the 1840s when Thomas Davis, romantic nationalist poet and founder/editor of the *Nation* newspaper, and the Young Ireland cultural movement which he represented produced song after song proclaiming a nonsectarian nationalism modelled on the ideals of the United Irishmen of the late eighteenth century and on contemporary European romantic nationalism. Emphasizing that a common Irishness must replace the denominational animosities that inspired the street ballads, Young Ire-

land's songs turned the guns on the "the Saxon," replacing anti-Protestantism with anti-Englishness as the mainstay of popular nationalism: "We hate the Saxon and the Dane, / We hate the Norman men— / We cursed their greed for blood and gain, / We curse them now again" (O'Sullivan 1944, p. 438).

First published in the *Nation* newspaper, and then in successive editions of the *Spirit of the Nation* songbook, these songs were initially more limited in their popular impact than the street ballads. But as literacy and popular competence in the English language increased, a retail economy developed, and a more militant popular nationalism and reactive loyalism grew from 1848 onwards, the broadsheet with its single song was supplanted by the song collections of the cheap songbook sold in shops and railway stations. The titles echoed the contents: on the nationalist side, *Wearing of the Green Songbook*, *O'Donnell Abu Songbook*, *Spirit of 'Ninety-Eight Songbook* and, on the loyalist side, *The Marching of the Lodges*, *The Boyne Book of Poetry and Song*, and *The Protestant Boys' Songbook*. However, at times the distinction between the old street ballad and the published political songs was blurred. Davis's songs were sold on broadsheets as late as the 1860s; two decades later, anti-Home Rule broadsheet songs were printed by Nicholson of Belfast; and in the late 1890s old street ballads were rewritten and published to mark the upcoming centenary of the 1798 rebellion.

The centenary compositions and anti-Home Rule songs accelerated the transition from sectarianism and localism to a broader sense of identity. Anti-Home Rulers avoided abuse of "blind-led papists," stressing instead Irish loyalists' staunch and ill-recompensed stand against betrayal: "We've been true to Old England, the land of the brave, / But we'll never submit to be treated like slaves" (Zimmermann 1967, p. 319). On the other side, writers like P. J. McCall and Eithne Carbery emphasized high-minded nationalism, epitomized in the closing stanzas of McCall's "Boo-lavogue": "God grant you glory, brave Father Murphy, / And open heaven to all your men; / The cause that called you may call tomorrow / In another fight for the green again" (Zimmermann 1967, p. 291). The new songs, unlike the street ballads, were somewhat artificial creations, yet they were still powerful reflectors and shapers of communal memories and political attitudes. Despite the competition of other mass entertainments, they continue to be sung in the twenty-first century, particularly in areas and times of political crisis.

SEE ALSO Davis, Thomas; Duffy, James; Literacy and Popular Culture; Newspapers; Young Ireland and the

Irish Confederation; **Primary Documents:** "God Save Ireland" (1867)

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Maura Cronin



Banking and Finance to 1921

The emergence of formal banking institutions in Ireland was preceded by development of credit facilities in internal and cross-channel trade. The shortage of banks was to some extent offset by the fact that some important areas of economic activity (linen markets, e.g.) functioned mainly on a cash basis while much of the credit for cross-channel trade was provided by London merchants. Such credit could be quite extended (as long as six or seven months), and by 1785 perhaps 1 million pounds was provided for the linen trade in this way.

The legal code governing banking in eighteenth-century Ireland was dominated by an act of 1756, passed by the Irish Parliament, that prohibited anyone who undertook "trade or traffick as merchants in goods

or merchandise imported or exported" from setting themselves up as bankers. This legislation deterred the emergence of the overseas trader-banker in Ireland. Four years later another act seemed to prevent bankers from paying interest on deposits, and a third measure, in 1782, which established the Bank of Ireland (opened 1783) by royal charter, also limited all other banks to a maximum of six partners. The first of these two acts meant that banking in Ireland would develop in a way different from elsewhere in the British Isles, and the third ensured that any new banking ventures would necessarily be relatively small.

Despite its large size, the Bank of Ireland did not open any branches until 1825 and proved itself highly conservative in the provision of credit, refusing to grant overdrafts on current accounts until the 1830s. Moreover, its staff and Court of Directors were overwhelmingly Anglican. Presbyterians in the north were determined to seize the financial initiative and set up banks of their own, thus diminishing their dependence on Dublin. The formation of three new banking partnerships—the Belfast Bank (1808), the Commercial Bank (1809), and Northern Bank (1809)—indicated the extent to which religion and finance combined to produce a set of durable banking houses firmly rooted in Ulster's industrial and commercial development.

It is probably no accident that these banks were founded after some thirty years of increasingly direct export from Ulster in the linen trade, and also after the most intensive decade of investment in cotton mills in the Belfast area. Because of the uniqueness of Belfast as a manufacturing area, banks were in a relatively favorable position to provide a whole range of services to the manufacturing sector. It is also probably the case that the textile industries, although they were undoubtedly unstable, helped to protect the northern banks from the worst effects of the agricultural depression and deflation that followed the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, thereby helping to ensure their survival.

Within a few years of the return of peace in 1815, the banks established "agencies" in country towns and villages. The principal function of them was to increase note circulation through the discounting of bills of exchange, thereby facilitating industrial and commercial development. Bank agents usually combined their banking functions with other, usually complementary, pursuits and normally worked from home or their own business establishment. They were the forerunners of the branch managers.

Financial instability in the decade following the end of the Napoleonic wars caused bank failures, which led to legislation in the mid-1820s permitting the formation of banks with more than six partners. Especially in

the years 1824 to 1827 and 1834 to 1838, some old banks converted to “joint-stock” concerns with many shareholders, and other banks were created as entirely new institutions. Joint-stock bank promotion greatly increased competition for customers. By the middle of the nineteenth century all banks, with the exception of the Dublin-based Royal Bank, operated branch networks. Only the Provincial Bank (established in 1825, with a head office in London) and the Bank of Ireland had networks with almost national coverage. Three others—the Northern Bank (a private bank converted in 1824 to become the first joint-stock bank in Ireland), the Belfast Bank (converted to joint stock from two private banks in 1827), and the Ulster Bank (a new concern in 1836)—were confined to the province of Ulster. The Tipperary Joint Stock Bank (established in 1838) had a small network in County Tipperary and the surrounding area; the National Bank (established in 1835) possessed the largest number of branches in 1850, although it had not yet penetrated the industrial northeast; and the smallest system was operated by the Dublin-based Hibernian Bank (established in 1825).

Between 1850 and 1913 the Irish banking system continued to expand, from fewer than 200 offices to around 850. The main reason for this expansion was the need to maximize deposits, a key determinant of lending capacity and of profitability. By 1913 some 320 offices were open only on specified days of the week, particularly market or fair days, to cater for local need. Most of the deposits came from rural areas, and branch networks enabled banks to utilize them to fund industrial expansion in larger towns as well as to spread their risks. The great majority of banks were both stable and profitable. Bank failure was comparatively rare in Ireland. The most notable joint-stock failures were those of the Tipperary Bank (1856) and the Cork-based Munster Bank in 1885, and in fact from the latter institution emerged the successful Munster and Leinster Bank. In order to protect their shareholders, banks adopted limited liability, especially following the Companies Act of 1879.

The various Irish banks offered a similar range of services, chief among them deposit-taking and the provision of credit facilities, such as discounting bills of exchange, overdrafts, and fixed-period loans. Many of them also issued their own notes. In most areas banking was a reflection of the type of local economic activity: farming, estate management, or professional services, as well as industry and trade. For this reason seasonal rhythms typified business, as in the linen and the provisions trades. In buoyant economic conditions banks were more likely to extend credit, but downturns in economic activity brought curtailment and demands for

repayment. Thus in Irish agriculture the Great Famine of the late 1840s and the depressions of 1859 to 1864 and 1877 to 1879 all saw the banks make determined efforts to limit exposure to bad debts by calling in loans and being cautious about new agricultural business. There is considerable evidence that banks were closely involved in the industrial expansion in nineteenth-century Ulster, meeting the diverse demands of short- and long-term credit by a range of producers, from the small firm to the largest linen companies and shipyards. Sometimes the demand for credit—such as the demand that occurred during the expansion of the linen industry that accompanied the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865, for example—could be enormous, but, as in the agriculture business, the banks exercised caution during recession and depression (e.g., in 1847–1848, 1857–1858, 1879, 1886, and 1908–1909).

The First World War from 1914 to 1918 brought great prosperity for much of Irish agriculture and led to a huge increase in deposits. This helped to provide fiscal stability for the country after partition. The banks generally kept out of the public debates on Irish politics before 1920.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Industrialization; Irish Pound; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail

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Philip Ollerenshaw

Battle of Clontarf

See Clontarf, Battle of.

Battle of the Boyne

See Boyne, Battle of the.

Beckett, Samuel

The acclaimed author of *Waiting for Godot*, Samuel Barclay Beckett (1906–1989) was born in Foxrock, Co. Dublin, on Friday, 13 April 1906. Close to his father and brother but periodically at odds with his pious Protestant mother, Beckett was at school in Dublin during the 1916 Rising, and in Eniskillen, in his second year at Portora Royal School, when Ireland was partitioned.

In 1923 Beckett went to Trinity College, where he completed an arts degree. In 1928 he became an exchange lecturer at the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris, where he met a number of artists and writers, including James Joyce. Upon his return to Ireland in 1930, he quarreled with his mother over his writing and his unwillingness to pursue a normal career, and in 1931 he abruptly left a teaching position at Trinity College.

He started his first novel in Paris in 1932. A short story collection, *More Pricks than Kicks*, was published in 1934. He completed his novel *Murphy* in 1935. Beckett was active in the French Resistance throughout World War II, fleeing Paris to Roussillon when his cell was betrayed (Knowlson 1997), and rejoining the Resistance in Roussillon. In the years following the war Beckett produced “a torrent of work” in French (Knowlson 1997, p. 355), writing (in French) and translating (into English) the novels *Molloy*, *Malone Dies*, and *The Unnamable*.

Beckett became famous with the first performances of his plays *Waiting for Godot* (1952) and *Endgame* (1957) in 1953 and 1957, respectively. In 1959 he completed the comparatively lyrical *Krapp's Last Tape*. Thereafter, he honed his minimalism, producing short plays and prose works in which the boundaries between life and death, reality and the imagination, are annihilated. These include *Eh Joe* (1967), *Not I* (1972), *That Time* (1977), *Footfalls* (1977), *Company* (1979), *Ill Said*, *Ill Seen* (1981), and *Rockaby* (1982).

Beckett hated publicity—he went into hiding upon receiving the Nobel Prize for literature in 1969. Although he refused interviews, he was nonetheless willing to make political statements. He withheld the performance rights to his plays in apartheid South Africa, but endorsed a 1976 production of *Waiting For Godot* by a black cast before nonsegregated audiences (Knowlson 1997, p. 637). He also opposed censorship in the Soviet bloc countries, and he dedicated his 1979 play *Catastrophe* to fellow playwright Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovakia's foremost dissident (and later president of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic). Because Beckett insisted, at times irrationally, on his work's apolitical

and asocial character, his recurring interest in Manichean social relations and power dynamics—as in the case of *Molloy*—in a clearly Irish context has yet to be elucidated fully.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Drama, Modern; Fiction, Modern

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Margot Gayle Backus

Bedell, William

William Bedell (1571–1642) was provost of Trinity College, Dublin and bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. Born in Black Notley, Essex, in 1570, he was educated at the Puritan seminary of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he obtained an M.A. in 1592, became a fellow in 1593, and was awarded a B.D. in 1599. After university Bedell returned to East Anglia, where he would have remained as a country parson had he not twice been plucked from obscurity to serve abroad. First, in 1607 he was chosen to go to Venice as chaplain to the British ambassador Sir Henry Wootton. Bedell remained there until 1610, translating the *Book of Common Prayer* into Italian in an effort to encourage the Venetians to renounce Catholicism. Then, in 1627 he reluctantly agreed to go to Ireland as provost of Trinity College, where he instituted a much-needed reform program, seeking in particular to ensure that students destined for a clerical career had the opportunity to learn Irish. In 1629 he was chosen bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, straddling the border of the Ulster plantation (though he resigned Ardagh in 1633 because of a principled objection to pluralism). Unlike most other English Protestant bishops in Ireland, Bedell was favorably disposed to the Irish language and culture: He sought to provide a

resident, Irish-speaking, preaching ministry in his parishes, and he set into motion the translation of the Old Testament into Irish in order to supplement the existing printed Irish versions of the New Testament and Prayer Book. His determined efforts at reform led him to clash with vested interests within the church, but he did win the respect, if not the religious allegiance, of the local Irish population. When in 1641 the Catholic Irish rose against the English settlers, Bedell was not immediately harmed. Eventually imprisoned, he died of natural causes and was accorded a guard of honor at his funeral by the local Irish chieftain.

Though from a Puritan background, Bedell was culturally sensitive and theologically open and enquiring, with a special interest in the vexed issue of the relationship of grace to baptism. Unique among Irish Protestant clerics, he was the subject of three seventeenth-century biographies, one by his son, another by his son-in-law, and the last by the English bishop and historian Gilbert Burnett, all of which painted him as a noble and conciliatory model of a Christian bishop.

SEE ALSO Rebellion of 1641; Trinity College; Ussher, James; Wentworth, Thomas, First Earl of Strafford

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Alan Ford

Belfast

Flanking the River Lagan estuary, Belfast has an exceptionally attractive setting, with the Castlereagh Hills to the east and a striking escarpment of the Antrim plateau to the west. Belfast also has the unenviable reputation of being the most continuously disturbed city in western Europe since the end of World War II.

Until the twelfth century Belfast was no more than a crossing-place at the mouth of the river where mud

banks were exposed at low tide—hence its name, *Béal Feirste*, which means "approach to the sand-bank crossing." A modest village that grew up around a castle built there by Normans all but disappeared when the Clandeboye O'Neills overwhelmed the earldom of Ulster in the fifteenth century.

Granted Lower Clandeboye (a Gaelic lordship encompassing south County Antrim) at the close of the Elizabethan conquest, Sir Arthur Chichester, the principal architect of the Ulster plantation, encouraged English and Scots to settle in Belfast, and he ensured that it became an incorporated town in 1613. Belfast came through the turbulence of the seventeenth century remarkably unscathed, coming under siege only once. Neglected by Chichester's descendants, the earls of Donegall, the town languished in the first half of the eighteenth century, and its recovery and development thereafter were largely due to the initiative of Presbyterian entrepreneurs. By setting up powered machinery to spin cotton, these men made the town the most dynamic industrial center in the island. Fired by news of the American and French revolutions, they also turned Belfast into the most radical town in Ireland, and it was in Crown Entry in October 1791 that the Society of United Irishmen was founded. The reality of violence in 1798, however, quickly extinguished radical fervor in the town.

More than anywhere else in Ireland, Belfast prospered under the union and was arguably the fastest-growing urban center in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century. The town's population was a mere 19,000 in 1801; it rose to over 70,000 in 1841; and by 1901 it was the largest city in Ireland, with almost 350,000 citizens. Belfast was given official status as a city in 1888, by which time it was the third most important port in the U.K., after London and Liverpool. The sumptuous city hall, opened in 1906, was in part an expression of pride in Belfast's achievement in producing the world's largest shipyard, ropeworks, aerated-waters factory, linen mill, tea machinery and fan-making works, handkerchief factory, spiral-guided gasometer, linen-machinery works, and tobacco factory.

Though Belfast had much in common with British city ports such as Liverpool, Glasgow, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, it was an Irish city with Irish problems. The tens of thousands coming in from rural Ulster to seek employment in Belfast had recollections of dispossession, massacre, confiscation, and persecution etched into their memories. By the 1830s about a third of Belfast's citizens were Catholics, though the proportion fell to around a quarter by the beginning of the twentieth century. The unstable and invisible lines dividing Prot-

estant and Catholic districts frequently became sectarian battlegrounds, notably in the protracted riots of 1857, 1864, 1872, and 1886. Such conflicts were intensified by the debate over Ireland's political future. Between 1912 and 1914 Belfast was the pivot of resistance to the third Home Rule bill, and as the Anglo-Irish War got under way, intercommunal hatreds gushed to the surface. Between 1920 and 1922, as Northern Ireland was brought to birth, 416 Belfast citizens lost their lives in a vicious conflict.

The deep scars left by the violence might have healed in time had Belfast enjoyed a long period of prosperity after 1922. However, the economic slump that had begun in the winter of 1920 developed into a protracted depression as the city's traditional staple industries of linen, shipbuilding, and engineering continued to contract. The German air raids of the spring of 1941 demonstrated the failure of the city government to provide the most basic air-raid protection for citizens, and the corporation was suspended and placed under the control of commissioners for more than three years. By mid-1942, however, Belfast was making a notable contribution to the Allied war effort in the production of ships, weapons, ammunition, and uniforms. In the quiet years after 1945 there was a steady increase in living standards, and when traditional industries declined again in the late 1950s, overseas firms, many of them manufacturing synthetic fibers, began to set up in Belfast's periphery.

Sectarian violence in the city led to fatalities on 14 and 15 August 1969, propelling whole districts of Belfast into chaos. For years much of Belfast resembled a war zone: Barricades blocked the entrances to working-class enclaves; hundreds of families were forced from their homes; the rising death toll was composed mainly of innocent citizens; familiar landmarks were destroyed as paramilitaries detonated bombs directed at commercial premises and installations; gun battles raged almost every night; and the city center was almost deserted after 7 P.M. and on weekends. A formidable security fence ringed the city center, and eventually twenty-six peacelines, high-security walls erected at the request of local people, separated the most troubled enclaves. Nevertheless, a significant reduction in violence beginning in the late 1970s encouraged the government to clear dilapidated dwellings, and by the early 1990s much of the city had been transformed, with the quality of planning, building design, and construction attracting well-warranted praise from housing experts around the world. The city center remained a shared space and nightlife made a rapid recovery there in the early 1980s. After decades of decline, Belfast's population rose modestly to 279,237 for the area administered by the city

council, and to 475,967 for the greater Belfast area in 1991. Though mutual distrust and occasional confrontations proved impossible to eliminate, following the paramilitary ceasefires of 1994 there was a gradual realization that a new era in the city's history was arriving. Nowhere was the transformation of Belfast more apparent than by the River Lagan: There the Waterfront Hall—a concert hall and conference center without rival in Ireland—was opened in 1997; well-lit walkways were constructed along the river; and a Hilton Hotel and entertainment and commercial complexes sprang up on previously derelict sites. Confrontations in the Ardoyne district during 2001 nevertheless indicated the enduring character of Belfast's intercommunal problems.

SEE ALSO Cork; Dublin; Factory-Based Textile Manufacture; Landscape and Settlement; Shipbuilding; Towns and Villages; **Primary Documents:** On Presbyterian Communities in Ulster (1810, 1812); From *Belfast Fifty Years Ago* (1875)

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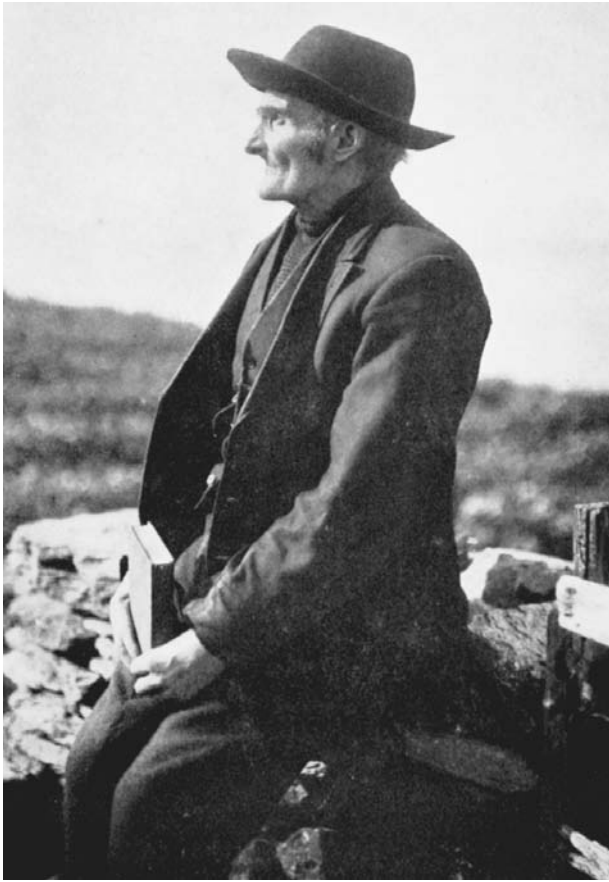
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Jonathan Bardon

Blasket Island Writers

The major cultural-revival association founded in 1893, the Gaelic League, conferred new significance on the Irish language, oral culture, and the traditional way of life of the *Gaeltachtaí*, or Irish-speaking areas of Ireland. Interest in the Celtic languages generated by the rise of European philology in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and the "gaelicization" policy of the new Irish state influenced by the Gaelic League, brought growing numbers of scholars and students to the Dingle peninsula of County Kerry in the southwest to study modern Irish, and especially to the Great Blasket Island lying about three miles offshore, which had a special attraction for linguists, medievalists, and folklorists owing to its remoteness.

The interest shown by scholars such as Carl Marstrand, Robin Flower, and Kenneth Jackson in the lan-



Tomás Ó Criomhthain (1856–1937), author of *Allagar na hInise* (1927) and *An tOileánach* (1929). FROM *THE ISLANDMAN*, BY TOMÁS Ó CRIOMHTHAIN (1934). COURTESY OF THE GRADUATE LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

guage and folklore of the island, the influence of the Gaelic League on the islanders' perception of the importance of their language and culture, and the encouragement of language enthusiasts from the mainland developed an increasing awareness among islanders of the need to record their disappearing way of life. Tomás Ó Criomhthain (or O'Crohan) (1856–1937) was the first to do so in his journal of island life (*Allagar na hInise*, 1927), his classical autobiographical work (*An tOileánach*, 1929, translated into English as *The Islandman* by Robin Flower), and his topography of the Blasket island group (*Dinnsheanchas na mBlascaodaí*, 1935), in which he vividly and incisively depicts his natural environment, life on the island, and the mentality of the island community.

Muiris Ó Súilleabháin's celebrated depiction of a young man's view of Blasket Island life, *Fiche Blian ag Fás*, appeared in 1933. Owing much to the inspiration of the English classicist and student of modern Irish, George Thomson, it became, on translation into English, a world classic.

The gifted Blasket storyteller Peig Sayers (1873–1958) left three dictated accounts of her life (*Peig*, 1936, *Machtnamh Seana-Mhná*, 1939, and *Beatha Pheig Sayers*, 1970), providing a female perspective on island experience. *Peig* became known to generations of schoolchildren as it featured at intervals as a prescribed text on the Leaving Certificate Irish syllabus from 1943 to 1995, and it may still (2001–2003) be read for the optional course.

Among the next generation of Blasket writers, after the evacuation of the island in 1953 (due to population decline through emigration, and the lack of essential services), were Peig Sayers's son, Micheál Ó Guithín, whose elegiac autobiography (*Is Trua na Fanann an Óige*) appeared in that same year, and Tomás Ó Criomhthain's son, Séan, whose account (*Lá dár Saol*, 1969) is an epilogue to the story of the Great Blasket and to the tale of how the islanders settled on the mainland.

The Blasket Island literature, emphasizing autobiography as a literary medium and epitomizing the Gaelic League's ideal of the language and folklore of the *Gaeltacht* as the well-spring of a new literature in Irish, influenced genre, content, form, and style of the prose literature of the Gaelic revival for several decades. The Blasket writers were also important to the folklore movement through their use of oral tradition and their detailed depiction of a traditional society. An important corpus of folklore was collected from Peig Sayers by Robin Flower and Kenneth Jackson, and by her most important collector, Seosamh Ó Dálaigh, on behalf of the Irish Folklore Commission, after her return to the mainland in 1942. Flower's collection of folklore from Tomás Ó Criomhthain, *Seanchas ón Oileán Tiar*, appeared posthumously in 1949.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Fiction, Modern; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Language and Literacy: Decline of Irish Language; Language and Literacy: Irish Language since 1922; **Primary Documents:** "The End" (1926); "Pierce's Cave" (1933); "Scattering and Sorrow" (1936)

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Patricia Lysaght

Bloody Sunday

Bloody Sunday occurred on 30 January 1972 in Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland, when an illegal march of up to 20,000 civil-rights demonstrators protesting against the British policy of internment was fired on by the British army. A section of the crowd had been stoning soldiers, and the army maintained that shots had been fired at them from the republican Bogside area of the city and that petrol bombers were among the crowd of demonstrators. The consequences of the army's actions were thirteen dead and an injury that would later prove to be fatal. Republicans claimed that their personnel had stood down on that day because they believed that the army wanted to draw them into a full-scale battle. It was not until 1992 that John Major, then prime minister of Great Britain, acknowledged in a letter to the local MP, John Hume, that the victims should be regarded as innocent of any allegation that they had been shot while handling firearms or explosives. It was a tacit acceptance that the original public inquiry under Chief Justice Lord Widgery was flawed in that it was rushed and did not consider all the available evidence. New evidence, including new eyewitness accounts, medical evidence, and new interpretations of ballistics material, as well as a detailed Irish government assessment of the new material and of Lord Widgery's findings in light of all the material available, prompted another inquiry. In a parliamentary statement on 29 January 1998, Prime Minister Tony Blair announced another tribunal to investigate the events of Bloody Sunday, to be chaired by Lord Saville. The novelty of this inquiry was that the government was at least prepared to look at the uncongenial possibility that the killings were unlawful.

There is clear evidence that relations between the local Catholic community and the security forces deteriorated throughout 1971. One particular incident had been the army's killing of two local youths in a Bogside riot in July: an unofficial inquiry chaired by Lord Gifford found that both youths were unarmed. By November the semiweekly local nationalist newspaper, the *Derry Journal*, recorded incidents such as applause in court after riot charges had been dismissed; strikes and traffic disruption following a wave of protests by teachers, dockers, and factory workers after army raids in the area; the condemnation of army tactics by tenants' associations after soldiers had killed a mother of six children and 4,000 people had attended her funeral; a meeting of 500 business and professional people to support a campaign of passive resistance; and the army detention of John Hume after he had refused to be searched.

The army's own records show that following the two July killings, the Catholic community had "instantly turned from benevolent support to community alienation." The situation was compounded in August with the introduction of internment, so that "all combined to lead to a situation in which the security forces were faced by an entirely hostile Catholic community." By the end of the year the chief of the general staff was warning that whereas the Irish Republican Army (IRA) "were under pressure and becoming disorganised, in Londonderry the situation was different. The IRA could still count on the active support of the Roman Catholic population, and a major military operation here could have widespread political consequences." By early January 1972 the general officer commander admitted, "I am coming to the conclusion that the minimum force necessary to achieve a restoration of law and order is to shoot selected ringleaders among the DYH [Derry Young Hooligans], after clear warnings have been issued." On the weekend before Bloody Sunday a protest was held outside an internment camp. It led to a clash between paratroopers and protestors—a clash described by one commentator as "the brutal act of an arrogant military." It served as a mild rehearsal for Bloody Sunday.

The impact of Bloody Sunday was immense. It led to a huge resurgence in violence: In the three years before Bloody Sunday, about 250 people had been killed in the violence, whereas 470 died in the ensuing eleven months. It acted as an enormous recruiting device for the IRA. It pitted official Ireland against the British government. The Irish government recalled its ambassador in London, and the British embassy in Dublin was burned to the ground. The attendance of the Catholic primate of all Ireland, a bishop, 200 priests, five Irish government ministers, and nine mayors from the Republic at the victims' funerals made clear the sense of outrage throughout nationalist Ireland. The international pressure on the British government was such that within two months the Stormont regime was suspended and direct rule from London imposed. The unseemly haste of the Widgery report—published within eleven weeks of the day—did not prevent the coroner at the inquests from describing the deaths as "sheer, unadulterated murder" in August 1973.

The coroner's remarks encapsulated a raging sense of injustice among the nationalist community, as demonstrated by the unremitting campaign conducted by the victims' relatives and by John Hume to have the case reopened. It was "compelling new evidence" that led Tony Blair to announce a new inquiry on the twenty-sixth anniversary. It met for the first time in Derry in April 1998 and was chaired by Lord Saville of Newdi-

gate with the assistance of two other Commonwealth judges. The first phase of the tribunal ended in September 2002 after more than 500 civilian witnesses and experts had been cross-examined in Derry. The second phase moved to London for the examination of 250 soldiers and some senior British politicians before it moved back to Derry, where it completed its public fact-finding on 13 February 2004. The Saville Report was scheduled to be published in 2005. Time will tell whether the Saville tribunal will be an instrument of justice.

SEE ALSO Irish Republican Army (IRA); Northern Ireland: History since 1920

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Paul Arthur

Bogs and Drainage

Peat bogs in Ireland may be divided broadly into raised and blanket bogs. Raised bogs, characteristic of central Ireland (Midlands), are so described because of their domed shape and because they hold water above the water table of their surroundings. Many are formed over basins, often in underlying glacial clays, in which water accumulated. Gradually reeds and other fenland plants colonized, and as they died, their remains did not decay fully in the waterlogged anaerobic conditions; fen peat began to form. As layers of fen peat built up, the surface gradually grew above the level of the surrounding land and of the surface runoff. Plants became reliant on rainfall for water and nutrients, and because the nutrient concentration of rainfall is low, there was a change to species tolerant of low-nutrient conditions. Fenland plants gave way to those of acid bog conditions, particularly the bog mosses (*Sphagnum* species). Continued upward growth of the bog led to the characteristic convex or domed profile.

A pristine raised bog has several distinctive parts. The central area or dome is flat or very gently sloping;

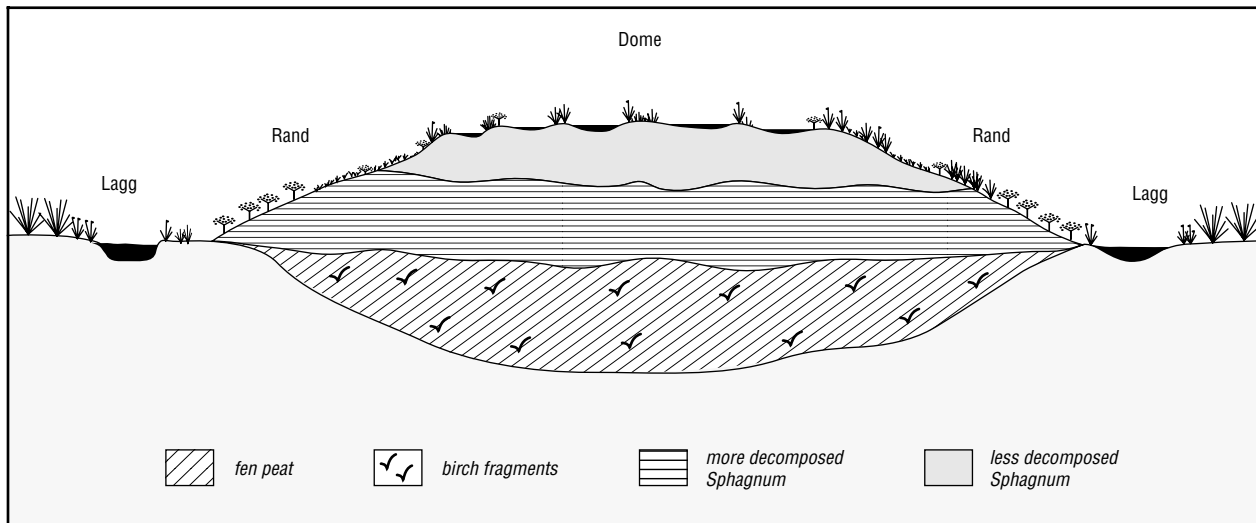


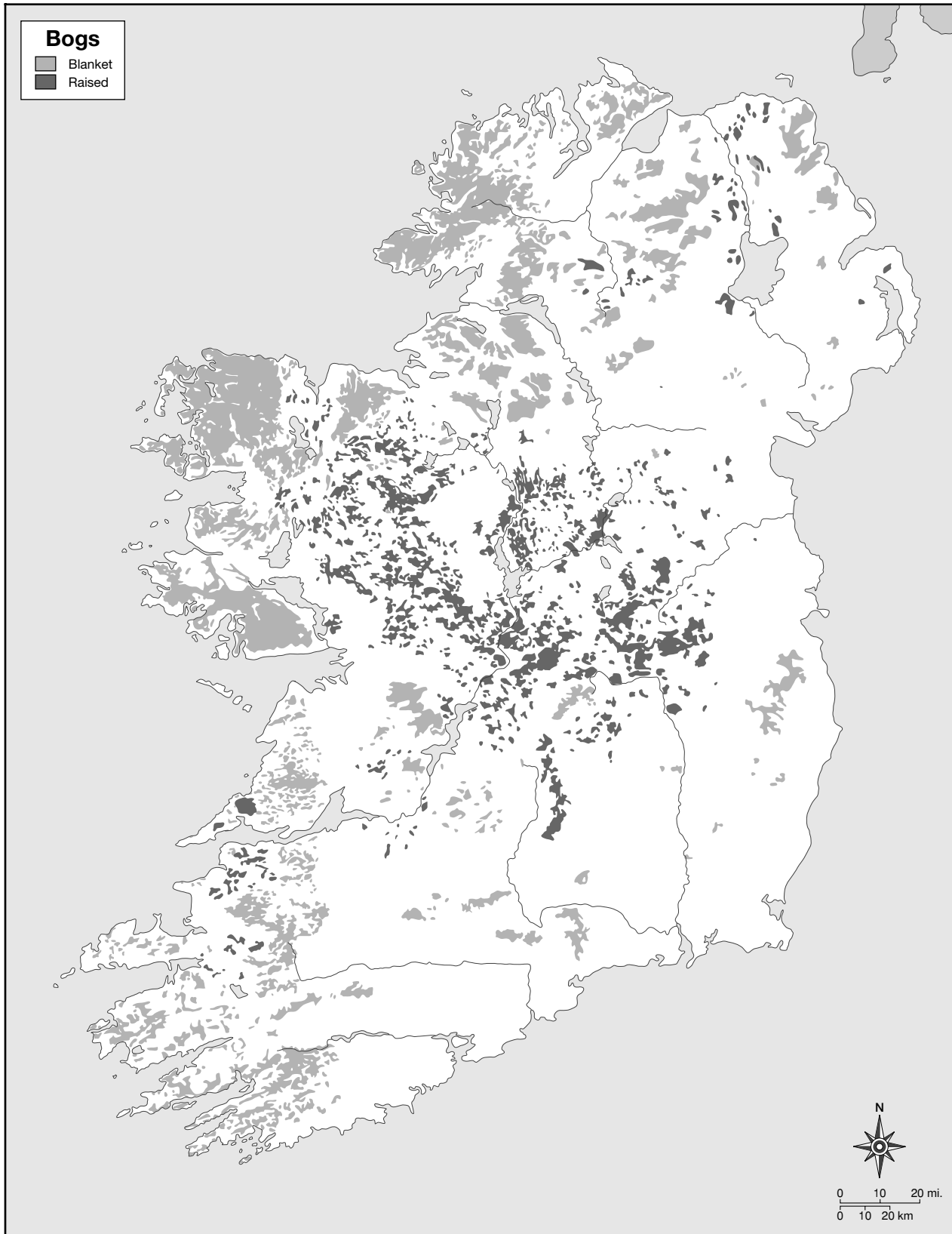
Diagram of a raised bog showing its structure and distinct parts.

it is often extremely wet and may have a microtopography of pools and hummocks. Pools are sometimes occupied by aquatic *Sphagnum* species but may be open water. The hummocks have *Sphagnum* species requiring drier conditions, deer sedge (*Trichophorum cespitosum*), cotton sedge (*Eriophorum vaginatum*), and heathers (*Calluna vulgaris* and *Erica tetralix*). On the more steeply sloping bog edge (rand), the water table is slightly deeper, there is some water flow through the upper peat, and there is a better supply of nutrients; bog myrtle (*Myrica gale*) and common heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) are frequent. The bog may be surrounded by a lagg, an area of mobile water, sometimes with a small stream, and with large tussocks of purple moor grass (*Molinia caerulea*). Few raised bogs in Ireland are pristine; most have been subject to domestic peat cutting by spade for fuel, and because this extended inward from the bog edges, lagg and rands are rare. Climatic conditions varied throughout the development of raised bogs, some of which began to form 7,000 or even 9,000 years ago, and many display distinct horizons in the peat. For example, wetter, cooler conditions after 500 B.C.E. increased *Sphagnum* growth, and many bogs have an upper layer of poorly humified, reddish peat, whereas below, the peat is more humified and blacker.

The origin of raised bogs is generally natural, but blanket bog development, although regionally complex, came about probably through a combination of deteriorating climate and clearance of woodland by early farmers around 3,000 to 4,000 years ago. With increased percolation, plant nutrients and finer soil particles were washed down the soil profile, leaving acidic upper horizons. Plants adapted to these conditions colonized (heathers, sedges, mosses), and their remains

began to accumulate in the cool, wet environment where biological breakdown was slow. As bog mosses invaded, the organic soils became waterlogged, any remaining trees died, and peat formed. Tree stumps and even Neolithic field systems, as at Céide fields, Co. Mayo, in the west of Ireland, may be seen beneath blanket peat—often exposed by cutting.

Hand cutting of fuel peat has little effect in any one year because the peat face extends into the bog by about one-half to one meter per year, but over centuries, especially since the seventeenth century when population increase was rapid, the impact has been extensive. By the late twentieth century hand cutting had declined considerably; electricity reached almost everyone and oil was readily available. With rural to urban movements, the people required to dig, stack, turn, and transport turf to homesteads were no longer present. Where peat (turf) is still used for fuel, since the 1980s it has often been obtained by compact harvesters attached to a farm tractor; a year's supply can be cut in a few hours. Particularly after Bord na Móna was established in 1946 as a statutory body to develop Ireland's peat resources, the large raised bogs, especially those in the Midlands, became the focus for extensive peat extraction. Bogs were drained, surface vegetation was removed, and the peat was milled. Once dried, the milled peat was collected and burnt in peat-fired power stations. Some peat is still used in this way, but many bogs are reaching exhaustion and public attitudes have changed; there has been increasing recognition of the international value of bogs. Ireland's bogs are examples of ecosystems relatively rare in Europe, and through their plant, pollen, and other microfossil remains they enable the vegetational history to be explored. They are also



important carbon sinks. Governments in the Republic and Northern Ireland have designated conservation sites, but outside of those, human impact continues. Forestry expansion has been largely on western peatlands, and the increased sheep population, following European agricultural policies, has resulted in overgrazing and erosion.

SEE ALSO Landscape and Settlement; Rural Settlement and Field Systems; Woodlands

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R. W. Tomlinson

Boundary Commission

The Boundary Commission established in Article 12 of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty was intended to redefine, “in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland” (Fanning et al. 1998, p. 358).

The notion of a boundary commission had first been voiced in 1912 during the discussions surrounding the third Home Rule bill, but the form of the commission proposed in the 1921 treaty had its origins in the procedures for boundary revision in Eastern and Central Europe laid down in the treaties of the postwar Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The proposal for an Irish Boundary Commission emerged from an agreement between Minister for Foreign Affairs and Chief Delegate of the Irish delegation Arthur Griffith and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George in November 1921 during the treaty negotiations in London. The remit of the proposed commission was loosely defined, but it was accepted by the Sinn Féin delegates, who expected large territorial transfers from Northern Ireland and the collapse of the reduced territory of the Northern Ireland state, or rump, that would remain following any trans-

fers of its territory to the Irish Free State. Their acceptance enabled Lloyd George to prevent the Irish delegates from breaking off the negotiations on Ulster as they had planned, and it neatly pushed the issue of Northern Ireland beyond the immediate treaty talks.

During negotiations in early 1922, the chairman of the Irish Free State provisional government, Michael Collins, and the Northern Irish prime minister, Sir James Craig, hoped to decide the North-South boundary without recourse to the commission, but agreement proved impossible. The commission was triggered on 7 December 1922, when Northern Ireland exercised its right under Article 12 of the treaty to opt out of the Irish Free State, which had come into official existence on 6 December 1922. Civil war in the Irish Free State from June 1922 to May 1923, the ill health of Sir James Craig, and the rapid change of governments in Britain all delayed the initiation of the commission’s work. So too did difficulties in interpreting the responsibility of the commission, particularly the problem of reconciling the “wishes of the inhabitants” and “economic and geographic conditions,” as laid down in Article 12.

The Irish Free State appointed Minister for Education Eoin MacNeill as its Boundary Commissioner on 12 July 1923. In May 1924 the Northern Ireland government refused to appoint its Boundary Commissioner, arguing that it was not a party to the 1921 treaty. After the passage of special legislation at Westminster it was agreed that Britain could appoint the Northern Ireland commissioner. The commission, when it finally met for the first time in November 1924, was comprised of MacNeill (representing the Irish Free State), J. R. Fisher (representing Northern Ireland), and South African Supreme Court Justice Richard Feetham (for Britain), who was also the chairman.

Through late 1924 and early 1925 the commission toured the border region seeking written submissions regarding local views on possible boundary changes and on the work of the Commission and holding meetings in towns and villages to hear the views of nationalists and unionists. Though the Northern Ireland government did not recognize the commission, it did not openly hinder its work. Belfast was secure in its belief that possession of its territory was nine-tenths of the law: “not an inch” and “what we have, we hold” were the contemporary slogans in Northern Ireland. It would be very difficult to remove territory from the control of the Northern Ireland government.

The Free State government, which had established the North-Eastern Boundary Bureau in 1922 to collect material on partition and to press the Free State case for revising the boundary in its favor, doggedly believed it would be awarded large territorial transfers by the

commission. However, there is evidence to suggest that W. T. Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State and Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Home Affairs of the Irish Free State, were less sanguine about the chances of the commission finding for the Free State. One of the most striking failures in the Free State's handling of the Boundary Commission was the apparent lack of contact between Dublin and James McNeill (Eoin MacNeill's brother), who was Irish high commissioner in London. Dublin should have been able to use McNeill to get an insight into the opinions of senior British figures towards the Commission and they should have queried him about his brother, Eoin, who was Irish Free State Boundary commissioner. Another shortcoming on the part of the Free State was the weak case that the Free State counsel made to the commission when legal arguments were heard in December 1924. A certain weariness and an overall lack of realism not evident in other areas of foreign policy pervaded the Free State's Boundary Commission policy. Perhaps government ministers were lulled into a false sense of security by a dogmatic belief in their own rhetoric and propaganda.

In the summer of 1925 the commissioners retired to London to write their report in secret. A well-founded and accurate leak in the British pro-Conservative *Morning Post* newspaper on 7 November 1925 suggested that the commission would recommend only minor alterations to the existing border. More worrisome, the paper also suggested that the commission's report would recommend that the Free State cede territory to Northern Ireland (something Dublin had never envisaged) and vice versa. The first draft of the commission's report had been finalized on 5 November, two days before the leak, and J. R. Fisher, with his strong unionist views and press connections as a former editor of the unionist *Northern Whig*, was strongly suspected of leaking the document. The disclosure led to the resignation of Eoin MacNeill as Irish boundary commissioner on 20 November, and as Free State minister for education on 24 November. (Historians question why, before the leak, MacNeill remained supportive of the commission when he must have known that the proposed transfers were not going to find favor in Dublin.)

The press leak threatened a political crisis in the Free State that, it was feared, would bring down the Cosgrave government: A main plank in its policy of implementing the 1921 treaty had fallen away. Hurried meetings between the Irish, Northern Irish, and British governments were held in London and at Chequers to try to avert a catastrophe. By an agreement signed in London on 3 December 1925 by representatives of the three governments, the Boundary Commission was revoked and its report shelved. The political crisis predict-

ed for the Free State never occurred and the Cosgrave government remained in power. The border between the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland remained as it had stood since partition in 1920. Dublin received a sweetener of sorts: the December 1925 agreement forgave a considerable portion of public debts and war-pension payments owed to Britain under Article 5 of the 1921 treaty. The planned North-South Council of Ireland was also quietly shelved, to be replaced by periodic meetings of prime ministers. Even so, the first meeting between the two prime ministers in Ireland did not take place until January 1965. The 1925 report of the Irish Boundary Commission was not finally made public until January 1968.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Civil War; Collins, Michael; Griffith, Arthur; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

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Michael Kennedy

Boru, Brian

See Dál Cais and Brian Boru.



Boyle, Robert

Robert Boyle (1627–1691), the most eminent natural philosopher in England in the seventeenth century before Isaac Newton, was born in Lismore Castle the seventh son of the first earl of Cork by his second wife, Catherine Fenton. His academic abilities were recognized

early, and he was schooled at Eton, privately, and on a Grand Tour with his brother Francis. Settling in Geneva (1638), he was introduced to the natural philosophy of Galileo. He also went through a profound religious experience that shaped his life and science.

These travels ended when rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1641 and the party returned to London. A younger son, Boyle avoided public life and immersed himself in medicine and chemistry, to which he was introduced by Samuel Hartlib, the eminent acquaintance of his sister Catherine (Lady Ranelagh). Boyle could reconcile medicine and chemistry with his religious conscience because of their imagined social utility. He moved to Oxford in 1654 and joined a politically diverse group in experimentally investigating the new philosophy. Boyle believed that experiment revealed the structure of nature and that theorizing was a separate activity. Even as he compared the numerical results of his experiments on the “spring of air” (pressure) with the predictions of theory, others deduced from them what is now known as Boyle’s Law. Although he was dependent on the design and laboratory skills of men such as Robert Hooke, Boyle became a skilled chemist and an important contributor to chemical theory. He refuted Scholastic arguments against the existence of a vacuum and against the particulate nature of matter. Some of his explanations were Cartesian, yet he rejected many others because he could find no experimental evidence for them.

His scrupulosity as a Christian gentleman also marked his science and included painstaking descriptions of his methods, instrumentation, and results. He delineated for the fledgling scientific community (especially for members of the new scientific institution the Royal Society, of which he was a founding member) the proper conduct of natural philosophers and the methods of natural philosophy. The precarious position of the Royal Society in the early Restoration period was alleviated by Boyle’s presence in London after 1668.

Boyle’s elevated social position made him a symbol and representative of the new science and he spent much time entertaining important visitors to London for scientific activity. Boyle never married and seems to have suffered ill health for most of his life. In his will he established a series of public lectures (named after him) that were used by his contemporaries to refute atheism through use of the new science. Of all Irish-born scientists, he is the most distinguished.

SEE ALSO Dublin Philosophical Society; Petty, Sir William; Restoration Ireland

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Elizabeth Garber

Boyne, Battle of the

Undoubtedly the most famous military engagement in Irish history, the Battle of the Boyne occurred on 1 July 1690 (old style; 12 July, new style) along the river of the same name, roughly two miles to the west of the town of Drogheda. There, some 36,000 troops commanded by King William III defeated an army of approximately 25,000 troops led by King James II. For the entire year prior to the battle there were no major military engagements between the two cautious armies. But when William arrived in Protestant-controlled Ulster in mid-June, he moved quickly to engage his rival, whose supporters controlled the rest of Ireland. While James’s French advisors suggested burning Dublin and retreating west of the river Shannon, James decided to guard the capital. He chose to make his stand along the river Boyne, the best defensible obstacle between Ulster and Dublin. Drogheda, at the mouth of the river, was well garrisoned, but the Boyne was fordable a few miles to the west near Oldbridge, and this is where James placed his army. Unfortunately for James, there was a loop in the river at Oldbridge, a geographical feature that helped to determine the outcome of the battle. Arriving on the north side of the river on 30 June, William and his advisors recognized their advantageous position and decided upon a diversionary, flanking movement further upstream. On the morning of 1 July, as mist cleared, James decided to split his troops—the French to the left flank and the Irish in the center—lest they all be encircled from behind. With over half of James’s troops drawn off, the bulk of William’s army easily forded the river at Oldbridge, where they outnumbered the Irish infantry and cavalry by three to one. The latter held out for three hours of fierce fighting before giving way, and news of the action at Oldbridge prompted a general Jacobite (supporters of James) retreat to Duleek, where in



The Battle of the Boyne [River], 1 July 1690 (old style), about forty miles north of Dublin, was one of the major engagements between James II and his French and Irish allies, on the one hand, and William III and his heavily Dutch forces on the other. William was victorious, and James fled the field and Ireland, though his army fought on for another year. COURTESY OF THE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM, LONDON. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

confusion the entire army crossed the river Nanny. The Williamite army pursued them no further that day, but the victory was theirs. Within three days James was on a boat to France, never to return to Ireland or any of his three former kingdoms, and within a week William was crowned king of Ireland in Dublin.

One of the most striking aspects of the battle was the internationalism of both armies. William's best troops, the Blue Guards, came with him from Holland, while the rest of his army was comprised of French Huguenots, Germans, Danish, English, and Irish. Although the Williamite army was overwhelmingly Protestant, a number of regiments were predominantly Catholic. James's army was primarily Irish and French, but there were also large numbers of Germans, Walloons, and English. The diverse origins of the soldiers who fought at the Boyne reflect many of the key participants' feeling that the battle was not primarily about who ruled Ireland, or even who was the rightful ruler of England. Rather, the battle was part of a much larger,

pan-European conflict between William and Louis XIV of France, who supported James's claim to the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland. William's victory at the Boyne was seen in Europe as a defeat for the French, not for the Irish Catholics. This point is illustrated by the behavior of Pope Innocent XI—no friend of Louis XIV owing to the king's lack of support at Innocent's first papal nomination and to his subsequent extension of secular authority in France—who greeted news of the battle with joy, although not, as has sometimes been claimed, with a *Te Deum* at St. Peter's.

Despite this international dimension, within Ireland the outcome of the battle had dramatic consequences. William's victory gave his forces control of Leinster and much of Munster as well, while placing the supporters of James on the defensive and confining them to Connaught. A year later at Aughrim they were decisively smashed. Jacobites and their spiritual descendants have downplayed the military importance of the Boyne precisely because it was such a great, symbolic victory for

the Williamites: two kings, one Catholic, one Protestant, fighting each other on Irish soil for the crown of Ireland, with the Protestant king victorious. Irish Protestants at the time, and indeed many more hence, came to see William's victory as a sign of divine providence and as the event that saved their lands and their lives from Irish Catholics. In Northern Ireland, the Battle of the Boyne is commemorated annually as a state holiday on 12 July, known commonly as "Orange Day."

SEE ALSO Jacobites and the Williamite Wars

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Charles C. Ludington

Brehon Law

Brehon law (sometimes called Irish law or Irish vernacular law) was the law of Ireland from the earliest historical period to the English invasion in 1169. From then until its abolition by English statute in the early seventeenth century, it was the law of the parts of Ireland controlled by Gaelic and gaelicized lords, though at that point it was heavily influenced by English law. The term *brehon* derives from Old-Irish *brithem*, meaning "judge." Though the earliest law texts belong to the seventh century (and possibly before), they are preserved in manuscripts from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. These contain three kinds of legal material: the ancient text in Old Irish, often written in large letters; glosses or explanations of terms, later than the original texts, written between the lines and in margins; and lengthy commentaries by later legal scholars, some being legal tracts in their own right. The earliest texts occur in different contemporary styles: nonstanzaic verse, highly ornate prose, and concise technical unornamented prose. There was an unbroken literary transmission of legal materials within a professional class of jurists for over a millennium.

PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS

Irish law draws on two main sources: law inherited from the pre-Christian past, and Christian law-making of the early Middle Ages, mostly in Latin; the balance between these has been keenly debated by scholars. Irish shares important legal concepts and terminology with Brittonic (Welsh and Breton). Examples are Irish *macc*, Welsh *mach*, "surety, guarantor"; Irish *dedm*, Welsh *deddf*, "enacted law, ordinance"; Irish *athgabál*, Welsh *adauayl*, Breton *adgabael*, "distrain" (the seizure of property to discharge a debt); and Irish *enech* and Welsh *wyneb*, both meaning "face" and a person's honor in the sense of social worth. These examples show that the Irish and the Welsh share a legal culture that goes back to remote Celtic times, not later than 500 B.C.E. Irish lawyers of the Middle Ages were keenly aware of a pagan past.

By the time of the first records Irish law, however, had been profoundly influenced by Christianity. In the sixth and seventh centuries the laws were written down in the standard Old Irish developed and taught in the Christian schools. Law was not merely written: it was developed as the Christian law of a Christian people. *Cáin Fhuithirbe*, datable to 678 to 683 C.E., states explicitly: *ro dílsiged le dub in díchubus*, "that which is contrary to [Christian] conscience has been made forfeit by ink." The church took over the inherited legal culture and drew on its own laws to enrich it. For example, *Córus bésgnai*, a tract on the relationship of the church with lay society, provides a developed concept of pastoral care. A most notable achievement of the Middle Ages was the elaboration of Irish Church law in Latin. The contemporary canon law collection, the *Hibernensis*, is a compilation by Ruben (d. 725) of Dairinis (near Lismore) and Cú Chuimne (d. 747) of Iona, drawing on a rich earlier archive of canons, writings of the Fathers, councils, and synods. Some canons (for example, about heiresses) are so close to the vernacular laws that the two legal traditions seem to be merging, drawing on common sources and shared personnel. The *Hibernensis* is a remarkable undertaking—nothing less than an attempt to draw up, outside a Roman environment, a comprehensive legal framework for all aspects of Christian life. Brehon law is no less ambitious. Though some historians speak of the survival of pagan law schools and of lay legal culture, there is little evidence for either. In fact, nearly all the lawyers mentioned in the Irish annals between the early ninth and the twelfth centuries are clerics, and often church superiors, poets, or historians as well. Lay legal schools occur some time after the twelfth-century reform of the Irish Church when the church's legal and literary schools ceased to function, and Irish law was cultivated by hereditary legal fami-

lies, notably, the MacEgans, O'Davorens, MacClancys, and O'Dorans.

THE LEGAL COLLECTIONS

The largest collection is *Senchas már* of the eighth century from Northern Ireland, possibly Armagh: some twenty-five tracts on private distraint, pledges, fosterage, kindred, clientship, relations of lord and dependent, marriage, personal injuries, public liability, theft, title to real estate, law of neighborhood (trespass and liability), honor-price, and the contractual obligations of clergy and laity. Other tracts deal with legal and court procedure, suretyship, contract, and much else. There are other collections, notably *Bretha nemed* from Munster Province, which contains valuable texts on the poets and the learned classes and on the relationship of clergy to society.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

These tracts offer a contemporary profile of society. Unlike Roman law people were not equal before the law in Ireland. It was class based in that a person's legal entitlements depended on social position, birth, and wealth, but social mobility was possible. Honor-price was the legal expression of that status. Compensations for offenses against persons were calculated as a fraction or multiple of their honor-price, and dependents had a fraction of the honor-price of those they depended on. For example, a man's wife, son, or daughter normally had half his honor-price; his concubine, a quarter. Important law tracts, such as the *Miadshlechts*, *Uraicecht becc*, and *Críth gablach*, deal with class and social structure. *Críth gablach* (c. 700) is a minute analysis of class structure, ranging from the lowest level of commoner through the nobles' grades to the highest level of kings, and is a unique piece of sociological analysis from the European Middle Ages.

The medico-legal tracts *Bretha crólige* and *Bretha Déin Chécht* deal with personal injuries and the liabilities of the injurer. Injured persons are brought to their homes and are looked after by their families for nine days. If they die within this period, the injurer must pay the full penalties for homicide. If they survive but are disabled or disfigured, the injurer must pay compensation. If they need further medical attention, they must be taken to the safe houses of third parties and nursed under strict conditions of care and quiet. The injurer must pay the physician, supply food (specified in detail) for the injured and their visitors, and provide substitutes to carry out the work of the injured. *Bretha Déin Chécht* deals expertly with the compensations for various kinds of physical injuries. The penalties vary with

the person's class and the nature of the injury, and the physician's fee is half of the fine for major injuries and a third for minor ones.

Apart from unusual circumstances and councils of notables, the king had little role in framing law, and courts other than the king's lacked compulsory jurisdiction. As judge, the king sat with his royal judge. However, justice was mainly private, and law the province of a professional class of lawyers who developed a sophisticated system of sureties and guarantors that made their judgments effective. Irish law avoided capital punishment and provided a refined set of legal norms and procedures that sought to resolve conflict by arbitration. These principles include highly developed concepts in regard to evidence, witnesses, and legal proof, and take intentionality as well as act into account in arriving at judgment.

SEE ALSO Hiberno-Latin Culture; Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Kings and Kingdoms from 400 to 800 C.E.; Legal Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; **Primary Documents:** From *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (1612)

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Donnchadh Ó Corráin

Brewing and Distilling

The modern Irish industries of brewing and distilling took shape in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Prior to this period both beer-making and whiskey- (or spirit-) making were carried on at a mainly small-scale, local level. Whiskey was produced in small stills, both legal and illicit, often in one-person operations. Most beer was brewed by retail brewers—publicans who sold the beer they produced themselves. Whiskey became the most popular drink during the eighteenth century and remained so until the early nineteenth century, after which public taste shifted toward porter and stout, the stalwarts of the growing Irish brewing industry. By the end of the nineteenth century Guinness's brewery of Dublin was the world's largest, and Scotland had replaced Ireland as the world's leading whiskey producer.

Draconian excise legislation introduced in 1779 and 1780 led to the closure of many of the smaller legal distilleries, which in turn led to a huge upsurge in illicit distillation in the countryside and a concentration of the legal industry in larger distilleries in the cities and large towns. Use of illicit stills, which produced the colorless spirit *poitín* (or poteen), was widespread until the 1860s, when improved law enforcement, better-quality legal whiskey, and a shift to porter and stout consumption led to their decline; illicit distillation continued, but on a far smaller scale. In 1830 the distilling industry was revolutionized by the invention of the Coffey patent still, which allowed more economical production of increasingly popular lighter and blended whiskeys. While the major distillers of Dublin and Cork clung to the old pot-still method, the Northern distilleries followed the Scottish lead by investing in patent-still production, prompting a shift in the Irish industry to the North: large-scale patent-still production, combined with superior marketing, ensured Scottish domination of international markets. By the 1920s, many of the leading Ulster distillers had been taken over by the Distillers Company Ltd. of Scotland and closed down, and Dublin (led by Jameson) and Cork (Cork Distillers Company) became the main Irish distilling centers in the twentieth century. Through amalgamation and improved technology and marketing, the Irish distilling industry regained a solid domestic foundation and international market presence.

The demand for whiskey waned throughout the nineteenth century because of increased prices, a successful temperance campaign, and the growing popularity of porter and stout. Since the mid-eighteenth cen-

tury the small-scale Irish brewing industry had suffered from competition from the large British porter breweries. The decline was reversed toward the end of the century as brewing was reorganized into larger and more efficient units. Commercial brewers were growing in size and gradually displacing the formerly dominant retail operators. The larger-scale and more technically efficient Irish porter breweries, particularly Guinness of Dublin and Beamish and Crawford of Cork, rapidly overcame British competition and established brewing as a major Irish industry. Between the 1850s and the eve of the First World War output trebled; about 40 percent was exported. The extraordinary growth of Guinness's brewery was largely responsible for this. By the early twentieth century it was the largest brewery in the world, having managed to capture the expanding Irish market in the second half of the nineteenth century and to establish a crucial presence in the British market. About a dozen substantial breweries that catered to local markets managed to survive Guinness's domination in the twentieth century. The only two stouts to survive were Beamish and Murphy's, both brewed in Cork city. A key to their survival was the breweries' operation of "tied house" systems, whereby public houses in Cork city and county were owned or controlled by the breweries, providing a captive market.

Following Irish independence the number of breweries and distilleries decreased, reflecting economic hardship, new duties on alcoholic products, and restrictions on public-house licenses. Guinness remained dominant, aided by its huge export market, and brewing continued to be the country's leading industry primarily due to the Dublin brewery's success. The opening up of the Irish economy in the 1960s and shifts in consumer tastes changed the face of the industry. Guinness took over many of the last small breweries, while Murphy and Beamish were taken over by foreign multinationals. The three major Irish breweries extended their product ranges to include newly popular lagers and ales, primarily through trade agreements with foreign breweries, and the entire industry underwent extensive modernization. Stout is still the most popular beverage in Ireland, and Guinness still dominates the industry.

SEE ALSO Guinness Brewing Company; Industrialization; Industry since 1920; Rural Industry; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail

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Donal Ó Drisceoil



Bronze Age Culture

The precise nature of the influences which resulted in Ireland in the change from a Neolithic economy predominately dependent on stone for the production of tools and weapons is not fully understood. What is known is that together with changes in burial practices and pottery types, other important technological changes also took place. These changes occurred from about 2500 B.C.E. and were responsible for the introduction not simply of objects made from copper and gold but of the complete metalworking process. The knowledge that results in the production of finished metal objects is complex, involving many different stages, including the sourcing of the raw materials, the winning or mining of the ores, the production of metal by smelting and refining the ores, and the fabrication of objects. It has been generally accepted that the people who introduced a new type of pottery called *Beaker* pottery, which occurs also in Britain and continental Europe, were instrumental in the introduction of metalworking.

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

Ireland had rich sources of copper ores, especially in the southwest, which were identifiable by these early prospectors, and which resulted in the development of a significant copper- and later, bronze-working industry. One of the most important sites for the production of copper ore and metal was discovered at Ross Island, Killarney, Co. Kerry. Excavations here have produced thousands of stone hammers used to break up the ore-bearing rock as well as evidence of smelting ores and habitation debris, including Beaker pottery. Radiocarbon dates ranging from 2400 to 2000 B.C.E. have shown that Ross Island is the earliest dated copper mine in

western Europe. It is likely that it produced the major portion of the copper requirements of Ireland in the earliest stages of the Bronze Age. An important technological improvement occurred with the development of the copper/tin alloy called bronze, which is a more durable metal. This occurred at about 2100 B.C.E. The tin mines of Cornwall, in the southwest of England, were the most likely source of the tin used in Ireland. The objects produced at this time were chiefly axeheads, daggers, and halberds, cast in one-piece or two-piece stone molds and finished by hammering. The change from copper to bronze can be observed in the gradual improvements in the functionality of the tools and weapons being made.

At the same time gold was also being used to produce a range of ornaments made from sheet gold. Although the sources of the gold used in Ireland throughout the Bronze Age have not yet been located, gold is found in different parts of the country. The products of the Early Bronze Age include the so-called basket earrings, decorated discs and plaques usually found in pairs, and collars of crescentic shape called *lunula(e)*. More than eighty lunulae have been found in Ireland. A small number were found in Britain and western Europe; some of them were exported from Ireland and others are copies of the Irish form. The finest of them show that gold-working skills were developed to a high degree, as the thinly beaten gold sheet and delicate patterns of geometric motifs demonstrate. The carefully executed patterns of incised lozenges, triangles, zigzag motifs, and groups of lines are symmetrically arranged, producing original compositions from a very limited repertoire of motifs. Similar decorative patterns are also seen on pottery and some types of bronze axehead.

Burial practices also changed; gradually, large tombs built above ground were replaced by burials placed in small stone-lined structures called *cists*. The classic Beaker burial, consisting of a single crouched inhumation accompanied by a ceramic vessel and other objects such as barbed and tanged flint arrowheads and stone wrist bracers, does not occur in Ireland. However, the same rite of burial, accompanied by a highly decorated pottery Bowl and occasionally objects of stone, bone, or bronze, was adopted. Other pottery types, including Vases and different types of urns (vase urns, encrusted urns, cordoned and collared urns) were also used. A variety of burial rites which included cremation and the placing of the cremated remains (in many cases representing more than one person) in a large urn to be buried upside down in a pit, were adopted. These burials occur in isolation, in flat cemeteries, or under or within mounds of earth and/or stone. These burial practices continued until about 1400 B.C.E., when they were replaced by the interment of cremated remains in pits or

in large undecorated vessels similar to pots from domestic sites. This became the predominant burial rite for the remainder of the Bronze Age. These are found in unmarked cemeteries and other sites, such as ring barrows or ring ditches.

Settlement or habitation sites vary throughout the Bronze Age and include enclosed and unenclosed sites containing round or oval houses and other ancillary structures, some of which may have been used for storage or for housing animals. Lakeside settlements and the use of artificial islands called *crannógs* and small natural islands were a feature of Late Bronze Age society, and the building of large enclosures on hilltop sites from the end of the second millennium is thought by some to suggest a lack of stability and a need for defensive enclosures. Another view is that these sites were places of assembly for important seasonal events.

THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

During the period called the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1700–1200 B.C.E.) the production of bronze and gold metalwork continued, but there were changes in metallurgical techniques and in the types of objects being produced. Axeheads and daggers continued to be made while spearheads and rapiers were introduced. The hafting of tools and weapons was continuously improved as fully socketed forms were developed. Casting techniques also improved, and sophisticated two-part stone molds and eventually clay molds were used. Work in gold also continued, although the ornaments produced were very different from those of the earlier period. Probably through influences from the Mediterranean, objects of twisted bars and strips of gold became common. Some, such as the pair of torcs from Tara, Co. Meath, are extremely large and heavy, suggesting that rich sources of ore were available. Sheet gold was still used, but chiefly for armlets decorated with raised ribs and grooved bands, such as those from Derrinboy, Co. Offaly.

The occurrence of monuments such as stone circles, stone alignments (two or more stones in a row), and standing stones suggests a continuing interest in the building of structures that dominate the landscape. Some of these monuments are oriented in ways that suggest alignment on specific solar events. Others have been used for burials. The monuments known in Ireland as *fulachta fiadh*—mounds of cracked and burnt stone surrounding timber- or stone-lined pits—occur in large numbers in many parts of the country. They may have been used as cooking places, for bathing, or for another as yet unknown purpose that required large quantities of hot water.



This gold collar from Gleninsheen, Co. Clare, was found concealed in a rock fissure in 1932. The collar is formed from a single sheet of gold with two terminal discs attached to it with twisted gold wire and dates to the Late Bronze Age (c. 800–600 B.C.E.). COPYRIGHT © NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The construction of hillforts from about 1200 B.C.E. and the appearance in the artifactual record of large numbers of bronze swords suggest that the later stages of the Bronze Age (1000–500 B.C.E.) were unsettled. Nevertheless, the manufacture of bronze and gold objects continued, with many new forms being introduced. Further technological advances produced cast bronze horns, while sheet-work skills were perfected in the fabrication of cauldrons and shields.

Similar techniques were used to produce a huge variety of gold ornaments, including sheet-gold collars (called *gorgets*) and ear-spools, while cast and hammered bars were used to make a great variety of bracelets and dress-fasteners. Collars and ear-spools are decorated with raised ribs and cable patterns, conical bosses, and groups of concentric circles. These were produced using a wide range of goldsmithing techniques, such as repoussé, chasing, stamping, and raising. Finely beaten gold foils were used to cover split-ring ornaments of different types, pinheads, and *bullae* (amulets) of base metals. Gold wire was used to stitch the component parts of gold collars together, to decorate as filigree, and to make the biconical ornaments called *lock-rings*.

Large and small quantities of objects, as well as single objects, were regularly abandoned both on dry land and in wet and boggy places, many in situations from which they could never be recovered. Some hoards, such as the one from a bog at Dowris, Co. Offaly, contained hundreds of bronze objects, including axeheads, spearheads, horns, crotals, and cauldrons. The hoard found at Mooghaun, Co. Clare, contained hundreds of gold bracelets and many gold collars. The custom of hoarding was common all over Europe and must have been part of the wider social and ritual lives of the people.

While metalwork, ceramics, and stone predominate during the Bronze Age in Ireland, other media such as wood, leather, bone, jet, amber, wool, and other natural materials were used to provide a range of everyday and special objects.

From about 700 B.C.E. a gradual change from a mainly bronze-working economy to one based on the use of iron as the preferred metal took place. These changes were profound and irreversible, affecting all aspects of society. Eventually, iron replaced bronze as the preferred metal for the production of tools and weapons, and bronze was restricted mostly to objects of a more decorative nature. Gold was almost completely abandoned and was never again used in Ireland to the same extent or with the same degree of unbounded plenitude.

SEE ALSO Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland; Stone Age Settlement

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Mary Cahill

Brooke, Basil Stanlake, First Viscount Brookeborough

Basil Stanlake Brooke, First Viscount Brookeborough (1888–1973), unionist politician and prime minister of Northern Ireland, was born on 9 June at Colebrooke House, County Fermanagh, the family seat. The Brooke family had been Fermanagh landowners since the Ulster plantation. Brooke was educated at Pau (France) and Winchester, joining the British army at the age of 20. During home leave in 1912 to 1913 he joined the anti-Home Rule campaign, working with the Fermanagh Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). Brooke lost his religious faith during the First World War. He left the army in 1919 and returned to Fermanagh. During the "Troubles" of 1919 to 1921 he revived the UVF as a local defense body, the nucleus of the Ulster Special Constabulary. Brooke's attitude toward Catholics and nationalists was permanently embittered by his experiences during the troubles. In 1929, Brooke became a member of the Northern Ireland Parliament for the Linskeea division of County Fermanagh, serving until 1965. Between 1933 and 1941 he was a competent minister for agriculture. Several speeches in 1933, calling on Protestant employers to employ only "Protestant lads and lasses," made him a particularly hated figure for Catholics and nationalists. In 1941 Brooke became minister of commerce, and was seen as the most effective member of a cabinet dominated by geriatric veterans of the Craigavon era. In 1943 he led a revolt by junior ministers that unseated J. M. Andrews and brought a new generation to power within the Unionist Party. Two of his sons died in the Second World War. Brooke's early years as premier were buoyed by the postwar economic boom, the welfare state, and British sympathy for Ulster unionism in reaction against Irish wartime neutrality. In 1952 he became Viscount Brookeborough. His term is often seen as a missed opportunity to reconcile the Catholic minority. A liberal unionist faction emerged, denounced by populist hardliners including the young Ian Paisley. Brooke was committed fully to neither liberals nor hardliners; but in the last resort, he preferred to exploit the nationalist threat, emphasized by the Republic's misconceived anti-partition campaign and the Irish Republican Army's border campaign of 1956 to 1962. In the mid-1950s Northern Ireland's traditional industries resumed their decline; Brooke's amateurish governance was visibly inadequate to address the province's economic problems. The Northern Ireland Labour Party made significant progress in the 1958 and 1962 Stormont elections. When Brooke retired in 1963, he was felt to have stayed

too long. His son John later became Stormont minister for home affairs. Brooke lived to see the fall of Stormont and died on 18 August 1973. He epitomized the narrowness, determination, and ultimate inadequacy of the traditional unionist elite.

SEE ALSO Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act; Ulster Unionist Party in Office

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Patrick Maume

Bruce Invasion

The Bruce invasion of Ireland (1315–1317) was in fact an episode in the Scottish War of Independence, arising from the attempt of Edward I of England to annex Scotland following the extinction of the direct line of native kings in 1286. A national resistance movement at once emerged, and in March 1306 Robert Bruce had himself inaugurated as king of the Scots. Forced almost at once to flee, he returned to conduct a successful guerrilla campaign against the English. In June 1314 a large invading army was destroyed by Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn, near Stirling. Nevertheless, the English refused to accept Scottish independence.

It was probably as a means of bringing pressure on England, and of depriving it of the resources that it was drawing from the Irish colony, that Robert, in May 1316, sent his brother Edward with a force to Ireland. The invasion was accompanied by an appeal to the native Irish to throw off the English yoke. After being joined by Domhnall Ó Néill, acknowledged head of the Irish of Ulster, Edward Bruce was proclaimed king of Ireland. A letter—the famous “Remonstrance”—was sent by Ó Néill to the pope, setting out the oppressions of the Anglo-Normans and asking him to transfer the sovereignty of Ireland from the English to Edward Bruce, to whom Ó Néill transferred any hereditary right he had to the kingship. Two and a half years of indeci-

sive warfare followed, ending with Edward’s death in battle at Faughart, Co. Louth, on 14 October 1318. The campaign coincided with three years of exceptionally bad weather, which led to the worst European famine of the Middle Ages.

The Bruces had hoped to find widespread support in Ireland, but this failed to materialize. They may not have been aware of the depth of racial antagonism between Gael and Anglo-Norman that existed at this time in Ireland, since it did not exist in Scotland. Only some minor Anglo-Norman landowners in Ulster and Meath joined the Scots, all the major barons staying loyal to the English crown. The factional divisions of the Gaelic Irish ensured that—as happened with the O’Briens—if one faction allied themselves with the Scots, their rivals would join the English. Nevertheless, the opportunities provided by the invasion were seized upon by the Gaelic Irish, especially in the provinces of Leinster and Connaught, to attack the local colonial settlements, and after the invasion large areas passed out of the control of the Dublin administration. If the Bruce invasion failed in its aim of establishing an independent Irish kingdom allied with Scotland, it accelerated the Gaelic Recovery and the progress of gaelicization among the Anglo-Norman elites.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland; Gaelic Recovery; Gaelic Society in the Late Middle Ages; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence

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Kenneth Nicholls

Burial Customs and Popular Religion from 1500 to 1690

In early modern Ireland, as in Europe, death was a public drama. The dying individual would be visited by

friends, relatives, and clergy, and was expected to spend time preparing for death and putting worldly affairs in order. In certain areas bells were rung on death and again at the funeral. The body was washed and placed in a shroud that was knotted or tied at head and feet; special shroud pins might also be used. This work was the preserve of women. Corpses were usually laid out and buried with hands lying on the pelvis or at the sides. Catholics increasingly wished to die or be buried in religious habit—that of the Franciscans was particularly popular—as a means of eliciting the patronage of important saints. Most people would have been buried in the shroud alone, although archaeological evidence suggests that coffin burial became increasingly common. Parishes often hired out biers and coffins, particularly in the late seventeenth century.

THE WAKE

Prior to interment the corpse was laid out in his or her own home. Family and friends continually watched the body, with a substantial company often gathering at this wake. Drinking of alcohol, dancing, and rowdy games were a feature of wakes until the early twentieth century. The practice of keening over the corpse, both at the wake and the funeral, was frequently commented upon in the early modern period, usually negatively. For onlookers, howling and crying were the main features of the keen, though it sometimes came across as quite musical. Keeners, who were usually female, might also drink the blood of the deceased, clap their hands, and tear at their hair and clothes. The keen was more than a lament: it also served as an expression of protest (against death and other wrongs suffered by women and society), and it might occasionally be used in contexts other than funerals. Wakes and keening faced increasing opposition from the Catholic Church and the civil authorities on both national and local levels from the early seventeenth century onwards, as attempts were made to impose new forms of “civilized” and reverent behavior.

Few mentions of the *banshee* (*ban sí*, “fairly woman”), whose keen warned of or announced a death, survive from this period. However, it is clear that among the Gaelic Irish in particular, belief in death omens was widespread.

WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Private commemoration of and grief for the dead was expressed in personal documents and poetry. In Gaelic areas the deaths of important individuals often occasioned the creation of praise-poetry by the bards, though this reveals little about funerary practice or real

feelings. Indeed, for Gaelic areas in particular, many aspects of the process of death and the treatment of the dead are difficult to retrieve from the patchy sources that survive from this period. Elsewhere, wills and other sources give some indications of the ways in which official proscriptions against donations to the Catholic Church could be sidestepped, and it is clear that significant resources were expended on prayers, pious works, and masses to aid the dead in purgatory. Irish Protestants tended to express strong confidence in meeting their loved ones in heaven, whereas all sides of the religious divide were quick to consign their enemies to hell.

BURIAL

Many burials were accomplished within a day of death, though two to four days was the usual interval between death and burial for the middle and upper classes in the 1630s. For the very wealthy, several weeks or months of preparation might go into the elaborate and costly funerals orchestrated by the heralds, whose office in Ireland was founded in 1552, and this delay might necessitate the embalming of the corpse. Heraldic funerals reached the height of their popularity in the early to mid-seventeenth century, especially among recently established New English settler families, for whom such display served to underline their new titles and entitlements. Their subsequent decline reflected the social disruption of the 1640s and 1650s as well as the rise of the new fashion for nocturnal funerals. Central to heraldic and other funerals was the procession in which the community gathered in hierarchical order. Military funerals might involve the participation of soldiers, while the inclusion of the poor might demonstrate the deceased’s charity. (Catholics also perceived large numbers of mourners as an important source of prayer for the dead.) There was considerable communal participation in funerals in all parts of the country. Edifying sermons might occur at both Protestant and Catholic funerals.

Funerals occasionally become the site of conflict, both between and within religious denominations. Several examples of resistance to Protestant interference in Catholic funerals exist, as do accounts of rivalry between the Catholic clergy and religious orders. As church buildings gradually came under Protestant control, Catholic funeral services seem increasingly to have been held in private houses. However, burial in parish cemeteries and Protestant-controlled churches continued after the Reformation. Burial in the graveyards of old monastic sites also remained popular. Changes in the use of some of these buildings, especially in the towns, led to some adjustments in burial practice,

though in many areas monasteries were protected by local Catholic landowners.

The long-established custom of burial within church buildings seems generally to have begun to decline in the late seventeenth century as overcrowding became an increasing problem. Previously, church burial was considered to be more prestigious than cemetery burial (it was also more expensive), and parts of the church, such as the east and south sides, were deemed particularly desirable. For Catholics burial near religious images and holy people was also popular. This, along with the practice of chantry-chapel creation and burial, was somewhat disturbed after the Reformation, though many Catholics long retained burial rights in family chapels, and even, through the building of new mortuary chapels, aimed to continue their association with church buildings while isolating themselves from their heretical functions. The arrival of new religious groups, such as the Quakers, led to the foundation of new burial grounds and the introduction of different burial practices (such as the south-north rather than west-east orientation of graves). Meanwhile, those considered outsiders by society—criminals, suicides, heretics, and so on—might be relegated to interment in unconsecrated ground, refused burial, or even exhumed and destroyed. In times of war and plague, bodies were frequently disposed of in mass graves. The visiting of graves seems to have been common, and the graves (and remains) of holy people, such as those perceived as martyrs for Catholicism, might become places of pilgrimage.

COMMEMORATION

Increased control over the running of churches and cemeteries during this period saw the gradual removal there from of the commercial and social activities (such as markets, taverns, and game playing) that they had formerly housed. In the later 1600s, gravestones began to appear and would eventually transform the graveyard landscape. Previously, people had largely been commemorated within churches by monuments that took on much variety in size and shape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The range of choice available made commemoration accessible to those of quite modest means. The wealthy might employ foreign craftspeople to produce large modern monuments, such as those of the first earl of Cork in Youghal and Dublin. Elsewhere local schools of craftsmen, such as the Kerins and O'Tunneys in the midlands, or individual masons competently provided for the needs of the local Catholic business and landowning classes. In their iconography and inscriptions funerary monuments reflect attitudes to death, desires to commemorate family ties and earth-

ly achievements, the ambitions of the upwardly mobile, and some of the religious concerns of Catholics and Protestants, particularly ideas about the afterlife.

SEE ALSO Calvinist Influences in Early Modern Ireland; Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1500 to 1690; Religion: 1500 to 1690; Religion: Traditional Popular Religion; **Primary Documents:** Act of Uniformity (1560)

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Clodagh Tait

Burke, Edmund

The statesman and writer Edmund Burke (1729–1797) was born in Dublin on 12 January 1729 and died at Beaconsfield in England on 9 July 1797. In his writings and career Burke sought to understand and exemplify the virtues of the emerging British empire. He sought to explain how the distinctive virtues of English constitutional and social traditions were capacious enough to absorb new populations, such as that of Ireland, and to expand to new territories, especially North America. While never a systematic philosopher, he laid the basis for a distinctive brand of conservative liberalism that exists to this day.

Burke's father, Richard, was a Protestant attorney at the Court of Exchequer, while his mother, Mary Nagle, was a Catholic with connections in Munster. Burke's vision of an inclusive model of empire was therefore generated from his family background. His



Edmund Burke (1729–1797) is best known for his career as a philosopher and statesman in England. He was, however, born in Ireland and used his Irish connections to play a significant role in Anglo-Irish affairs. © BETTMAN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

early education was in the Quaker school at Ballitore in Kildare, and he attended Trinity College from 1743 to 1748 (B.A. 1748). There he was a founding member of the Historical Society. He left Ireland in 1750 but maintained Irish interests particularly as private secretary to Charles Watson-Wentworth, second marquis of Rockingham, leader of the parliamentary Whigs. Burke argued for Catholic Emancipation and was paymaster of the forces in the Rockingham administration that repealed Poyning's Law and granted legislative independence to Ireland in 1782. Burke spoke on Irish affairs as a British MP for Wendover from 1766 to 1794. He was a correspondent of the Catholic Committee, and his son was its agent in London until 1790. His Irish interests often hindered his English career, notably by costing him his Bristol seat.

Catholic Emancipation of Ireland was only one of his five great causes, which also included parliamentary reform, conciliation with America, reform of the Indian administration, and opposition to the French Revolution. None of these was achieved in his lifetime. His writings, notably *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), *A Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol* (1777), and *Reflections on the Rev-*

olution in France (1790) were of more long-term importance than his political career.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union

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James Livesey

Butler, James, Twelfth Earl and First Duke of Ormond

James Butler, twelfth earl and first duke of Ormond (1610–1688), lord lieutenant of Ireland, was born on 19 October 1610 at Clerkenwell, London, into the greatest of the old English families. Placed as a royal ward under the direction of the archbishop of Canterbury, he grew up a committed adherent of the Protestant Established Church. Inheriting the earldom (1633), he sat in the 1634–1635 Irish parliament. With the outbreak of the Irish rising in October 1641, he was given command of the king's army in Ireland. When the Gaelic Irish were joined by the Catholic Old English, including prominent figures related to Ormond, his loyalty to the king never wavered. He was made marquis of Ormond in August 1642, soon after the outbreak of the English civil war. Having agreed to a truce with the Catholic Confederates (September 1643), he was soon after appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland with instructions to negotiate a peace that would free up an army to support the beleaguered king in England. Ormond's task was complicated by the king's secretly authorizing the earl of Glamorgan to offer the Confederates more favorable terms on both religion and land than the Protestant Ormond would have thought prudent or proper. When the Glamorgan initiative ended in failure, Ormond reopened talks with the Confederates. The ensuing first Ormond

peace (March 1646) was condemned by Archbishop Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, who excommunicated its adherents and secured its repudiation by the Catholic Confederacy (February 1647). The military failure of the king's cause in England, together with the seeming impossibility of agreement with the Confederates in Ireland, led Ormond to surrender Dublin to a parliamentary army under Colonel Michael Jones (June 1647). He left for England in late July, meeting the king and later traveling to Paris to confer with the queen. He returned to Ireland in the autumn of 1648. With news that the king was to stand trial, it was imperative for all who feared the parliamentary radicals in England to unite, and a new peace (the second Ormond peace) was agreed in January 1649. In the summer Ormond's attempt to take back Dublin ended in a rout at Rathmines. When Oliver Cromwell and a huge English army arrived in August, Ormond was in no position to take them on, though he had some modest, if short-lived, successes. Relations with the Catholic bishops again deteriorated, his position became untenable, and he left for France in December 1650.

Throughout the 1650s Ormond was one of Charles II's closest advisors at the exiled Stuart court, and so he remained immediately after the Restoration (1660). Appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, he arrived in Dublin (July 1662) in time to give the royal assent to the Act of Settlement (1662). Faced with Catholic disappointment at the limited scope for restoration of confiscated estates, and with Protestant fears that the court of claims was conceding too much, he recognized that a second land act was necessary and was in London in 1664 to 1665 while the terms of the Act of Explanation (1665) were hammered out.

The most consistent aspect of Ormond's government was unequivocal support for the established church. He tolerated Protestant dissent only to the extent that it did not threaten the Church of Ireland, and his generally suspicious attitude toward the Catholic clergy was the result of his experience in the 1640s. The encouragement that he gave to the supporters of a Catholic remonstrance of loyalty was as much designed to provoke division among Catholic clergymen as to find a basis on which the Catholic Church might be tolerated. His inability to manage government finances was used by his enemies at Whitehall to argue for his recall, and whatever the king's reasons, Ormond was replaced as viceroy in 1669.

Reappointed for his last stint as viceroy (1677–1685), he maintained a stable order in Ireland while England was engulfed by the popish plot and exclusion crises. In James II's reign he went into retirement in England after a public life whose guiding principles were

loyalty to the Crown, the established church, and the house of Ormond.

SEE ALSO Confederation of Kilkenny; Jacobites and the Williamite Wars; Puritan Sectaries; Restoration Ireland

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James McGuire



Butt, Isaac

Barrister and Home Rule Party leader Isaac Butt (1813–1879) was born on 6 September in Glenfin, Co. Donegal. The only son of a Church of Ireland rector, Butt attended Trinity College, Dublin, where he helped to found the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1833. Butt was appointed professor of political economy at Trinity in 1836 and was called to the bar in 1838. He began his political career in the 1840s as a conservative opponent of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal movement. Elected MP for Youghal as a Liberal-Conservative in 1852, he moved to London and lived there until he lost his parliamentary seat in 1865. During this period Butt fathered two illegitimate children and ran up huge debts that left him in a precarious financial position for the rest of his life.

While in Parliament, Butt championed the rights of Irish tenants, and after 1865, at great financial cost to himself, he further enhanced his reputation with Irish nationalists by defending many Fenians in the trials that followed the suppression of the *Irish People* in 1865 and the failed rising of 1867. In 1868 Butt assumed the leadership of the amnesty movement, which sought the release of the imprisoned Fenians. In the following year Butt also became a leader of the Irish Tenant League, which campaigned for tenant-right legislation. After Gladstone's government failed to satisfy either of these movements, granting only a partial amnesty in 1869 and passing the limited Land Act of 1870, Butt argued

that only a domestic Irish parliament could redress Irish grievances and launched the Home Government Association in 1870.

Although Butt was elected MP for Limerick in 1871, at first few other Home Rule candidates were successful. However, when the Catholic middle classes joined the new Home Rule League, and Fenians gave it their tacit support, Butt and his followers captured over half the Irish seats in the 1874 general election. Because the Home Rule Party was ill-disciplined, Butt accomplished very little. Soon some of Butt's impatient followers, led by Joseph Biggar and Charles Stewart Parnell, challenged his hesitant leadership by engaging in parliamentary obstruction. Although Butt retained control of the Home Rule League until his death on 5 May 1879, leadership of the Irish national movement had passed to Parnell in 1878. Butt won the support of Fenians, tenant-right advocates, clergy, and middle-class Catholics for a Home Rule Party, but because of his

indecisive parliamentary leadership he failed to bring Home Rule any closer.

SEE ALSO Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Tenant Right, or Ulster Custom; **Primary Documents:** Resolutions Adopted at the Home Rule Conference (18–21 November 1873); Speech Advocating Consideration of Home Rule by the House of Commons (30 June 1874)

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Patrick F. Tally



Calvinist Influences in Early Modern Ireland

John Calvin's *Institutes* (first published 1536, final edition 1559) is one of the major theological achievements of the Reformation, a systematic attempt to develop a biblical theology taking Luther's theology as its starting point, but developing it in new directions. If one defines Calvinism in relation to the model church structure that Calvin established in Geneva, with its insistence on the relative powers of church and state, its three-fold non-episcopal ministry, and its distinctive disciplinary structure, then the formal history of Calvinism in early modern Ireland, thus defined, began with the arrival of the Scottish army in Ulster in 1642 and the consequent establishment of Calvinist presbyteries in various Ulster towns. These subsequently grew into the Irish Presbyterian church(es), which after the Restoration in 1660 became the largest dissenting group in Ireland. Even within this tradition, however, the relationship to the classic English statement of Calvinist theology, the Westminster Confession of 1646, was complicated, with splits in the early eighteenth century between Old Lights (conservative Calvinists) and the more liberal New Lights, who rejected the need to subscribe to that definition of the faith.

In broader theological terms, the influence of Calvin's theology spread well beyond those churches that were formally Calvinist in their structure. The theology of the Church of England by the early seventeenth century was largely Calvinist in its approach to salvation and the Lord's Supper. By the time that the Church of Ireland began to develop a theological identity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it was this "informal" Calvinism that shaped both its theology and

its first seminary, Trinity College, Dublin, founded in 1592. The first full-time provost of Trinity, Walter Travers, had been a leader of the unsuccessful effort by English Puritans in the 1580s to create a Presbyterian presence within the Church of England, and Trinity in its early decades had a reputation for so-called Puritanism. Indeed, the Church of Ireland went beyond the Church of England in incorporating this theological bent into its confession of faith. Whereas the English Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563 allowed for Calvinist doctrine but did not prescribe it, the Irish Articles of 1615 were much more explicitly Reformed: For instance, they committed the church to double predestination by incorporating the Lambeth Articles of 1596 (which had been rejected by the Church of England), and they were more nuanced in their approach to episcopacy, and much more firm in their opposition to the Roman Catholic Church. The theology of James Ussher (1581–1656), Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh (1625–1656) and the leading intellectual figure in the seventeenth-century Irish church, closely reflected the Calvinism of the Irish Articles.

As a result of this theological coloration, the Church of Ireland in the first three decades of the seventeenth century proved able to incorporate many Puritan clergy from England and Presbyterians from Scotland who had been judged too radical by the authorities across the Irish Sea. In particular, the urgent need for Protestant clergy to serve the great influx of Scottish settlers in Ulster led some Church of Ireland bishops in that province to admit to the ministry Scots Presbyterians, a feat which was made easier by the absence of any rigorous disciplinary structures to enforce conformity within the Church of Ireland.

This interesting experiment in inclusiveness ended in the mid-1630s as Ireland was sucked into the campaign by Charles I and his chief ecclesiastical adviser,

Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, to moderate the Calvinist theology of the Church of England. The arrival in Ireland in 1633 of the new Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth and his chief ecclesiastical advisor, Bishop John Bramhall of Derry, marked the beginning of a decisive shift in theological outlook. Ussher was gently pushed to one side, and Bramhall and Wentworth used the 1634 Irish convocation to radically alter the Church of Ireland's doctrine and constitution by forcing through, in the face of considerable opposition, two key reforms: The Irish Articles of 1615 were replaced by the English Thirty-Nine Articles, and new disciplinary canons were approved. Over the next two years Bramhall forced the Presbyterian clergy in Ulster out of the Church of Ireland. The link between the Church of Ireland and Presbyterianism was not wholly broken, however, for the Westminster Confession used as one of its primary sources the Irish Articles of 1615. And in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Church of Ireland developed a distinctly evangelical outlook which can be seen as a throwback to its earlier flirtation with Calvinism.

SEE ALSO Burial Customs and Popular Religion from 1500 to 1690; Puritan Sectaries; Solemn League and Covenant; Ussher, James

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Alan Ford

Carolán, Turlough

The Irish harper and composer Turlough Carolán (Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin; 1670–1738), whose compositions make up the vast majority of surviving Old Irish harp music, was born near Nobber, Co. Meath. Carolán's family moved to County Roscommon, probably when he was about fourteen years old, and his father was employed there by the MacDermott Roe fami-



J. Rogers, Carolán: The Celebrated Irish Bard (c. 1809), a stippled engraving of the famous blind Irish harpist. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 11343. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ly. The lady of the house took a particular interest in Carolán's education, especially when, at age eighteen, he was debilitated by smallpox, which left him blind. Mrs. MacDermott Roe arranged harp lessons for him for three years with a harper also called MacDermott Roe and then equipped him with a horse, a guide, and a gratuity to enable him to begin his career as a traveling musician.

Carolán traveled the roads of Connacht, north Leinster, north Munster, and south Ulster over a period of about forty years. His fame grew steadily in his own lifetime, no doubt helped by the fact that he was regarded as an eccentric and colorful character. However, his composing skills were apparently far superior to his performing abilities, and this is the reason that he remains an important figure in Irish traditional music today. His music was influenced on the one hand by the native, oral, art-music tradition of his Irish harping predecessors and on the other hand by the Italian baroque music popular among the gentry at that time, in particular the music of Corelli, Vivaldi, and Geminiani. The

audience for Carolan's music is thought to have been divided into three groups—Gaelic, Old English, and the Protestant Ascendancy—in whose homes he was a welcome visitor. The vast majority of his surviving music is named after individuals representing each of these groups (e.g., Elizabeth MacDermott Roe, Lady Athenry, and Mervyn Pratt respectively).

Carolan's fame can be attributed at least in part to the fact that his musical life coincided with a great interest in Irish culture and identity in general as the eighteenth century progressed. However, this era was also one in which the economy and culture that had supported the medieval class of male, professional Irish harpers disappeared. Therefore Carolan was a member of one of the last generations of these harper/composers. Fortunately his musically active years also coincided with the development of the music-publishing industry in both Ireland and Britain. Carolan's compositions made up the majority of the tunes in the earliest known collection of Irish music published in Ireland, *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes*, published in 1724 by John and William Neal(e). His music continued to be published in Ireland and Britain in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, appearing in operas by eighteenth-century composers such as Coffey and Shield, in popular-song collections such as those by Thomas Moore, and in antiquarian-inspired collections such as those by Bunting and Petrie.

More than two hundred pieces attributed to Carolan survive, although some have been attributed erroneously. His music continues to have great importance today and is regarded as distinct from the mainstream dance-music tradition.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Music: Early Modern Music; Music: Modern Music

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Sandra Joyce

Carson, Sir Edward

One of the founders of Northern Ireland and a central leader of Irish unionism, Edward Carson (1854–1935) was born and raised in Dublin. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, Carson became a very successful barrister, participating in the first Oscar Wilde trial and other landmark cases of the 1890s. Carson's spectacular legal career was confirmed by his selection as the Conservative solicitor-general, a post he held from 1900 to 1906.

But it was politics, not law, that made Carson's reputation. Named leader of the Irish Unionist Party in 1910, Carson effectively led unionist opposition to Irish Home Rule, consistently outmaneuvering John Redmond and his nationalist lieutenants throughout the ensuing decade. Carson was by no means alone; his political leadership received the critical aid of James Craig, who focused on mobilizing and organizing supporters. While privately concerned about the dangers of extremist violence, Carson publicly aligned himself with Ulster hard-liners between 1912 and 1914, signing the Ulster Covenant, helping to fund the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force, and supporting the Larne gunrunning. The August 1914 outbreak of World War I allowed Carson to avoid facing up to the contradictions between his own social conservatism and his leadership of an increasingly militant unionist rank and file.

Carson occupied important government positions throughout the war years, becoming in July 1917 a full member of the cabinet, where he was well-positioned to articulate unionist opposition to Home Rule. While less enthusiastic than his Ulster colleagues about partition, the Dublin-born Carson accepted the idea as the best option available. The real crisis came in 1916 when, in the wake of the Easter Rising, the British government seemingly moved to implement Irish Home Rule with a temporary exclusion for Ulster. Famously rejecting this compromise as a "temporary stay of execution," Carson received private assurances that Ulster would not be coerced into a Home Rule Ireland. The issue quickly became moot when John Redmond backed away from negotiations. Although plans for all-Ireland Home Rule were raised again in 1918 (Carson resigned from the cabinet in protest), Carson and Craig were able to steer Ulster clear throughout the war years.

After Edward Carson oversaw the creation of Northern Ireland with the 1920 implementation of the Government of Ireland Act, he quickly handed over the leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party to James Craig (later Lord Craigavon). Accepting a life peerage in 1921, Carson remained active in the House of Lords until 1929; he died six years later in 1935.

SEE ALSO Craig, James, First Viscount Craigavon; Redmond, John; Unionism from 1885 to 1922; **Primary Documents:** Address on the Ulster Question in the House of Commons (11 February 1914)

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Sean Farrell

Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809

The Catholic Association, the forerunner of the Catholic Committee, was established in July 1756 by Charles O’Conor of Belanagare, John Curry, and Thomas Wyse, who were Catholic gentlemen whose family fortunes had greatly suffered in the confiscations of the previous age. The establishment of this body, together with the pamphleteering activity of O’Conor and Curry, can be taken as a noteworthy signal of a major turning point in the political history of Irish Catholics. Until after the middle of the eighteenth century the Catholic community rested its hopes on a Stuart restoration and saw little point in dialogue with Ireland’s Protestant community, beyond the obligation to engage in religious polemic. Now minds were turning to the problem of finding a place for the upper ranks of Catholic society under a Hanoverian regime likely to endure.

The establishment of the association was probably a little premature, if for no other reason than the outbreak of the Seven Years’ War. This inevitably sharpened the anxieties of Protestants, whom Catholics feared to provoke. Clerical fears of laymen making blundering statements about Catholic principles and continuing Jacobite commitments also rendered the approaching of politicians a cause of division. However, the 1760s saw the defeat of France, banishing Jacobitism from the realm of practical politics, and the emergence of an issue suitable for Catholic agitation. This was the quarterage

dispute, occasioned by the attempt of the Protestant-controlled urban trade guilds to coerce Catholics into remaining within their structures (and thus preserve guild monopolies) without giving them access to economic or political power, that is, as mere “quarter brethren.” The guilds and their champion, the “Wilkes of Ireland,” Charles Lucas, were unpopular among many and failed to gain the necessary political support for this. Henceforth, though the guilds retained their constitutional power in the municipalities, their economic influence was substantially lost. Not only was there this victory, but the Catholic trading interest, a disproportionately large part of the respectability of the Catholics by virtue of the laws regulating landholding, had been politicized.

Catholic relief, when it began with the acts of 1778 and 1782, owed very little to Catholic campaigning. Indeed, the Catholic Committee had ceased to function for a few years before 1778. Then a desire to raise troops among the enthusiastically anti-American Catholics brought concessions. More came in 1782 from an attempt by the government to divide those Protestants seeking Irish legislative independence and to keep Catholics from giving them support. The attempt failed when the government’s opponents united to match its display of generosity. In the following years, too, both the government and proponents of political reform sought to use the Catholics in their struggles. Most members of the committee thought an uncommitted stance the one most likely to bring what was still desired—commissions in the army, admission to the bar, and perhaps even to the franchise. However, the adoption of partisan positions by some of the most influential created division. The ideological depth of this division became manifest in the winter of 1791 to 1792, when again events outside Ireland had brought Catholic relief onto the political agenda and intensified the activity of the Catholic Committee. Viscount Kenmare led those who sought to resolve the Catholic question by the integration of Catholics and their church with the established order. When despite government pressure the committee declined to repudiate a tract that expressed hostility to any kind of confessionalism, the viscount and his followers seceded from the committee. Despite ecclesiastical support and their own status as the Catholic landed interest, those who seceded lacked substantial support among activists. In any case, they were not as submissive to the government’s wishes as was imagined and were reconciled with the Catholic Committee. The Catholic Convention of 1792, which the committee organized, manifested Catholic unity as well as boldness, and contributed to the passing in 1793 of the relief act that was judged necessary for the conciliation of Catholics at the onset of the war with revolutionary France.

With Catholics now admitted to the franchise, the committee declared its work at an end. Indeed, this was true as nothing more could be achieved for a very long time. The Catholic Committee was revived at the time of the vicereignty of the 2d Earl Fitzwilliam (1794–1795), and a Catholic Association was brought into existence when Charles James Fox and William Wyndham, Lord Grenville came to power in 1806. Such events rendered Catholic activists sanguine. However, as the fate of Fitzwilliam and the general election of 1807 showed, their hopes were unrealistic. Catholic demands were now seen to constitute a threat to Britain's essentially Protestant constitution and the Protestant control of Ireland, and traditional forms of Catholic activism were impotent in the face of firm rejection.

SEE ALSO Catholic Merchants and Gentry from 1690 to 1800; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Keogh, John; O'Connor, Charles, of Balenagare; Penal Laws; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829; Tone, Theobald Wolfe; **Primary Documents:** The Catholic Relief Act (1778); The Catholic Relief Act (1782); The Catholic Relief Act (1793)

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C. D. A. Leighton

Catholic Emancipation Campaign

Legal restrictions placed upon Roman Catholics during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—the so-called Penal Laws—had been reduced considerably by the 1790s. Many statutes had been allowed to lapse; others were modified or struck down by a series of Catholic Relief Acts in 1778, 1782, and 1793. Neverthe-

less, Catholics still labored under certain disadvantages: They were prohibited from holding senior government offices; they could not serve as judges, be admitted to the inner bar, or become sheriffs of counties. Above all, the oath of supremacy that was required of all members of Parliament effectively excluded Catholics from that body because it declared their faith to be heretical. Efforts to remove these restrictions and thereby “emancipate” Catholics began in the 1790s, but despite the support of influential figures such as Prime Minister William Pitt, they foundered against the staunch opposition of King George III, the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, and a majority in the British parliament, particularly in the House of Lords.

EMANCIPATION: QUALIFIED OR UNQUALIFIED?

Many supporters of emancipation believed that their opponents might be won over if sufficient safeguards or securities accompanied the lifting of the remaining Catholic disabilities. They proposed, therefore, that the government retain a veto over the appointment of Catholic bishops and possibly parish priests, and that the state control the salaries of the clergy. This was the position of the aristocrats, lawyers, and merchants who dominated the Catholic Committee, a Dublin-based pressure group that had led the fight for Catholic rights since the 1760s. By the first decade of the nineteenth century others on the committee began to promote an alternative strategy: a demand for unqualified emancipation by which Catholics would receive full rights without qualifications or safeguards. The most articulate proponent of this position was a young Catholic barrister from County Kerry, Daniel O'Connell, who argued that religious liberty was a universal right, that it could admit of no limitations, and that Catholicism was fully compatible with loyalty to the Crown. Bitter wrangles over qualified versus unqualified emancipation split the Catholic movement for the better part of two decades, rendering it less effective than it might otherwise have been. Even so, it is difficult to imagine that even the most unified of campaigns could have succeeded against the implacable resistance of the king and a majority in the House of Lords.

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION

By the early 1820s the prospects of achieving full rights for Catholics appeared dimmer than ever. Though a Catholic Relief Bill containing veto provisions squeaked through the House of Commons in 1821, the Lords rejected it decisively. Moreover, the new monarch, George IV (1820–1830), was even more unyielding and vocal in his opposition to emancipation than his father had

been. "What is to be done now?" lamented O'Connell to a colleague following the Lords's rejection of the Catholic Relief Bill in April 1821. "We are cast down by our enemies, and we may make ourselves despicable by either a stupid acquiescence or by absurd dissension" (O'Connell, *Correspondence* II, p. 901).

It was clear that if emancipation were to succeed, its supporters would have to do more than merely petition and lobby British statesmen. A new strategy emerged in 1823 when O'Connell and a group of colleagues launched an organization called the Catholic Association. The association was originally a small body with a restricted membership, but in 1824 O'Connell proposed that it open its ranks to anyone who could pay dues of one penny per month. As a consequence, the association transformed itself into a mass-based political organization that was without precedent in Europe. Tens of thousands of ordinary Irish people flocked to join, and in so doing, they acquired a sense of participating in a mighty crusade that would bring substantial improvements to their lives. At the same time, their regular dues, known as the "Catholic rent," provided the association with the resources to conduct a vigorous campaign on behalf of emancipation. After four years the rent totaled almost 52,000 pounds.

In order to collect the monthly contributions the Catholic Association created a network of local agents and committees around the country. This network, which consisted mainly of townsmen, members of the rural middle classes, and Catholic clergymen, helped to bind the association from top to bottom as it fed the movement's campaign coffers. Sympathetic national and provincial newspapers kept members apprised of the association's activities, and through their coverage of meetings and speeches, articulated Catholic grievances on a broad range of issues from tithes to the partiality of the judicial system. The association also encouraged its members to gather frequently in public meetings. People regularly came together at the parish level in what were nothing less than local political clubs; they also gathered from time to time in county, provincial, and national meetings of the association that often featured O'Connell himself. With the possible exception of the Democratic Party in the United States, the Catholic Association was the most advanced political organization in the world at that time.

CONTESTING ELECTIONS

The emancipation campaign suffered a temporary setback in 1825 when the government outlawed the Catholic Association and all similar political bodies of longer than fourteen days' duration. Though the organization

eventually reconstituted itself as the New Catholic Association, a fresh challenge soon presented itself when the government called for a general election in the summer of 1826. In eight of the thirty-two county constituencies the association supported candidates who declared themselves in favor of emancipation. It was the first election since the Act of Union in which the electorate had an opportunity to vote on political issues rather than in line with traditional local rivalries. The most famous contest took place in County Waterford, where a young pro-emancipation candidate, Henry Villiers Stuart, challenged Lord George Beresford, who represented one of the wealthiest and most powerful landed families in Ireland. Stuart won decisively, thanks in large part to the organizational efforts of the Catholic Association. As in Waterford, voters in five other counties also defied their landlords and elected candidates favoring emancipation.

The parliamentary contests of 1826 demonstrated the effectiveness of concerted party organization and the potency of Catholic emancipation as an issue. These were put to the test two years later in what became the most dramatic parliamentary election in modern Irish history. O'Connell himself ran against William Vesey Fitzgerald, the incumbent and a newly appointed cabinet member, in a County Clare by-election in June 1828. It was the first time that a Catholic had stood for election since the seventeenth century. It was also an overt challenge to government leaders who would, if O'Connell won, be forced to choose between granting emancipation and confronting a popular upheaval in Ireland. After a vigorous campaign that saw the Catholic Association and its clerical allies mobilize enormous, well-ordered crowds on O'Connell's behalf, the Clare electorate returned a stunning verdict: 2,057 votes for O'Connell, 982 votes for Fitzgerald.

By that point Prime Minister Wellington and Home Secretary Sir Robert Peel realized that emancipation was unavoidable. Nevertheless, months of private negotiations followed, during which crowds in the tens of thousands, many in homemade uniforms, turned out in Munster to show their support for O'Connell. The demonstrations ended after a few weeks, but the situation remained volatile throughout the winter of 1828 to 1829. Finally, on 13 April 1829 Parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act, striking down the oaths of supremacy, allegiance, and abjuration. Catholics were henceforth allowed to sit in Parliament and hold all offices except regent, lord chancellor, and lord lieutenant. The victory, though long in coming, brought with it a new model for political action in Ireland and elsewhere.

SEE ALSO Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; O'Connell, Daniel; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Veto Controversy; **Primary Documents:** Origin of the "Catholic Rent" (18 February 1824); The Catholic Relief Act (1829)

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Gary Owens

Catholicism

See Religion: The Coming of Christianity; Religion: 1500 to 1690; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891.



Catholic Merchants and Gentry from 1690 to 1800

Although the penal laws passed from 1695 to 1728 appear severe, the reality was that Catholic gentry and merchants enjoyed wide tolerance in the practice of their religion, their conduct of affairs and commercial activities, and their freedom of association and expression.

GENTRY

About 80 percent of the land of Ireland changed hands in the seventeenth century, so that at the outset of the eighteenth, outside of Counties Galway and Mayo and a scattering of pockets elsewhere, Catholic ownership of land was minimal, with the Province of Ulster having

no Catholic landed class. Propertied Catholics survived, prospered, and from 1750 increased in number. The proportion of land in Catholic hands increased over the century if the definition of ownership is broadened to include converts and leaseholders. The oft-cited statistic of the decline of such ownership from 14 percent in 1702 to 3 percent in 1776 is misleading, for it does not include those Catholic landowners who converted to the Anglican Established Church but who, for all intents and purposes, retained an allegiance to Catholicism. Nor does it take account of the considerable Catholic leasehold interest that in some cases amounted to substantial holdings. By law Catholics were prohibited from holding leases in excess of thirty-one years or for lives, yet their holdings increased largely because they benefited from preferential treatment in lease renewals. In most cases the wealth of these substantial Catholic leaseholders (e.g., the Scullys, Keatings, and McCarthys in County Tipperary, the O'Connells in County Kerry, and the Nagles in County Cork) exceeded that of the few Catholic landowners. Their wealth was created through extensive pastoral farming, which benefited from the demand for cattle in the provision trade and in dairying.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Catholic exclusion from political influence has been assumed because Catholics were deprived of the vote between 1728 and 1793. Yet there was an active Catholic lobby that contested many anti-Catholic measures in the Irish Parliament. There were also attempts from the 1720s to formulate a special oath whereby Catholics could express loyalty to the state, though this did not materialize until 1774. Taking of the oath was voluntary and occurred most in those areas (Counties Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Waterford) where the Catholic interest was strongest and where there had been sectarian tension in the 1760s. From the mid-1750s onwards, Catholic merchants were active in the Catholic Committee, a conservative lobby group that supported neither the Jacobite cause nor the United Irishmen. Rather, the committee viewed their role as seeking relief from the penal laws, especially those dealing with property, trade, and the professions. Such efforts bore fruit with the Relief Acts of 1778 and 1782. Locally, the remnant of those landowners, the large leaseholders, and the converts could influence the voting patterns of Protestant tenants. This was especially the case in Galway, Mayo, and Tipperary.

CATHOLIC MERCHANTS: DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

The argument of Maureen Wall that the decline in Catholic landownership caused an exodus to the towns

where former proprietors reestablished themselves as a prosperous middle class is now dated. The experience was more complex and regional in its dimensions. Certainly, from the mid-seventeenth century foreign trade was no longer mainly in the hands of Catholics in the ports of the east and southeast: that is, in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Cork. In these ports and other hinterland towns in the region a Protestant dominance was probably in place by the 1690s, with the wholesale trades and guilds becoming Protestant dominated. Catholic mercantile interests from these centers either became reestablished on the Continent or experienced downward social mobility at home.

However, as early as the 1720s a Catholic majority had reestablished itself in Cork, Dublin, and Waterford owing to an influx from the rural areas of unskilled persons (as opposed to dispossessed proprietors) able to secure employment in the growing provision trade, construction, and service industries. This trend was to form the basis of a subsequent Catholic middle class of traders and merchants, as opportunities in retailing and manufacturing stimulated upward mobility. In 1780 about one-third of Dublin's merchants were Catholics, though the volume of trade in their hands was less. In Cork city there was a two-to-one Catholic majority in the 1730s, and by 1800 this figure was four-to-one, though in 1758 only 20 percent of the city's foreign traders were Catholic. Limerick and Galway retained a Catholic majority, whereas in Waterford the trend replicated that of Cork, though on a smaller scale.

In Dublin at mid-century Catholics were to the fore as bakers, distillers, brewers, carpenters, grocers, skinnners, tanners, woolen drapers, and distillers. By contrast, their representation in the roles of apothecary, cooper, goldsmith, butcher, shoemaker, surgeon, and physician was moderate or low. With the exception of Galway, banking continued largely in Protestant hands until the early nineteenth century. Urban Catholic wealth was a distinct reality, but it may have remained static relative to the increase in overall wealth by the end of the century. An index of Catholic mercantile wealth is that after the relaxation of the ban on their purchase of land by the act of 1782, many Catholic merchant families in Dublin and Cork purchased large rural properties.

Legal restrictions imposed on Catholic merchants, such as those relating to the number of apprentices and to quarterage or guild membership payments, were irritants rather than real restrictions. Catholic participation in the different trades and occupations administered by the guilds was only possible as quarter brothers through payment of fees called quarterage. Catholics lobbying to have it declared illegal succeeded in 1759.

The role of the guilds in relation to the trades they regulated was on the decline after 1760, and by the 1790s was irrelevant, thus making the guilds' political function more critical. After 1793, Catholics could be free-men of the guilds but were still excluded from key administrative offices in Dublin and other cities. Catholics were effectively excluded from membership of town corporations until 1840. The ban on their purchase or leasing of urban property was the most tangible disability. Catholic merchants were also constrained by church teaching from taking interest on money loaned, though this is unlikely to have affected the larger merchants unduly.

CATHOLIC MERCHANTS: FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Overseas, an Irish Catholic diaspora of mercantile communities, established largely as a result of the property changes of the seventeenth century, continued to function and expand in the eighteenth century as outlets for family members who were unable to retain their social position in Ireland. Thus Catholic Irish commercial houses in the ports of Bordeaux, Cadiz, Nantes, Bruges, Rotterdam, and London maintained kinship links that worked to advantage in the Atlantic, European, and Caribbean trades. Former landowning families (particularly from the hinterlands of Waterford and Galway) established commercial centers or built upon existing trading links overseas in France, Spain, and Portugal, as well as developing new centers in the Atlantic trade—thus a flow of aspirants into foreign commerce continued.

Irish Catholic gentry families, especially in the hinterlands of the ports of the Province of Munster, were deeply involved in the placement of their sons in trade through overseas connections as well as in the law (through conversion), the army, and the church. By such means a complex web of career strategies evolved which, when coupled with the significant surge in Catholic proprietorship, served to buttress the Catholic interest in key areas.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; **Primary Documents:** An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1704)

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Celtic Migrations

Modern Ireland is habitually referred to as a Celtic country, and it is generally taken for granted that this distinctive identity derives at least in part from incursions by prehistoric Celtic people. Addressing the question of Celtic migrations into Ireland involves teasing apart the major components that contribute to our modern concept of the ancient Celts (the classical literature, language, and material culture), each of which provides an alternative definition of Celticness. In the past it has proved tempting to combine these definitions, invoking the notion of a culturally unified Celtic people in prehistory. As part of their migratory spread, these Celts were thought to have established themselves in Ireland, introducing the ancestral form of the Irish language. This idea of prehistoric Celtic colonialism was further bolstered by the accounts of successive migrations into Ireland presented in early Irish documents such as the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (Book of invasions), a medieval amalgam of myth and pseudohistory. Although population movement undoubtedly played a part in the emergence of Ireland's Celtic identity, the full picture is likely to be rather more complex.

THE CLASSICAL CELTS

It is clear from the writings of the classical authors that the Mediterranean world was rocked to its foundations during the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. by the belligerent attentions of migratory bands known as *Keltoi* (to the Greeks) or *Celtae* (to the Romans). Sweeping south

across the Alps, these tribal groups, linked in loose confederacies, enjoyed a series of remarkable successes. Rome itself was sacked in 390 B.C.E., and Celtic settlements were established in northern Italy, across much of eastern Europe, and as far east as Asia Minor. The tide eventually turned, however, and the expansion of Roman control in the second and first centuries B.C.E. led eventually to the virtual extinction of continental Celtic culture.

No classical source refers to the presence of *Keltoi* or *Celtae* in Ireland. Indeed, Caesar makes an explicit statement in his *Gallic Wars* that the *Celtae* were just one of three ethnic groupings in Gaul (modern France). His near-contemporary Strabo explicitly states that Ireland lies beyond "Celtica." In this rather limited sense, then, there was no prehistoric Celtic population in Ireland.

LINGUISTIC CONNECTIONS

It was the linguistic definition of a "Celtic" language family, linking living languages such as Irish and Scots Gaelic, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton to vanished tongues such as ancient Gaulish, that first saw the term *Celtic* applied to Ireland. This language family was defined in the first decade of the eighteenth century by the Welsh polymath Edward Lhuyd, building on the work of the Breton scholar Paul-Yves Pezron. Similarities of grammar and vocabulary demonstrate that Irish is a descendant of languages spoken widely across Europe during the Iron Age. This is, however, a much looser use of the term *Celtic* than that applied by Caesar and the other classical authors.

The earliest evidence for the existence of Celtic languages in Ireland is contained in a series of fragmentary and ambiguous classical texts. A lost sailing manual that may date from before 500 B.C.E. seemingly calls the Irish by the Celtic name *Hiernii*. As the relevant text survives only in a much later poem, however, the reference may be misleading. Indeed, the first secure written source is Caesar, who described the island of "Hibernia" in his mid-first-century B.C.E. *Gallic War*. By the second century C.E. the Greek geographer Ptolemy was able to list more than fifty tribal groups and places with Celtic names. Clearly, therefore, Ireland was Celtic-speaking by the period of Roman influence, and possibly many centuries earlier.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE CELTS

In order to identify the nature and extent of any prehistoric migrations that may have introduced Celtic languages into Ireland, we have to rely on the evidence of



Carved stone (cult monument) with La Tène curvilinear patterns, from Turoe, Co. Galway, dating to the Early Iron Age. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF BERNARD S. WAILES.

archaeology. Since the middle of the nineteenth century archaeologists have identified the Celts of classical literature with the distinctive Iron Age art style known as La Tène. This exuberant art style, dominated by abstract curvilinear patterns usually applied to aristocratic paraphernalia such as weaponry, personal adornment, and religious objects, seems to have originated in the indigenous Iron Age (Hallstatt) communities of central Europe around 450 B.C.E. The appearance of distinctive La Tène material in migration-period cemeteries in northern Italy confirmed that the bearers of La Tène art formed at least one group among the classically attested Celts.

Over a period of some 200 years La Tène art spread both north and west, making its first appearance in Ireland some time around 300 B.C.E. (although the majority of the objects are from several centuries later). The arrival of this alien art style has been widely accepted as evidence of further Celtic incursions into areas where no literate commentators were available to record their actions. Unfortunately for proponents of the invasion hypothesis, La Tène objects in Ireland are quite distinct in

form and character from those of the continent, and actual imports are exceptionally rare. Equally problematically, La Tène material in Ireland is highly localized and concentrated in the northern half of the island, and is all but restricted to objects associated with the military or religious elite. Although the ideas embodied in La Tène art were clearly imported, their execution was overwhelmingly native in character. It is hard, therefore, to maintain that there was ever any La Tène migration into Ireland beyond a trickle of warriors and craftsmen. It seems improbable that such limited incursions could have so rapidly transformed the linguistic map of the whole island.

Some commentators, recognizing the inadequacy of the La Tène period as a point of origin for Celtic Ireland, have suggested that the migration of Celtic speakers may have occurred earlier. Continental archaeologists are agreed that the makers of La Tène art were the descendants of central European Hallstatt communities, and some distinctive Hallstatt material does occur in Ireland in the seventh century B.C.E. Hallstatt material in Ireland, however, is largely restricted to bronze swords deposited in rivers, most probably as part of ritual performance. As with the later La Tène material, these swords appear to be locally made, and their riverine deposition is similar to that of earlier bronze weaponry in Ireland. In terms of the broader linguistic picture, the seventh century B.C.E. would be a convenient “window of opportunity” for the introduction of Celtic languages to Ireland. The archaeological evidence, however, is extremely slight.

If the adoption of these exotic forms of material culture do not represent Celtic migrations, how then did Celtic languages come to be spoken in Ireland? An alternative view has been propounded recently which suggests that, rather than arriving in Ireland fully formed, Celtic languages evolved across a wide area of western Europe, including Ireland, as a by-product of the intense trading activities of the Late Bronze Age (around 1200–700 B.C.E.). Proponents of this view suggest that early forms of Celtic emerged as common trading languages to facilitate communication between people whose first languages were mutually unintelligible. Because of their association with the prestigious bronze trade, these early Celtic languages may have been adopted first by the social elite and ultimately by the lower orders through a process of social emulation. In this way, like the later language diffusions associated with Swahili and Malay, Celtic languages might have been widely disseminated without the need for actual population movement on any numerically significant scale.

It remains entirely possible, of course, that there may have been substantial movements of population

that left no archaeological traces. Many periods are not characterized by archaeologically distinctive material, and it would be naïve to suppose that every event of significance in prehistory should leave an archaeological signature. Nonetheless, the wholesale migration of prehistoric Celtic peoples into Ireland seems improbable, and a more diffuse pattern of smaller-scale movements by high-status individuals, families, craftsmen, war bands, and other collectives seems a more likely mechanism for the emergence of Irish Celtic identity.

SEE ALSO Myth and Saga; Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland

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Ian Armit



Celtic Tiger

For long the laggard of Europe, the Irish economy during the late 1990s was the most successful, not just in the European Union (EU), but in the entire Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). For the period between 1995 and 2000, gross domestic product (GDP) grew in volume at an average annual rate of 10 percent, far ahead of any other industrial country, including the United States and Japan. In terms of GDP per capita, Ireland passed the United Kingdom in 1997. Its GDP per head in 1999 was \$25,200 in PPPs (purchasing-power parities, which allow for currency fluctuations and eliminate price differentials between countries), placing Ireland eighth among OECD economies. The value of GDP in 2000 was €103.5 billion, equivalent to €27,322 per capita, more than 115 percent of the EU average.

GDP is the measure of a country's output; gross national product (GNP) quantifies income and is a truer

reflection of the wealth retained in an economy. For most major industrial countries the two figures are broadly comparable. But in Ireland's case GNP is typically significantly lower than GDP: Capital outflows from the large foreign-owned sector are not matched by inflows of repatriated earnings from the relatively small corps of Irish subsidiaries overseas. Irish per capita GNP increased from 62 percent of the EU average in 1973 to 93 percent in 2000. The principal problems of the economy—high unemployment and mounting government debt—have disappeared. The unemployment rate dropped from 15.7 percent in 1993 to 3.6 percent in 2001; government debt shrank from over 120 percent of GDP in 1987 to 34 percent in 2001. The OECD, not given to hyperbole, has described Ireland's recent economic performance as "stunning." Growth is likely to slow to more sustainable levels of 4 to 5 percent for the period to 2010.

The defining characteristic of the modern Irish economy is its openness. Ireland relies heavily on trade and foreign investment, with the combined value of imports and exports equivalent to about 140 percent of GDP, one of the highest such ratios in the world. It was not always so. When Ireland became independent in 1922, it was essentially an agricultural country. Inevitably perhaps, the newly independent nation, seeking to be self-sufficient, adopted a policy of economic nationalism. High tariffs on imports, quotas, and a policy of import substitution were designed to protect the nascent inward-looking economy. Despite sporadic periods of economic growth, this approach failed. At the beginning of the 1950s the continuing flight from the land, high unemployment, massive emigration, economic stagnation, and a balance-of-payments crisis led to a fundamental shift in policy.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the process of opening up the Irish economy to international trade and foreign investment gathered momentum. The architects of the volte-face included most notably T. K. Whitaker, secretary of the Department of Finance and subsequently governor of the Central Bank, and Seán Lemass as industry minister and later prime minister (taoiseach). By 1952 the newly established Irish Trade Board was promoting exports. The Industrial and Development Authority (IDA), set up in 1949, was given the mandate to create jobs by promoting investment by indigenous and foreign firms, offering capital grants and tax breaks as incentives. In 1965 Ireland agreed to a free-trade area with Britain; in 1967 it joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); and the apotheosis of the new policy came in 1973 when Ireland joined the European Economic Community (EEC), the precursor of the European Union.



Established in the late 1980s, Dublin's International Financial Services Centre (IFSC), home to many international companies, played a key role in creating the Celtic Tiger. The IFSC has expanded to include shops, hotels, and other residential and commercial buildings in Dublin's city center. © PETER BARROW PHOTOGRAPHY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Celtic Tiger economy of the 1990s has been hailed as an overnight phenomenon, but modern Irish development began in the 1960s as a result of these radical policy changes, in tandem with massive investment in technological education and communications and a surge of inward investment attracted by competitive costs; an available, efficient, English-speaking workforce; investment incentives, including a low rate of corporation tax; and free access to the vast European market.

But free trade initially was a two-edged sword. While foreign direct investment (FDI) grew by an average of 27 percent a year between 1973 and 1981, domestic companies in traditional sectors—textiles, apparel, and engineering—were decimated by the exposure to competition. The oil crisis of the 1970s and mounting government debt in the 1980s further diluted the benefits of EU membership. But the economy did grow by over 3 percent a year between 1973 and 1988.

By 1987 the public finances were in crisis; government debt was equivalent to an untenable 120 percent of GDP. A newly elected government made swingeing cuts in public expenditure and negotiated the first in a series of national wage agreements with unions and employers. These agreements were in effect social contracts, with moderate wage increases linked to tax cuts and enhanced spending on agreed social and economic programs. The agreements brought stability to industrial relations, maintained Ireland's competitiveness, and bolstered investor confidence. The year 1987 set the scene for a period of unprecedented growth in the Irish economy.

THE EUROPEAN UNION

Arguably, Ireland has benefited more than any other member state from being a part of the European Union. Certainly, per capita, Ireland has received the most funding; cumulative Common Agricultural Policy

(CAP), Structural Fund, and Cohesion Fund transfers amount to more than E30 billion. These funds have greatly aided the development of industry, infrastructure, research, and education and training. Membership in the union has brought relative currency stability, and enhanced fiscal discipline, and it has helped to create a modern Irish society that is more open, more confident, and more international. For the industrial sector free access to the European market has been the sine qua non of the dramatic surge in exports and inward investment.

INDUSTRY

Ireland was not a part of the original Industrial Revolution and so was able to avoid the rust belt–smokestack blight of the more industrialized countries. The transition from an essentially pastoral society, with half the workforce in farming, to a modern high-technology economy, began in the 1960s. In the apt metaphor of Sir Donald Tsang, former financial secretary of Hong Kong, “Ireland went from potatoes to chips in a generation.” Foreign direct investment has been the catalyst, the driving force behind the economic renaissance. Some critics argue that Ireland is over-reliant on inward investment, particularly from the United States, which leaves it highly vulnerable to shocks in the American economy.

Indigenous companies are strongest in the traditional industries and export mainly food and drink, clothing, fabrics, and handicrafts; there are a number of major Irish multinationals in the agriculture-based businesses. A flourishing new Irish high-technology sector, supported by Enterprise Ireland, the state agency responsible for developing native enterprises, is dominated by software companies (such as Iona Technologies) that are world leaders in their particular niche.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture remains an important, if declining, sector of the economy, accounting for about 4 percent of GDP and 7 percent of total employment, with both figures well above the EU average. It has benefited greatly from EU Common Agricultural Policy price supports: Annual CAP transfers to Ireland were equivalent to approximately 4 percent of GDP on average during the 1990s.

SERVICES

Services continue to expand, most notably the internationally traded sector—teleservices and telecommunications, shared services, and e-business—mainly foreign owned. Dublin’s new International Financial Services Centre (IFSC) has four hundred of the world’s leading

banks and finance houses, providing specialist financial services to international clients. The Irish Stock Exchange (ISEQ) separated from London in 1995. Tourism has been buoyant; Ireland attracts 6.5 million visitors annually.

DEMOGRAPHICS

From a low of 2.8 million in 1961 the population reached 3.84 million in April 2001, the highest level for 120 years; and net immigration, growing throughout the 1990s as labor shortages lured skilled workers to Ireland, reached an historic high of 26,300. The number at work surged from 1.088 million in 1989 to 1.710 million by the end of 2000. Ireland has a growing population, with 40 percent of people under the age of twenty-five, compared with 29 to 32 percent in that age group in the other EU countries. Irish governments have boosted investment in education, especially technological education, since the 1960s. About half of secondary school graduates progress to third level; six out of ten third-level graduates major in business studies, engineering, or science/computer science. But fewer entrants to secondary schools are now opting for the basic science subjects. At the other end of the scale the new government-sponsored Science Foundation Ireland, with a budget of E635 million, is trying to promote in Ireland world-class research in biotechnology, and in information and communications technologies (ICT).

The dynamic economy has brought challenge as well as beneficence. Dublin has attracted more than its share of new investment, particularly in services; the gap in living standards between the more affluent eastern region and the rest of the country is widening. But the capital’s streets are clogged with traffic, property prices have spiraled, there is a shortage of affordable housing and there is a tight labor market.

An influx of foreign workers and asylum-seekers has presented Ireland with the challenge of adapting to a multiracial, multicultural society practically overnight. Young Irish people, of a generation who “has never known failure” in the phrase of one historian, expect to have, in their own place, a lifestyle and a standard of living to match any in the world.

SEE ALSO European Union; Investment and Development Agency (IDA Ireland); Irish Pound; Migration: Emigration and Immigration since 1950; Overseas Investment; Trade Unions; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century

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Finn Gallen



Chapbooks and Popular Literature

The growth of literacy in Ireland during the eighteenth century created a market for printed material that was within the means of even fairly humble purchasers. This market was mainly rural, supplied by traveling peddlers who sold books along with other small consumer goods. It was already established by the early eighteenth century with some Dublin printers aiming advertising specifically at “country dealers” and peddlers. Because the rural population was predominantly Catholic, Catholic printers, who were prevented by legislation from playing a full part in the mainstream print market, tended to specialize in the country trade.

The potential buyers of chapbooks—little books of stories or songs—were not wealthy, and their purchases were infrequent. Profit margins were therefore low, the books themselves were small and poorly printed on inferior paper, and the list of titles changed slowly. In these respects, cheap print products in Ireland resembled those in other European countries, such as chapbooks in England and the booklets of the *Bibliothèque Bleue* in France. They also resembled them in content. Most of the genres found elsewhere occur in Ireland also, and indeed many Irish texts are reprints of English ones or Irish counterparts to types available in England and Europe.

The ability to read was usually acquired in school, and the most common cheap texts were schoolbooks, either reading primers or catechisms. Reading primers such as the *ABC of Reading* or *Reading Made Easy* had a constant sale. Church of Ireland catechisms were produced regularly beginning in the late seventeenth century. The Presbyterian Westminster catechism survives in editions from most decades since the 1680s. Ireland's Catholic catechisms were printed in Europe until the 1730s, then in Dublin, and editions proliferated from

the 1770s onwards. In their early days in school, children used these readers and catechisms as schoolbooks. Because there were few texts specifically aimed at more advanced pupils, they tended to use chapbooks as readers.

Initially, most Irish chapbooks were reprints of the more popular texts from England and continental Europe. Because of the low profit margins of this branch of the book trade everywhere, these were not original texts but abridgements, sometimes radical, of medieval and early modern romances. Titles included *Valentine and Orson*, *The Seven Wise Masters of Rome*, *The Seven Champions of Christendom*, and *Don Belianis of Greece*, all of which were reprinted continually during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As in England, some more modern works, mostly from the early decades of the eighteenth century, were also published in severely abridged versions. Among those most frequently printed were *Gulliver's Travels* and *Robinson Crusoe*.

In contrast, texts of another popular genre, criminal biographies, were specific to Ireland. By far the most widely read was *The Lives and Actions of the Most Notorious Irish Tories, Highwaymen, and Rapparees*. First printed in the 1740s, it was a collection of short lives of outlaws and highwaymen, ranging from Redmond O'Hanlon, who was active in the 1670s, to Charles Dempsey, a horse thief who died in 1735. It was a counterpart to similar collections published in England in the 1720s and 1730s. Next to this in popularity was an autobiography, *The Life and Adventures of James Freney*, first published in 1754. Freney was a Kilkenny housebreaker who was active in the 1740s. Later, less widely distributed examples were *The Life of Jeremiah Grant* (1816) and *The Life of Michael Collier* (1849). Other specifically Irish texts included *The Battle of Aughrim*, a verse play about the decisive action of the war of 1689 to 1691, first printed in 1728. There is no record of this play having been performed professionally, but it was frequently acted in rural areas as a folk play.

Almost all this corpus of popular print was produced in English, though probably half the population spoke Irish during the eighteenth century. By 1800, an Irish-language print trade had developed. Its productions consisted almost entirely of religious texts, and Catholic catechisms in Irish survive from every decade from the 1760s to the 1840s. The predominant work in this tradition was the *Pious Miscellany* of Timothy O'Sullivan (Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin), a collection of twenty-five religious songs composed in east Munster in the late eighteenth century. First printed in 1802, it had at least seventeen other editions between then and 1845, mostly produced in Cork and Limerick. Although

the *Pious Miscellany* was an Irish production, the genre to which it belongs, the religious canticle, was a prominent feature of printing in regional languages such as Breton and Scots Gaelic.

By the late eighteenth century there was a well-established and flourishing trade in cheap books in most parts of Ireland, with specialized printers working in Belfast, Cork, and Limerick as well as in Dublin. Its rudimentary reading public was open to other forms of printed material, and the 1790s saw the beginning of a series of deliberate and large-scale interventions into the chapbook and cheap print market. The radical United Irishmen mobilized support for their program of parliamentary reform, and later for armed rebellion, through the production of propaganda material, much of which imitated genres of popular literature such as ballads, catechisms, and prophecies.

In response a series of conservative organizations produced cheap texts aimed at countering not only the radical propaganda but also the traditional chapbook literature, which they saw as contributing to political disturbance. Some of these organizations, such as the London Hibernian Society (1806), were straightforwardly evangelical, distributing Bibles and religious tracts. Others took a broader approach, aiming at political stability through education and economic improvement. They established schools and supplied them with reading primers, and published moralizing and instructive fiction. The earliest of these organizations was the Association for Discountenancing Vice (1792), which initially reprinted the tracts of Hannah More, written for a similar organization in England. The most successful was the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, known as the Kildare Place Society (1811). It established a large network of schools and a major publishing operation; between 1816 and 1830 it brought out about eighty small books, nearly all of them specially written for the society. Some of these were religious, but most were books of “useful knowledge,” such as natural history or practical manuals. They were made to resemble as much as possible the older chapbooks that they aimed to supplant, and to be sold likewise by peddlers. Print runs were substantial, but it is unclear whether the books achieved the circulation sought; the impact on their intended audience is unknown.

By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, a far greater range of cheap texts was available and the older chapbook titles no longer dominated the market. The O’Connellite political campaigns of the 1820s and the 1840s produced enormous quantities of cheap printed material, and the national schools were supplied with special approved readers. After the Great Famine

the removal of newspaper duties made the popular press much more accessible. Some chapbooks, such as *James Freney* and the *Seven Champions of Christendom*, continued to be reprinted in the late nineteenth century, but by then they were becoming increasingly archaic.

SEE ALSO Duffy, James; Education: Primary Private Education—“Hedge Schools” and Other Schools; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Kildare Place Society; Literacy and Popular Culture

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Niall Ó Ciosáin

Church of Ireland

ELIZABETHAN ERA
SINCE 1690

UTE LOTZ-HEUMANN
ALAN R. ACHESON

ELIZABETHAN ERA

After the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, the Irish Parliament met in 1560 and adopted the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. Thus the Church of Ireland was pronounced independent of Rome, and the new queen was declared “supreme governor” of this reestablished state church (similar legal situations had existed before in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI). Through the Act of Uniformity, the *Book of Common Prayer* was reintroduced in Ireland, making the Church of Ireland a nominally Protestant church. However, the existing fabric and personnel of the church, which had been Catholic under Elizabeth’s predecessor Mary, remained in place and the religion of the greatest part of the population of Ireland remained the Catholicism of the Middle Ages. Elizabethan reformers hoped gradually to transform the Church of Ireland into a Protestant church and to educate the people in the new faith.

In England, this plan of reform was largely realized during Elizabeth’s reign. The Reformation was spread

through the land, creating an overwhelmingly Protestant nation. In Ireland, however, the Reformation was not a success, but a failure, and the Church of Ireland did not succeed in spreading the Protestant faith. On the contrary, by the end of Elizabeth's reign, the state church catered only to the English (and later Scottish) colonial minority in Ireland, while the majority of the people adhered to the Roman Catholic Church. The older historiography as well as some works of the 1980s and 1990s argue that there was either an unwavering disposition toward Catholicism among the Irish or that the battle over the religious disposition of the inhabitants was quickly won by Catholicism in the first half of the sixteenth century. However, in the historiography of the 1990s, a consensus has developed that Elizabeth's reign was a true watershed. Thus, Elizabethan church formation, and the development of the Church of Ireland between 1560 and 1603, can be seen as a decisive component of the failure of the Reformation in the western island.

During the first years of Elizabeth's reign, until about 1580, the religious (as opposed to the ecclesiastical) situation in Ireland remained largely unaltered. Although the population, especially the so-called Old English (the medieval English settlers in Ireland), displayed varying degrees of conformity to the state church, they continued to exhibit medieval religiosity. This situation has been called "survivalism" or "church papistry" by historians, denoting that the population of Ireland was in a kind of limbo: The church that the people knew had officially been altered, but they could not embrace, or be embraced by, a vitally Protestant state church, such as was coming into existence in much of England and Wales.

During this period the weakness of the English government in Ireland was a major reason why the key mechanisms of church formation were not set in motion in the Church of Ireland. The government controlled only a small part of the island and was constantly threatened by uprisings. Consequently, the state was too weak to assist Protestant church formation effectively or to enforce religious conformity throughout the land. In addition, the financial resources of the established church were unequal to the task. Many of its churches were ruinous, and its benefices poor, thus making it unattractive to educated clergy. As a consequence, the Church of Ireland remained a weak church, failing to control or to convince either the clergy or the laity of the new faith.

In contrast to England, the Marian bishops in Ireland were not replaced with Protestant recruits, who might have provided leadership to the lower clergy. The latter were left to their own devices and often preserved

medieval religiosity by adapting the services based on the *Book of Common Prayer* to resemble the old Latin Mass. This was made easier because use of the Latin Prayer Book remained legal in Ireland. At the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth had provided money to translate the Prayer Book into Gaelic and have it printed, but the bishops did not act and had to be reminded in 1567 to proceed with the translation or to return the money. Still, the *Book of Common Prayer* in Irish Gaelic was printed only in 1608, although the Gaelic Protestant catechism had appeared in 1571, and a Gaelic New Testament had been published in 1603. Thus, Ireland lacked a Protestant clergy to educate the people and Protestant religious texts in the language of the majority of the population.

The institutions that were meant to ensure the conformity of clergy and laity, the Commission of Faculties and the Commission of Ecclesiastical Causes, were hindered by corruption and internal squabbles, and consequently the oaths of supremacy and uniformity, which were also vital to ensure the conformity of clergy and secular officials, could not be systematically enforced. Episcopal visitations, one of the most successful aids to church formation in England and on the continent, were rarely conducted and were restricted to individual dioceses. Only in the seventeenth century were regal visitations covering the whole of Ireland carried out. Moreover, the education of the next generation, which was so important to Protestant reformers in the rest of Europe, was largely neglected. Schools were not brought under Protestant control, and there were no successful initiatives to establish a Protestant educational system in Ireland. The training of an indigenous Protestant clergy would have required a Protestant university in Ireland; only after much effort was Trinity College, Dublin, founded in 1592 for that purpose.

During the 1580s the religious situation in Ireland changed gradually, but nevertheless dramatically. The close identification of the Protestant church with the English state, its officials and its plantation projects, increasingly discredited the Reformation in the eyes of the majority of the Irish population. The Church of Ireland discovered in the last two decades of the sixteenth century that it now had a rival for the religious allegiance of the population: a resurgent Catholic Church, influenced by the Council of Trent and the Catholic reform movement on the continent and staffed by the sons of Old English and Gaelic Irish families, who had been educated on the continent. Thus, the religious vacuum of the first part of Elizabeth's reign was increasingly filled by Catholicism, which was now a clearly defined confessional alternative. The Protestant state church found its position rapidly eroding. Catholic missionaries were active-

ly providing pastoral care. Older clergy died out and others left their benefices to work underground as Catholic priests. And recusancy, that is, the refusal to attend the services of the state church, was massively on the increase among the laity. "As the religious divide between the two churches hardened," Alan Ford observed, "the middle ground crumbled" (1997, p. 40).

As the religious limbo was eliminated in favor of a rigid division in late-sixteenth-century Ireland, the established church was forced to inaugurate a process of church formation. Although its status as an all-embracing state church existed only in theory and not in practice, it reacted to the Catholic resurgence by successfully implementing some measures of church formation. For example, as it did not manage to educate and recruit Protestant clergy in Ireland, it "imported" Protestant clergy from England and Scotland. As a corollary of this, the Church of Ireland increasingly catered to the New English (and later Scottish) settlers. Trinity College became an institution for the colonial elite, and the Church of Ireland became a privileged minority church, which is what it remained until the mid-nineteenth century.

While the reigns of James I (1603–1625) and Charles I (1625–1649) saw an intensification of Protestant church formation, this served only to integrate the small group of Protestants in Ireland. Catholics, by contrast, came to feel even more alienated from the state church when it became firmly Protestant in the early seventeenth century. The confessional divide, which had begun to open in Elizabeth's reign, was thus institutionalized for the rest of the early modern period.

SEE ALSO Burial Customs and Popular Religion from 1500 to 1690; Council of Trent and the Catholic Mission; Edwardian Reform; Marian Restoration; Old English; Protestant Reformation in the Early Sixteenth Century; Puritan Sectaries; Religion: 1500 to 1690; Trinity College; **Primary Documents:** Act of Uniformity (1560)

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Ute Lotz-Heumann

SINCE 1690

As the official state church in the period 1690 to 1870, subject to parliamentary control, and as an independent, self-governing body since 1871, the Church of Ireland has preserved its polity as a Protestant Episcopal church, while conscious of its catholicity—its adherence to the ancient Catholic creeds and historic episcopate. By destroying the Jacobite threat, the Williamite military victory of 1690 to 1691 ensured the church's survival; the penal legislation of the next two decades, by defining the Protestant Ascendancy, guaranteed its security. The church's external power thus consisted of both legal privilege and property—the twenty-two Protestant prelates were substantial landed proprietors. Church life was vibrant initially. The charismatic Caroline tradition (after Carolus, or Charles) outlived the Stuarts and persisted into the Hanover era. Its vitality in the period of 1690 to 1710 especially found expression in scholarship, popular religious societies, charity schools, attempts to evangelize the native Irish, and a devotional spirit best personified in James Bonnell (1653–1699), the accountant general of Ireland. Leadership was provided by Primate Narcissus Marsh, who founded the Dublin library that bears his name, and the energetic William King, archbishop of Dublin (1703–1729), who built churches to provide for Dublin's rapidly growing population and administered his province with exemplary zeal.

THE GEORGIAN CHURCH, 1730 TO 1822

Among the heirs of the Carolines was the philosopher George Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne (1735–1753). The contrast between the saintly Berkeley and the profligate Frederick Hervey, earl of Bristol, the bishop of Derry (1768–1803), epitomized the decline of the church,

which was dominated by an “English interest” and permeated by the latitudinarian spirit of the age. Faced with a largely Tory clergy and gentry, Whig governments were dependent on the votes of bishops in the Irish House of Lords and therefore nominated politically reliable and mostly English-born prelates to Irish sees. Jonathan Swift, dean of Saint Patrick’s, Dublin (1713–1745), inveighed against this Erastianism (control of the church by the state in the state’s own interest) and its injurious consequences. By the end of the century, the combined influences of absentee bishops, nonresident clergy, lack of material resources, and widespread lethargy endangered the established church. Ruined churches, want of ecclesiastical discipline, and pastoral negligence drove Protestants to the Roman Catholic Church in Connemara and other neglected areas.

This depressing picture was, however, modified by positive influences in church life, particularly works of private benevolence. Primate Richard Robinson (1765–1794) was an imaginative benefactor of Armagh city. Cathedral libraries were founded by bishops, and urban charities by lay persons. New churches were built, often in the auditory style, in Dublin and Cork, and in those parts of Ulster where the linen industry had brought prosperity (and where a steady influx of English settlers strengthened the church). The small but ethnically distinct communities of Huguenots and Palatines maintained the reformed faith; and the Methodists societies, fostered by John Wesley’s twenty-one visits to Ireland, infused new life into the church.

The Act of Union (1800) conjoined the English and Irish church establishments, and Parliament allocated substantial resources for churches and glebehouses. The simple tower-and-hall churches of the Irish countryside date from the largesse of the early nineteenth century. Resident bishops, freed from regular parliamentary duty by the Act of Union and armed with legislation, effected reforms. The evangelical revival of the period also enhanced the church’s recovery. It was strong among the landed and professional classes. They built proprietary churches, supplied resources for missionary work, provided leadership and organization, and withstood initial episcopal hostility. A revival of the High Church tradition, associated with Bishop John Jebb and the lay theologian Alexander Knox, also made a distinctive contribution to the church’s effectiveness. Meanwhile, a symbiotic relationship with the newly founded Orange Order was developed, notably in County Armagh.

THE GOLDEN AGE, 1822 TO 1870

The church’s response to the opportunities and crises of pulsating, pre-famine society was heroic. To satisfy its

thirst for knowledge, schools were founded, and bibles and tracts were distributed. Poverty and disease were tackled by a plethora of voluntary agencies. The expanding populations of Dublin, Limerick, and Belfast were provided with district churches and chapels attached to charitable institutions. Under the leadership of Archbishop Power Trench of Tuam (1819–1839), starving people were fed during the famines of 1822 and 1831 on the western seaboard. During the Great Famine (1845–1851), more than forty Anglican clergy died in the course of their sacrificial work in famine relief. During this period, the church presented a missionary character akin to that of the early Celtic church. Irish involvement in missions in tropical Africa and India was considerable. Irish-born bishops and clergy, of both evangelical and High Church traditions, and trained in the thorough theological syllabus adopted by Trinity College, Dublin in 1833, worked in England and the United States and in the developing Anglican churches in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa. Irish churchmen also served as colonial governors. At home the church reached out to the Irish people in those areas of the west where, before the Great Famine, the Roman Catholic Church was underresourced. As a result, the accusation of pastoral neglect was repudiated, and that of proselytism raised. But the integrity and evangelical motivation of the engagement were beyond reproach.

The church establishment underwent radical change in this period. Where government could add resources, it could also reform and, finally, remove. The Irish Church Temporalities Act (1833) abolished two provinces (Cashel and Tuam), reduced through mergers the number of sees by ten, imposed a tax on wealthy benefices, and entrusted the church’s administration to ecclesiastical commissioners. Lord John George Beresford, a wise and resourceful primate (1822–1862), accommodated the church as best he could to the new order, but after 1833 the establishment lived on borrowed time. The census of 1861 disclosed that, despite all endeavors, the church still served a minority. William Gladstone, a devout Anglican and Liberal prime minister, decided on disestablishment. The Irish Church Disestablishment Act (1869) took effect on 1 January 1871. Under its terms the church took over from the state responsibility for ecclesiastical policy and government, whether in respect of doctrine and worship, finance, appointments to sees and benefices, or national, diocesan, and parochial administration.

TOWARD THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Since 1871 the church has been governed by its General Synod and its resources have been managed by the Rep-

representative Church Body established by the 1869 act. It first revised the Prayer Book in 1878 and, under the impetus of liturgical renewal, adopted an Alternative Prayer Book in 1984. In 1990, it became the first of the Anglican churches in Great Britain and Ireland to ordain women to the priesthood. Its cathedrals developed innovative ministries, so countering the partial demise of the parochial system. In the late twentieth century also, the church supported ecumenism and exerted influence in the Anglican communion: Archbishops George Simms, Henry McAdoo, and Robin Eames enjoyed international reputation for, respectively, scholarship, ecumenical leadership, and diplomatic skill. The church's unity was tested but not destroyed by the strains arising from partition and from the Orange standoff at Drumcree in Armagh in the late 1990s. Its mission was, however, crushed under its institutional weight and curbed by active prejudice toward its evangelical wing. It lacked the capacity to reform its institutions, but evangelical revival in the 1990s positioned the church to recover ground lost since 1970 both to secularism and to independent religious groupings.

SEE ALSO Evangelicalism and Revivals; Government from 1690 to 1800; King, William; Orange Order: Origins, 1784 to 1800; Orange Order: Since 1800; Overseas Missions; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Protestant Community in Southern Ireland since 1922; Second Reformation from 1822 to 1869; Temperance Movements; Toland, John; Trinity College

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Alan R. Acheson

Church Reform

The medieval church had to adapt its institutional organization and administrative system to a new cultural environment in Ireland. The dwindling in size of population centers and the weakening civic powers of the state were already evident as Christianity was carried into the frontier regions of Gaul and Britain, but in Ireland even the vestiges of Roman culture and imperial administration in sub-Roman Britain were absent. Consequently, ecclesiastical organization in Ireland was as decentralized as its native systems of secular governance, and its centers of ecclesiastical prominence were monastic rather than metropolitan. During the sixth century, monastic communities were founded throughout Ireland. These centers followed customs of life established by their founders, but only a few monastic Rules survive from the early monastic period in Ireland between the sixth and twelfth centuries. This dearth of information makes references to reform movements somewhat misleading because there appears to have been no standard practice to reform. The term is useful, however, as a description of periodic efforts made within the Irish church to gain or recapture a larger Christian unity of practice.

THE EASTER CONTROVERSY

The earliest movements noted in the annals and other written records were both internal dissensions within Ireland, though with larger ramifications extending to England and the continent. The first dispute, which erupted in the early seventh century and was not resolved until the early eighth century, concerned the proper calculation of Easter. The problems over the calculation of Easter had their origins in continental practice. The mathematical calculations were difficult, and so the church issued standard tables, or cycles, listing when the date would fall over a period of years. These tables were subject to change or refinement, however, creating a potential rift in practice. This potential was realized in Ireland, where the most influential communities at Counties Armagh, Bangor, and Iona employed an eighty-four-year cycle established in the fifth century, but Irish communities in the south appear to have adopted a sixth-century version attributed to Victorinus of Aquitaine and also favored on the Continent. Leading ecclesiastics from both north and south attempted to resolve the matter by appealing to Rome, but the papal response failed to settle the question. The conflict between the two systems was a major factor in two major political confrontations outside Ireland. One took

place on the Continent between the churches of the insular mission led by Columbanus of Bangor and Frankish ecclesiastics in 610, the other in England at the Synod of Whitby in 664 between supporters of Iona and those backing Wilfrid of York. Eventually, the adherents of the older cycle were persuaded to abandon it in favor of the majority view in the early eighth century.

CÉLI-DÉ

A second issue of potential discord arose within Ireland's monastic culture in the mid-eighth century when some influential figures and communities became advocates for the adoption of a stern ascetic regimen. By the early ninth century, adherents of these practices had become known as Céli-Dé (Culdees), or the companions of God. The term was itself probably older than this ascetic movement but became closely identified with it. The ascetic model for the movement was the communal life of the early Christian monastic communities in Egypt and the desert hermits as described by John Cassian, and other hagiographical texts such as *The Life of Anthony* by Athanasius. The attempts to emulate these holy men prompted some to seek out sites of extreme isolation. The large number of medieval Irish place-names with the element *dysert* or *disert* (desert) in them shows that the ideal of the desert hermit was popular across Ireland.

There were also groups of Céli-Dé attached to larger monastic communities or forming separate monasteries. The monastic community of Tallaght under its abbot Maél Rúain (d. 792) was an early proponent and center for the asceticism favored by the Céli-Dé. There are some texts attributed to the community, the most famous of which is the *Martyrology of Tallaght*. It is clear from their books that communal life was as important as that of the hermit to the Céli-Dé, but the focus was clearly on the spiritual purification of those committed to the religious life rather than to missionary work or pastoral care. In the eleventh century there were a few reports of groups of Céli-Dé at some large monasteries, but asceticism no longer figured as a flourishing ideal within the church.

DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION

Even as the ideals of the Céli-Dé ossified as a monastic ideal within the Irish church, a new reform movement was on the horizon. During the eleventh century, Ireland had come into closer and more frequent communication with England and the Continent through a variety of channels. By the late eleventh century some of the Viking port communities established in Ireland, such as Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, had subordinated themselves to English ecclesiastical centers, notably

Canterbury and Winchester. There was also a series of papal legates to Ireland in the twelfth century, with both connections serving to assist indigenous Irish reformers in their efforts to renovate and reform Christian social and religious life in Ireland and to establish a diocesan system of governance. Reports of the divergence in Ireland followed in ecclesiastical customs and law from the rest of the church brought intense criticism and rebuke from the outside, heightening the concerns of native Irish churchmen. Beginning in the later eleventh century and extending into the twelfth, another reform movement arose in Ireland, this time centering its attention on ecclesiastical organization and institutional structure rather than the inner religious life.

As noted earlier, prominent abbots and other officials of monastic communities dominated the affairs of the Irish church in the early medieval period. These clerics often came from ecclesiastical families closely related to local secular dynasties. In addition, annal records name abbots and other ecclesiastical officials who inherited their positions from their fathers or were succeeded by their sons, indicating either that they remained laymen, or that the Irish church did not require them to be celibate. The Irish church was also castigated for its neglect of pastoral care and instruction to the laity, in part, perhaps, as a consequence of the ideal of the reclusive ascetic cultivated by the Irish religious. Some of the Irish reformers came from the same prominent families historically associated with powerful monasteries. This insider status gave these men the social and political access essential to effecting changes, and the discernment necessary to gauge the pace of change acceptable to contemporary society.

In 1101 there was enough internal sympathy toward the cause of reform for a synod to be convened at Cashel. The most prominent ecclesiastic at the synod was Bishop Maél Muire Ua Dunáin. Little is known of his early life and career, but he was clearly of high office and greatly revered. Ua Dunáin may have begun his ecclesiastical career at the community of Clonard, an old and prominent foundation in Meath, where he died in 1117. He was also probably acting at the synod as the papal legate of Pope Pascal II. The brief reports on the resolutions of the synod indicate that it took cautious steps toward reform. The synod moved on several fronts to limit lay control and influence over ecclesiastical property and offices. It also issued a decree against marriage among close family members.

Perhaps encouraged by the gains of the Cashel synod, another meeting convened ten years later at Rath Breasail. Ua Dunáin was in attendance, but the presiding ecclesiastic was Gille Easpuig (Gilbert), the bishop of Limerick and successor to Ua Dunáin as papal legate.

The details of Gilbert's origins and career are also largely unknown. He was probably of Norse-Irish origin and is known principally for his surviving work, *De statu ecclesiastico*, on the organization of the church. Also present was Cellach, the prominent reform-minded abbot of Armagh. The gathering at Rath Breasail adopted for Ireland a full-scale reorganization of the administrative structure of the church under two metropolitans, each with a dozen suffragan (diocesan) bishops. The two metropolitan seats were assigned to Counties Armagh and Cashel, and the dioceses assigned to each were generally named according to the old monastic and tribal centers. This allocation was immediately challenged by entrenched contemporary powers, secular and lay, resulting in substantial changes to the original plan in the immediate aftermath of the conference. Continuing the work begun earlier at Cashel, the synod also formally removed all churches in Ireland from lay control.

The period between the meeting at Rath Breasail and the Synod of Kells in 1152 was politically very turbulent, but the reform movement continued to advance under the guidance of the successor to Abbot Cellach of Armagh, Maél Maédóc Ua Morgair (Malachy). Malachy had ties to native ecclesiastical families through both his parents, but he allied himself firmly with the cause of reform. He became abbot of Armagh upon the death of Cellach in 1129, and, despite initial hostility toward him, he instituted there the observance of the canonical hours, the practice of regular confession, and other customs of the church. Malachy left the abbacy of Armagh to become first abbot of Bangor, and then a regional bishop, but he continued to work for the national cause of reform. He was instrumental in the introduction into Ireland of the Cistercian order and the spread of the order of Augustine canons. He also presided over meetings to amend the diocesan system drawn up at Rath Breasail. In 1140 Malachy made a trip to Rome, where he requested palls (church vestments, or cloaks, worn by archbishops) for the two metropolitans from Pope Innocent II. The pope directed Malachy to convene another meeting to confirm the choice before he would grant the request. Malachy returned to his work in Ireland, but did not abandon his hopes for formal recognition of the Irish ecclesiastical centers. He presided over a synod at Inis Pádraig near Dublin in 1148, which provided the needed confirmation, but he died at Clairvaux in 1149 on his way back to Rome. The palls that Malachy had sought arrived in Ireland in 1152 and were conferred upon the metropolitan sees established by the Synod of Kells held in that year. That synod added two additional metropolitan seats at Tuam and Dublin to the original ones at Armagh and Cashel, as well as addition-

al dioceses, but otherwise the earlier scheme was left largely intact.

The arrival of the Normans in Ireland in force after 1170 brought new leadership to the Irish church, but the organizational structure created by the reformers remained. The Normans assisted the introduction of continental orders and practices into Ireland, but they were not any more successful in curbing the Irish social practices so disturbing to the church than the earlier reformers had been. Throughout the late medieval period complaints about the marital failings of the native Irish and the crassness of the Irish clergy continued, though these reports are often suspect in light of the political and religious divisions of the period.

SEE ALSO Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity

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Dorothy Africa

Civil War

The Civil War of 1922 to 1923 was a bitterly ironic conclusion to the struggle for independence and also a savage, destructive prelude to the history of independent Ireland. It resulted from a particular circumstance—a controversial article of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty—and from structural faults within both the Sinn Féin movement and the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY

A minority of Irish nationalists was passionately committed to achieving the republic that had been pro-



The cost of the Irish Civil War (1922–1923) is estimated at approximately one-quarter of the annual gross national product (GNP). It crippled the early years of the Irish Free State politically and economically. NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

claimed during the Easter Rising in 1916; most, however, were satisfied with a less complete and less specific form of independence. These divisions were reinforced by civil-military tensions. During the course of the Anglo-Irish War of 1919 to 1921 many IRA units grew accustomed to acting without civilian authorization, and their members often regarded politicians with contempt. Such habits proved enduring. A final contributing factor to the split of 1921 was the growing distrust that had built up between some of the principal figures in the Irish leadership—in particular, between Eamon de Valera, who was president of Sinn Féin and the Dáil (the Irish parliament), and Michael Collins, the most significant military figure in the recent conflict. Collins and Arthur Griffith headed the Irish delegation that went to London, while de Valera remained behind in Dublin.

Before and during the negotiations the British rejected the idea of an Irish republic; their maximum concession was to accept the Irish Free State as a dominion

that would have the same powers as Canada or South Africa. The Irish cabinet and the Dáil split over the treaty and in particular over the clause that laid down that members of the new Irish parliament would swear an oath of fidelity to the king. It was often wrongly described as an “oath of allegiance.” Many radical nationalists could not accept this recognition of the Crown, and de Valera was among its harshest critics. The treaty’s supporters argued that it represented the best terms that were then available and that it provided a basis from which further advances could be made. Opponents claimed that more concessions could have been extracted from the British, that the treaty abandoned the republic, and that the delegates had exceeded their powers by signing it. Partition did not feature prominently in the debates—only two deputies spoke about the matter at any length, one from each side—and it did not figure in the later Civil War. In 1921 and 1922 supporters and opponents of the treaty were concerned with questions of sovereignty, the republic, and the oath. They dis-



Sackville Street, now O'Connell Street, suffered major destruction during the 1916 Rising and the Civil War; most of the street was rebuilt during the 1920s. © HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

played little interest in Northern Ireland, which had already been established months before the treaty negotiations began.

The Dáil finally supported the treaty by sixty-four votes to fifty-seven, de Valera resigned as president and was defeated when he ran for reelection, and Collins became chairman of a new provisional government. He and his colleagues began taking over the administration of the future Free State from the British.

THE FIGHT FOR A REPUBLIC

The treaty was popular with the Irish public, whose main concern was with peace, but most of the IRA was hostile. Without any clear lead from the politicians, soldiers tended to follow their inclinations and their local commanders. Many of the units that had been most vigorous in the war against the British were now determined to carry on the fight for a republic—even against

an Irish government consisting of their former colleagues. In some areas, however, radical zeal was a compensation for earlier torpor.

In the course of the next six months the country slid slowly toward civil war. Rival military groups tried to seize evacuated British barracks, and conflicts broke out between them. In March an army convention met in Dublin, withdrew its allegiance from the Dáil, and established its own executive. In the following month a group of republican extremists seized the Four Courts and other buildings in Dublin and barricaded them against a counterattack. Collins played for time, and IRA representatives from both sides tried to negotiate a truce.

Elections in June revealed massive public support for the treaty; Collins now had a mandate from the people, and he no longer felt obliged to temporize. The republican IRA was unimpressed—but it had never placed much faith in public opinion. The Four Courts garrison

increased its provocations, and the British cabinet pressured Collins to assert his authority. On 28 June government forces attacked republican positions in Dublin, and within days the capital was under their control. This was the decisive phase of the war, and henceforth Collins held the initiative. He displayed his usual energy as he took command of the protreaty campaign, and soon his army controlled most of the country north of a line running from Limerick to Waterford. This “Munster Republic” was attacked by land and by sea, and republican positions fell one by one. By early August every town in Ireland was under government control, although some were recaptured briefly by antitreaty forces. Most of the population in republican-controlled areas welcomed the arrival of government troops.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

This “conventional” war was followed by a long-drawn-out guerrilla campaign in which the republicans modeled themselves on the IRA’s recent fight against the British. The principal victim was Collins himself, who was killed in an ambush on 22 August. The republicans tried to sap the government’s will and undermine its support through violence and destruction. Their actions also served to lure the government into repressive measures, and here too the pattern of 1919 to 1921 was followed. The principal differences between the two conflicts were that the rebels lacked the popular support that the IRA had earlier enjoyed, and they faced more determined opponents.

Collins’s successors showed themselves even more ruthless than their enemies, and from November 1922 onward seventy-seven republicans were executed. The most notorious case followed the murder of a protreaty Dáil deputy, when four prominent republican prisoners were shot in retaliation. The government was goaded into brutality, and in several parts of the country—particularly in Kerry—its troops carried out atrocities. But the pattern of 1916 and 1919 to 1921 was not followed during the Civil War, and Irish public opinion did not swing in favor of the republicans. Most people appear to have realized that only one side could win the war, the protreaty army, and they were prepared to turn a blind eye to harsh measures that might hasten the return of peace.

Gradually the republicans’ position weakened, but Liam Lynch, their chief of staff, refused to tolerate the idea of compromise. So too did the Free State government, which was determined that the war was “not going to be a draw, with a replay in the autumn.” Only with Lynch’s death in April 1923 did more realistic voices predominate within the antitreaty leadership,

and a month later republicans were instructed to stop fighting. Ireland slowly began to become a normal society. De Valera had been marginalized by the military commanders, but now he reemerged as the leading figure among the opponents of the treaty.

AFTERMATH

The Civil War crippled the Irish economy, and although there is still disagreement concerning the death toll, it probably cost about 1,500 lives. It polarized the new Irish Free State and ensured that Irish public life would be dominated for decades by two rival parties whose disagreements centered on the events of 1921 to 1922. But it also confirmed—in a bloody manner—that the governments of independent Ireland would be responsible to the people rather than to the army.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Boundary Commission; Collins, Michael; Cosgrave, W. T.; de Valera, Eamon; Irish Republican Army (IRA); Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; **Primary Documents:** “Time Will Tell” (19 December 1921); Provisional Government Proclamation at the Beginning of the Civil War (29 June 1922); Constitution of the Irish Free State (5 December 1922); Republican Cease-Fire Order (28 April 1923)

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Michael Laffan



Clachans

The house cluster, consisting of irregular groupings of farmhouses often in association with an unenclosed and

communally worked field system, was found extensively in the western regions of Ireland in the nineteenth century. This settlement form contrasted with the dispersed single farmstead, which is most characteristic of the Irish landscape in modern times. The geographer Estyn Evans christened these clusters *clachans* (a term with no known provenance in Irish linguistic tradition) on the basis of a similarity with a Scottish settlement of this name. The associated field system, referred to as *rundale*, was characterized by intermixed holdings that were frequently redistributed among different owners. In 1939 Evans suggested that such small house-clusters in Donegal represented a continuity of settlement type with early medieval antecedents, which coexisted with the raths or ringforts, the contemporary equivalent of the single dispersed farmstead.

Many historians and geographers searched for this elusive settlement cluster, but little convincing evidence has been found for any longstanding dichotomy. Most of these western clusters in fact originated quite late in the eighteenth-century agricultural and population boom, and represented cultural, economic, and ecological responses to marginal environments and material poverty—situations in which survival depended on cooperative farming systems. The earlier discourse on *clachans* attempted to demonstrate long continuities in patterns of settlement in the Irish landscape. The idea of the *clachan* is largely a construction of a particular school of thought about the history of the Irish landscape. Classical models of settlement and related patterns present in civilizations in the core of Europe were applied to Ireland to produce a stereotyped archaic Celtic civilization on the Atlantic fringes of Europe. German scholars, especially in late nineteenth century, were interested in morphological and genetic classifications of rural settlements. Much of the work of historical geographers in the 1950s and 1960s followed this approach. Much of the theorizing on *clachans* and settlement studies is based on dubious scholarship and defective readings of Irish and early medieval sources.

SEE ALSO Landscape and Settlement; Rathes; Rural Settlement and Field Systems

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Clarke, Kathleen

Kathleen Clarke (1878–1972), lifelong political activist, first woman lord mayor of Dublin, and one of the first women to be elected to any parliament worldwide, was born Kathleen Daly in Limerick city. Her mother ran a very successful dressmaking establishment; her father, a Fenian from the 1860s, died in 1890, leaving nine daughters and a son born posthumously. Kathleen, a dressmaker/shopkeeper all her life, gave up a successful business when she went to New York City in 1901 to marry Thomas Clarke. Clarke had spent fifteen years in prison for Fenian activities, and he continued to be active in Clan na Gael circles in the United States. On their return to Ireland in 1907 both Thomas and Kathleen became involved in revolutionary activity; Kathleen was not only a founding member of Cumann na mBan in 1914, but was also trusted with the Irish Republican Brotherhood plans before Easter Week of 1916. As a mother of young children (three boys under the age of fifteen), she took no active part in the Rising, but Thomas and Kathleen's brother Edward, who had commanded the garrison at the Four Courts, were executed for their involvement. In the months following the Rising she came to political prominence not only because of her bereavement but because of her management of the prisoners' dependents' fund. Arrested in 1918 for her involvement in the "German plot"—an attempt by the British government to link Irish nationalists with the Germans—she spent several months in Holloway gaol with Maud Gonne and Constance Markievicz. She was one of the "black women" (so called because they wore mourning dress) elected to the second Dáil in 1920. She was not re-elected in 1922, and like the majority of Cumann na mBan, she opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty. A founding member of the Fianna Fáil Party, Kathleen sat in the Seánad from 1928 to 1936. Although she had never prioritized the feminist struggle, she defended women's rights, speaking out against the Conditions of Employment Act (1936), which barred women from certain kinds of industry, and advocating equal pay. She also objected to the articles in Eamon de Valera's constitution (1937) that referred to women. At the end of a long career in local government, she became in 1940 the first woman lord mayor of Dublin and then retired from politics later in the 1940s.

SEE ALSO Conditions of Employment Act of 1936; Cumann na mBan; Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century

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Clontarf, Battle of

The battle of Clontarf in 1014 was the most decisive military engagement in the history of early medieval Ireland. It was fought to the north of the city of Dublin, probably somewhere in the modern suburb of Clontarf, but its exact site has never been satisfactorily identified. Two years before the battle, in 1012, Brian Boru, the high king of Ireland and leader of the Dál Cais sept of County Clare, began a violent quarrel against the men of Leinster. The king of Leinster, Máel Morda, eventually attempted to involve the northern rulers in his dispute against Brian. This dispute widened, with the Dublin Norse also supporting the men of Leinster against Brian. As a result, Brian besieged Dublin for about three months until Christmas 1013. By the end of that year Brian and his forces left for home, but the men of Leinster and the Hiberno-Norse of Dublin sought the aid of their kinsmen from the Scottish Isles and from the Isle of Man.

By early 1014 these forces had joined up into a great Viking fleet that directly challenged the power and authority of Brian. On Good Friday of that same year Brian and his troops fought this coalition in a protracted and bloody battle in which the Norse and the men of Leinster were resoundingly defeated. But in the hour of victory Brian Boru was assassinated on the field of battle. Tracts such as the famous *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gal-laibh* (War of the Irish with the foreigners) portrayed the battle as a struggle for the control of Ireland and the victory of Brian as the conclusive defeat of their Viking conquerors. But although the Vikings from Man and the Isles who had fought against Brian went home, the Ostmen of Dublin still controlled their city even after their defeat. Therefore, the battle can be seen more accurately as the last attempt by Brian Boru to force his lesser rivals to acknowledge him as high king. Although Brian's forces prevailed, his death brought about a temporary decline in the power of the Dál Cais.

SEE ALSO Dál Cais and Brian Boru; Norse Settlement

Collins, Michael

Revolutionary leader, signatory of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, and commander in chief of Free State forces during the Civil War, Michael Collins (1890–1922) was born on his family's farm at Woodfield, Clonakilty, Co. Cork, on 16 October. He emigrated to London in 1906, where he held several clerical jobs and participated in the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), and, from 1909, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB).

After his internment at the Frongoch prisoner-of-war camp for his role in the Easter Rising in 1916, Collins established contacts with other internees who aided his advance in the IRB and the reorganized Sinn Féin Party. Elected MP for South Cork, he entered Dáil Éireann in January 1919. As Eamon de Valera's minister for home affairs and minister for finance, he spearheaded the successful campaign to raise loans for Dáil operations in defiance of the Crown regime. Concurrently, as director of organization and director of intelligence for the Irish Volunteers, he oversaw arms acquisitions and, critically, established an effective network of spies and a squadron of gunmen that blunted the Dublin and provincial police through intimidation and assassination. Some colleagues (notably minister for defense Cathal Brugha) distrusted the use of the IRB, of which Collins was president.

In autumn 1921, Collins and Arthur Griffith led the Irish plenipotentiaries who negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Although the treaty recognized a separate Northern Ireland state and identified the Irish Free State as a Crown dominion, Collins signed it on 6 December 1921, believing that it offered the Irish people a stepping-stone to total independence. He and Griffith carried this argument in the Dáil in January 1922 despite opposition from de Valera and others. When these opponents withdrew, Collins became chairman of the provisional government formed to implement the treaty. Attempting to avoid a rupture in Volunteer and Sinn Féin ranks, Collins cooperated with antitreaty forces in the north and agreed with de Valera to run Sinn Féin candidates as a bloc in the June 1922 general election. Under pres-



Michael Collins (1890–1922) fought in the Easter Rising and was interned with other Rising prisoners at Frongoch in Wales. His ascent after his release in December 1916 was rapid: adjutant-general of the Irish Volunteers, member of the First Dáil, minister for home affairs (1919–1922) and for finance, chief negotiator (with Arthur Griffith) of the 1921 Treaty, and chairman of the Free State Provisional Government in 1922. While acting as commander in chief of the National Army, he was killed in his native west Cork by anti-treatyites in August 1922. He is best remembered for the ruthless intelligence system he directed during the independence war of 1919–1921. He is pictured here addressing a crowd in favor of the treaty at College Green in Dublin in March 1922. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

sure from Britain and from antitreaty forces that had seized positions in Dublin and the provinces, he belatedly abandoned this strategy. Pro-treaty candidates won the election, and civil war erupted. As his Free State troops advanced rapidly in the south and west, Collins was ambushed and killed at Béal-na-mBláth, Co. Cork, on 22 August 1922, while making an ill-considered inspection tour.

In his brief career Collins established a controversial dual legacy. Some decry his methods, and others emphasize his willingness to compromise as fundamental to the ultimate establishment of an Irish Republic in 1949. What is clear is that his direction and discretion were indispensable to achieving the settlement of 1921 to 1922.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Boundary Commission; Civil War; de Valera, Eamon; Griffith, Arthur; Irish Republican Army (IRA); Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; **Primary Documents:** The Anglo-Irish Treaty (6 December 1921)

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Timothy G. McMahon

Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690

Although Ireland had been invaded in the twelfth century and came to be dominated by the “Normans,” its status as a colony largely disappeared in the later middle ages. The distinction between ruler and ruled—the essential component defining a colony—had withered. With the exception of those areas around Dublin and the other seaports, widespread integration between the newcomers and the original inhabitants occurred. During the early modern period, however, the expanding Tudor state proceeded to establish direct control over the whole of Ireland. This entailed a reconquest of the island, which was completed by 1603, and subsequent English expeditions in the 1650s and 1690s to reassert central authority. To assist the process, about 100,000 people from England and Scotland settled in Ireland over these years, forming a new breed of colonists, almost all Protestants, who occupied confiscated land. Their arrival could be regarded as the application of colonial theory.

This theory had developed out of the need to rule. Conquest had come to be seen an endless process and expense: Irish lords could be defeated, but their successors continued to resist. Moreover, the local people refused to reform and assume English customs. If the Irish declined to become English in their manners, actions, and speech, then new thinking recommended their replacement with genuine Englishmen, not merely English

landowners, but tenants and artisans, with their families. In short, English society would be transplanted to Ireland.

Renaissance thinkers had little difficulty in finding precedents for such colonization—they were well acquainted with classical history and with Greek and Roman colonization. It became fashionable to appeal to the ancients when advocating colonization; the more daring Elizabethans cited Machiavelli as well. There has been much study on the most glamorous of them, Edmund Spenser (1552–1599), the poet and author of *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, but his actual impact on English immigration is hard to determine.

There was also little difficulty in justifying their actions. Any uneasiness came from the proposed treatment of the local inhabitants and their reaction. Were they to be allowed to remain to serve their new landlords (and perhaps contaminate them with Irish ways); or were they to be removed to adjacent areas; or even transplanted far away?

The first early modern colonies in Ireland, or plantations as they became known, were those of soldier-farmers in Leix and Offaly during Queen Mary's reign (1553–1558). They were on a small scale, however, and involved comparatively little settlement. More ambitious were the various schemes (projects or "plats") applied in the years after 1565 for settlements in Ulster and Munster. The inspiration for many of these "adventures" came from Queen Elizabeth's secretary of state Sir Thomas Smith. The colonies in Ulster failed to prosper, but the government did have some success with its official plantation in Munster, founded in the 1580s after the crushing of the Desmond rebellion. Various literate gentlemen involved with this plantation, produced erudite treatises on the nature of colonization, packed with classical allusions—among them not only Spenser but also William Herbert and Richard Beacon.

Other theorists are mainly associated with the American colonization experience of the 1580s. Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert all moved between settlements in Munster and exploration in America. For these men, all from southwest England and related to each other, there existed a connection between their Irish and American ventures, and this was the beginning of an Irish-American interchange that continued throughout the seventeenth century, principally with the southern American colonies and the Carribean.

In the early seventeenth century, colonization in Ireland accelerated with the large-scale Ulster plantation. This time not only English settlers were involved, but Scottish families, symbolizing the union of crowns

under James VI and I. The lowland Scots who came were further armed with Presbyterianism, an ideal persuasion for an embattled people. The Ulster plantation entailed the confiscation of six entire counties with its settlers segregated from the Irish, who were given a lesser share of the land in distinct areas. The idea was not to repeat the Munster plantation, a piecemeal affair in which the local inhabitants were mixed with the settlers.

Although there were to be more so-called plantations in the first half of the seventeenth century, they attracted little emigration. And the massive land confiscations of the 1650s and 1690s led to relatively few British settlers crossing the Irish sea. The Cromwellian settlement of 1650 envisaged a small number of investors and a larger number of soldiers becoming the new landowners of much of Ireland, with the dispossessed inhabitants transplanted to Connacht. The land transfer did take place but its popular impact was limited, and the Irish remained among the new landlords with their regained possession in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Desmond Rebellions; English Writing in Ireland before 1800; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Legal Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; Spenser, Edmund; Wild Geese—The Irish Abroad from 1600 to the French Revolution; **Primary Documents:** From "Notes of His Report" (1576); From *Solon His Follie* (1594); From *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596); From *A Direction for the Plantation of Ulster* (1610); From *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (1612)

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Michael MacCarthy Morrogh



Common Agricultural Policy

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has been an integral part of the European Union (EU) since its founda-

tion as the European Economic Community in 1958. All of the founding member states had national policies to support agriculture designed to promote greater food self-sufficiency and to modernize a farming sector characterized by small farms and backward technology. One of the significant achievements of the EU was to create a single, integrated market for agricultural products, with a common price level and support arrangements during the following decade, so that by 1968 agricultural products were traded freely without trade barriers between the original member states.

The CAP has two main elements. The most important component is its market-management policies intended to stabilize and raise farm prices in order to support farm incomes. The other element has been its structural policy under which payments are made to encourage the modernization of farming and the food-processing industry. The price-support element has dominated CAP expenditure for much of its existence. Recent reforms have put greater emphasis on supporting rural development, and this “second pillar” of the CAP is now attracting greater budget resources than before.

Success in establishing the CAP came at a price. In order to secure the agreement of the original member states to merge their national policies, agricultural prices within the EU were and are supported at levels much higher than world prices. The high prices, combined with the accelerated modernization of farming, encouraged the overproduction of food. This caused struggles to control the budget costs of the CAP during the 1980s, and ultimately led to reforms that reduced farm prices, compensated farmers by increased direct payments, and limited production volumes.

Irish farming benefited from access to other EU country markets and from the high support prices guaranteed by the CAP. EU agricultural subsidies contributed to the growing prosperity of rural Ireland in the period of EU membership and helped to maintain larger numbers of farmers on the land than otherwise would have been possible. But the high dependence on subsidies means that Irish agriculture is vulnerable to any changes in this policy. Farm incomes in enterprises such as cattle and sheep production are now completely dependent on the continuation of EU payments. The way in which the CAP adjusts to the challenges of absorbing the countries of central and eastern Europe and to further agricultural-trade liberalization under the auspices of the World Trade Organization will be crucial for the future of Irish farming.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; European Union; Farming Families

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Alan Matthews

Commonwealth

The Irish Free State became a dominion in the Commonwealth under the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty. The Irish treaty negotiators neither desired nor were pleased with the new state's status. It was an improvement on Home Rule as enacted in the Government of Ireland Act (1920), but was hardly the independent Irish republic proclaimed in Dublin at Easter 1916. Although the Irish Free State would have the same status as the other dominions (Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand), it was different because whereas they had evolved from colonies to dominion status, the Free State was the first dominion created through a treaty. It did not see itself as a colony evolving toward statehood or as a new state created by a treaty. Ireland was an historic European nation and a mother country in its own right.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty redefined the entire Commonwealth by loosening the bonds of empire on the dominions. The use of the term *treaty* in the Irish settlement of 1921 (or more correctly, “Articles of Agreement for a Treaty”) was a breakthrough as it implied an agreement between two sovereign independent states. Britain contended that the Commonwealth was a single international unit and that international treaties between its members were not possible. Relations between the members of the Commonwealth (*inter se* relations) were not therefore international relations. With its very title, the Anglo-Irish Treaty set a precedent for the international independence of the dominions. So too, much to Britain's annoyance, did its registration with the League of Nations as an international treaty in July 1924.

The Irish Free State constitution of 1922 was also a defining document in the evolution of the Commonwealth. All powers of government in the Free State were derived from the people of Ireland and not from the Crown, as in, for example, Canada. The governor general, the king's representative, had fewer powers in the Free State than in Canada. The supremacy of the Irish national courts over the Privy Council in London was all but explicitly defined in the constitution.

For the Free State, the evolving nature of dominion status would vindicate Michael Collins's interpretation of the treaty as a stepping-stone to a republic. The government of W. T. Cosgrave intended to remove the restrictions imposed by dominion status and to ensure that the Free State had full and unrestricted domestic and international sovereignty. The Irish Free State sought to transform the Commonwealth into an association of independent states.

Coming straight from Ireland's admission to the League of Nations in Geneva, the Irish delegation to the 1923 imperial conference—a periodic meeting of the prime ministers and senior ministers of the various nations of the Commonwealth to discuss matters they had in common—followed a reformist agenda. The Free State had joined the League in September 1923 not as a dominion, but as Saorstát Éireann (Irish Free State), an overt expression of the Free State's international independence. The Irish were the newcomers to the imperial conference, but they were immediate participants, seeking to break down notions of imperial unity and opposing any move toward a united-empire foreign policy. Free State delegates argued against the imperial conference gaining any executive or legislative function. To them the triennial conference was purely a consultative forum.

The appointment of Timothy Smiddy as Irish minister to the United States in October 1924 marked another precedent in the international evolution of the dominions. For the first time, a dominion was represented separately from Britain in a foreign capital. The breakthrough meant that dominions could now be seen as individual international actors, and notions of imperial unity were further weakened.

For the 1926 imperial conference the Irish fielded a strong delegation, with Minister for Home Affairs Kevin O'Higgins the leading figure. The issues most important to the Irish were tackled in the meeting of the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations. The discussion resulted in the Balfour Declaration, which laid down that dominions were "autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations" (Harkness 1969, p. 96). This declaration ensured the international co-equality of the dominions, an issue that had been at the heart of Irish Commonwealth policy since 1923. Having achieved co-equality (for all), the Free State was the most radical and forward-looking of the dominions.

In the late 1920s Irish diplomats insisted that individual dominions had the right to control their own for-

eign affairs and that the Free State could not be bound by British-negotiated treaties. The Free State argued the right to appoint plenipotentiaries and to negotiate, sign, and ratify treaties in its own right. These rights were first exercised by the Free State in 1928 over the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which outlawed war as means of pursuing international relations. From that point on, the king would sign treaties negotiated by Ireland not as the British monarch, but as the king of Ireland.

At the 1930 imperial conference the Free State achieved its greatest success in the Statute of Westminster (1931), which allowed dominions to repeal acts of the British Parliament that referred to them and that they found repugnant. For the Irish, it allowed the repeal of the 1921 Treaty, but W. T. Cosgrave gave his word to the British government that this would not occur.

Nineteen-thirty-one saw another important Irish Commonwealth precedent: Britain had clung desperately to the notion of a single-empire great seal. In January 1931 the executive council advised the king to sign a treaty of commerce and navigation with Portugal and for it to be authenticated with the new great seal of the Irish Free State. This was effected in March 1931, removing another area of British interference in the affairs of the Irish Free State.

As the 1930s began, the Commonwealth policy of the Free State's ruling party, Cumann na nGaedheal, was evolving along lines later followed by Fianna Fáil. After the 1930 imperial conference the Irish contemplated removing the right of appeal to the Privy Council, and also considered introducing a separate Irish nationality act that created a distinct Irish citizenship. Cumann na nGaedheal also considered repealing the much disliked oath of allegiance to the Crown, but preliminary negotiations with the British failed. (Removal of the oath became one of the issues on which Fianna Fáil successfully campaigned for election in 1932.) By the time that Fianna Fáil came to power the Free State's most activist years in the Commonwealth were over. Ireland attended the Ottawa Economic Conference in 1932, but her concerns were more with Anglo-Irish relations. Building on the achievements of Cumann na nGaedheal, Fianna Fáil removed the right of appeal to the Privy Council, abolished the oath of allegiance, introduced a separate Irish nationality act, and abolished the office of the governor general. Fianna Fáil's most important act relating to the Commonwealth was the 1936 External Relations Act. Introduced during the abdication of Edward VIII, the act made the Free State an internal republic within the Commonwealth for domestic matters and left the state associated with the Commonwealth through the Crown for external affairs. The

British monarch would continue to sign the credentials of Irish diplomats and Ireland would remain in the Commonwealth.

By the end of the 1930s, Ireland's active participation with the Commonwealth was almost over. An Irish delegation did not attend the 1937 imperial conference. The 1921 treaty was replaced by a new constitution in 1937. A president replaced the monarch as head of state for internal matters. India, Pakistan, Burma, and Britain's former colonies in Africa closely examined Irish dominion and commonwealth policy in the 1920s and 1930s as they sought independence in the 1940s and 1950s. Ireland's final act in the Commonwealth was to leave it following the repeal of the 1936 External Relations Act in 1948 and the declaration of an Irish republic in 1949.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Constitution; Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act; **Primary Documents:** On the Republic of Ireland Bill (24 November 1948)

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Michael Kennedy

Conditions of Employment Act of 1936

The 1936 Conditions of Employment Act was a landmark piece of legislation that determined the working conditions in Irish industry for many decades. The act

incorporated the directives of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) into Irish law; the Irish Free State was an active member of the ILO. This legislation provided for a 48-hour week, with stringent controls on overtime, shift work, and night work, and a ban on outworking could be imposed by ministerial order. Workers were entitled to six public holidays every year, and a one-week vacation, and they were protected against wage reductions consequent on reduced working hours. Wage agreements between a representative group of employers and workers could be registered and made legally enforceable. Employment of persons under fourteen was forbidden, and a maximum 40-hour week was set for those under eighteen years; there was also provision for a ban to be imposed on the employment of young persons in a particular industry, following consultation between employers and workers. The legislation is evidence of the Fianna Fáil government's wish to placate trade union demands, provided that they did not conflict with other objectives.

When the act was introduced, criticism was expressed at the fact that workers were entitled to six public holidays, but not to the church holidays that were traditionally celebrated in rural Ireland. The most controversial clauses were those relating to women. The act enabled the minister for industry and commerce to ban women from working in a particular industry and gave him the right to set a quota for female employment. These clauses reflected criticism of women's ability to corner the majority of the new jobs that had been created in manufacturing industry. This was contrary to the idea of the male as the primary breadwinner, a view widely endorsed by government ministers, trade unions, and the Catholic Church. Women university graduates were the only group who opposed these clauses; female trade union leaders remained silent, and some even supported the measure. There is no evidence that these clauses were ever enforced; the minister for industry and commerce rejected a number of requests to implement them in specific industries. Nevertheless, they were not repealed until the mid-1970s when they were seen to conflict with European Economic Community equality directives. They signaled that the Irish state did not favor female factory employment, and this undoubtedly had an influence on the types of new industries that were established during the 1960s and 1970s.

SEE ALSO Clarke, Kathleen; Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Irish Women Workers' Union; Trade Unions; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century

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Mary E. Daly



Confederation of Kilkenny

In October 1641 Irish-Catholic insurgents attempted a bloodless coup. The insurgents were fearful of the Scottish covenanter and English parliamentary opposition's forcing Charles I into intensified anti-Catholic measures and sought to secure their position within the Stuart composite monarchy. The coup failed to secure strategically important ports and, moreover, it was quickly accompanied by a popular Catholic uprising marred by widespread atrocities against Protestant settlers. Shocked and temporarily united by exaggerated reports of a general massacre of settlers, Charles I and the English Parliament agreed to mobilize a large army of reconquest. This would be financed by loans "adventured" on the promise of postconquest repayment from a land bank of two and a half million acres of Catholic-owned Irish land. This attribution of collective guilt, also apparent from the indiscriminate brutality of the government counterattack, brought home to the insurgents that they could make no negotiated settlement in the short term.

THE CONFEDERATE CATHOLICS

In this crisis a national ecclesiastical congregation convened at Kilkenny in May 1642 and invited Catholic lay leaders to join them in setting up a new government for the two-thirds of Ireland under insurgent control to coordinate a nationwide military effort. The generally accepted name of this government, the "Confederation of Kilkenny," is retrospective; the participants described themselves as "Confederate Catholics," emphasizing that they were bound as individuals by an "oath of association." The Confederation of Kilkenny was so called because the executive or supreme council (first convened in June 1642; the last was convened in January 1649) most commonly convened in Kilkenny. The general assembly, or quasi-parliament, the other main organ of government (first convened in October 1642) met on nine occasions altogether.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHARLES I

The motto of the Confederation *Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria Hiberni Unanimes* (literally, We Irish united for God, king, and country) encapsulated the Irish-Catholic aspiration of reconciling religious affiliation with secular allegiance to a Protestant monarch, a utopian aspiration, perhaps, in a Europe where religious and political loyalties were inextricably linked. The cease-fire of September 1643 between the Confederation and Charles I, and the protracted search for a definitive treaty illustrate the complexity of reconciling these aspirations. Charles I refused to grant the concessions demanded by the Confederate Catholics in return for their sending an army of ten thousand soldiers to support him in fighting the English Parliament and Scots Covenanters. He would later prove more accommodating as his military position weakened, but definitive agreement nonetheless proved elusive.

To judge from the attitude of the secretary of the council, Richard Bellings, most of the supreme council would have been content with verbal assurances from the king on the key issue of religion, to the effect that he "would soon redress our grievances and tolerate the free exercise of our religion." The opportunity for a definitive agreement existed only so long as this council could continue to monopolize Confederate policy making and marginalize potential opposition from the clergy and the general assembly. The clergy, on the contrary, aspired to religious freedom rather than toleration. Given the need for a timely agreement, the king's choice of James Butler, earl of Ormonde, as his deputy and intermediary in Ireland was unfortunate. Admittedly, he had influential partisans among the Catholic leadership, including his close relatives and clients. But, regardless of family affiliations, he was a member of the Protestant community in Ireland and, as such, more reluctant than Charles I to offer concessions to Irish Catholics, preferring to subvert such peace efforts, as he did with the mission of the earl of Glamorgan in 1645, and to foment divisions within the Confederates.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE PAPAL NUNCIO

The clergy remained quiescent until the arrival of a papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, late in 1645. The nuncio urged what one might call an "Ireland first" strategy: the Confederates should intensify their military effort to seize the remaining hostile enclaves and ports. Then they could send help to the king or, at worst, be in a better posture to deter invasion in the event of a parliamentary and covenanter triumph in Britain. To date their larger operations, such as the ex-

peditions against the Covenanters in Ulster and Scotland in 1644, had been primarily intended to bolster the royalist war effort in Britain. Rinuccini's strategy and his prestige were boosted by the Irish victory over the Scots Covenanters near Benburb, Co. Tyrone, in June 1646.

To forestall a resurgent clerical interest, the supreme council concluded a definitive peace with Ormonde, who retained control of Dublin and its hinterland, on 30 July 1646. It quickly became apparent that the supreme council had misjudged the mood of the populace and, more importantly, the clergy and the Confederate Catholic armies. The manner in which the clergy administered the oath of association implied that they were the legitimate arbiters of that oath; on 12 August a specially convened ecclesiastical congregation declared unanimously that the peace violated the oath, mainly because of the lack of religious concessions. The Ulster army, fresh from Benburb, most of the Leinster army, and some units of the Munster army backed Rinuccini and forced Ormonde to return to Dublin. Rinuccini was able to oust the "Ormondist" supreme council and have it replaced with a new "clericalist" executive, soon superseded by pragmatic moderates advocating consensus, the primacy of the general assembly and a more favorable peace treaty with the royalists.

Descriptions of the power struggle in 1646 as a clash between "Gaelic" or "Old Irish," and "Old English," respectively, are simplistic. The fault lines did not open around putative ethnicity alone but involved class interests, familial allegiance, individual religious conviction, and pragmatic assessment of what objectives were reasonably achievable.

"Affliction gave the rejectors of the late [1646] peace understanding," crowed Bellings. The first "affliction" struck when a large Ulster-Leinster composite army besieging Dublin broke up in mutual recrimination in December 1646. Ormonde subsequently (July 1647) surrendered Dublin to a parliamentary army. In August 1647 Thomas Preston's Leinster Confederate army captured nearly all Dublin's satellite garrisons, but he was intercepted and his army annihilated at Dungan's Hill, Co. Meath. In November the parliamentarians of Munster, led by Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, inflicted a heavy defeat on a Confederate army at Knocknanuss, Co. Cork.

FAILURE OF IRISH OBJECTIVES

At this critical juncture the threat of a concerted attack on Kilkenny from the Dublin and Cork enclaves receded with the creation of a new pan-archipelagic royalist coalition of moderate Covenanters or "Engagers," English

royalists, and disaffected parliamentarians. One of the latter, Inchiquin, agreed to a cease-fire with the supreme council in May 1648. A week later Rinuccini excommunicated all supporters of the cease-fire. On this occasion, in contrast to 1646, he did not enjoy the unanimous support of the clergy or, indeed, of a political nation disheartened by the military reverses of the preceding eighteen months. In follow-up negotiations the Confederate Catholics secured significant concessions compared with the 1646 agreement, and in January 1649 the Confederation was subsumed within a new royalist alliance in Ireland headed by Ormonde. A factional civil war in the summer of 1648 saw the bulk of Owen Roe O'Neill's Ulster army threatening Kilkenny from the midlands before being forced to retreat north in the autumn by converging counterattacks.

However impressive the achievements of the Confederate Catholics in mobilizing large military forces with minimal foreign aid, any assessment must be overshadowed by Oliver Cromwell's destruction of Irish-Catholic political and military power in the 1650s. The Catholic Confederates might have been able to avert this by securing an earlier definitive agreement with the king and by sending timely military aid to avert a parliamentary victory in the first English Civil War. Alternatively, they might, with the aid of foreign powers, have been able to secure control of Ireland and deter any future intervention; "by failing to decide between these viable but incompatible policies, the Confederates failed to achieve their principal objectives and thus safeguard their own survival" (Ohlmeyer 1993, p. 119).

SEE ALSO Butler, James, Twelfth Earl and First Duke of Ormond; Cromwellian Conquest; Darcy, Patrick; O'Neill, Owen Roe; O'Mahony, Conor, S. J.; Rebellion of 1641; Rinuccini, Giovanni Battista; **Primary Documents:** Confederation of Kilkenny (1642)

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Pádraig Lenihan

Congested Districts Board

The Congested Districts Board was established under the Purchase of Land Act of 1891, and its powers were extended and consolidated under the Congested Districts Board Acts of 1893, 1894, 1899, and 1901. The purpose of the board was to combine unprofitable agricultural holdings and to aid migration and emigration, agriculture, and industry in areas of Ireland where population outstripped available resources. It was a product of developments in Conservative and Unionist policy characterized as "Constructive Unionism." This approach to Irish problems was identified in particular with A. J. Balfour, chief secretary for Ireland, but also was influenced by the more interventionist ideas of Joseph Chamberlain, whose Liberal Unionists formed part of the Unionist coalition that governed the United Kingdom for most of the period 1886 to 1905.

The board sought to improve transportation, especially roads and railways, to provide better facilities for local industries, and to purchase estates from landlords for resale to the tenant occupiers. Its membership included a component representative of the Irish nationalist and Roman Catholic majority, and through this a more effective partnership was established with those with whom the board needed to work. Several of its accomplishments were initiated by the nationalist MP William O'Brien, including the establishment of a reproductive-loan fund from which new boats and equipment could be provided for the fishermen of Murrisk, Co. Mayo; the construction of a road through Dhuloch Pass in County Mayo as a stimulus to tourist traffic; and the purchase of Clare Island, in Clew Bay, Co. Mayo, and its resale in 1894 to the occupying tenants. The successful transfer of Clare Island was a model for the use of purchase and resale as a solution to the intractable conflict over land tenure, providing evidence to the government of its effectiveness in reducing agrarian conflict and reassuring tenant farmers elsewhere of its

efficacy for them. However, after passage of the Land Purchase Act of 1903 (Wyndham Act), which completed land purchase for most farmers, the board's work was increasingly complicated by the conflict between the rival claims of small-holders from the congested districts and local landless for redistributed land in non-congested areas. Under the Liberal government's Land Purchase Act of 1909 the board was reconstituted, making it even more susceptible to such popular pressures. The board was dissolved in 1923, by which time it had purchased over two million acres, to which it had made extensive improvements prior to resale.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Land Purchase Acts of 1903 and 1909; Land Questions; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Plan of Campaign; Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; United Irish League Campaigns

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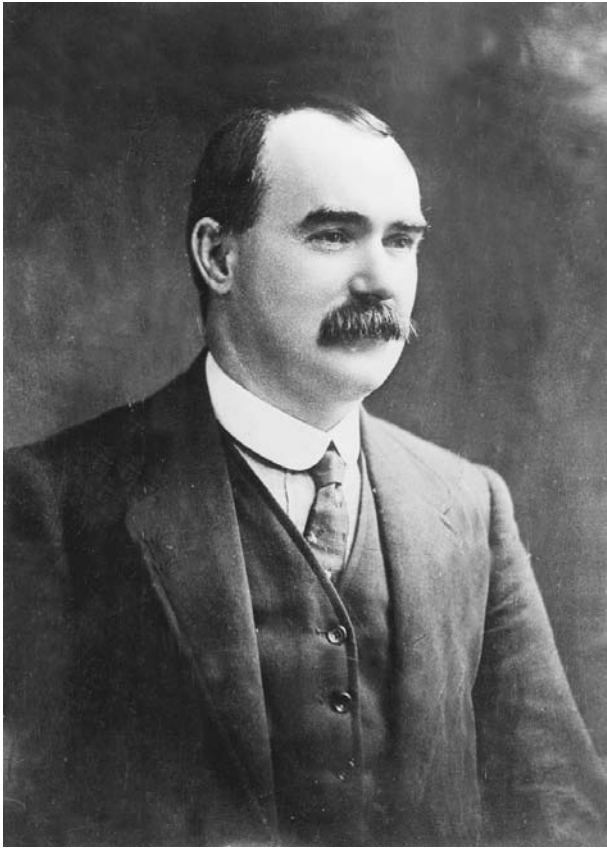
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Philip Bull

Connolly, James

Both socialist and nationalist revolutionary, James Connolly (1868–1916) was born to an Irish immigrant family in Edinburgh, Scotland. Connolly first came to Ireland in 1896 to organize the Dublin working class and founded the *Workers' Republic*, Ireland's first socialist newspaper. He left Ireland in 1903 for the United States, where he worked with the International Workers of the World for seven years. Returning in 1910, he was soon appointed Belfast organizer of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU), James Larkin's fast-growing labor organization. With Larkin, he led Dublin workers during the Lockout of 1913. Following that catastrophic defeat and Larkin's departure for the United States, Connolly assumed leadership of the ITGWU.



James Connolly (1868–1916) was closely associated with James Larkin in the work of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union between 1911 and 1914. After Larkin's departure for the United States, Connolly led Dublin labor and headed the Citizen Army alongside the Irish Volunteers in the 1916 Rising. Severely wounded during the conflict, he was executed after being propped up in a chair—one of the British blunders that turned their military victory into political defeat. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

But it was not within the world of working-class politics that Connolly would make his name. Convinced that more extreme tactics were necessary, he revived the Irish Citizen Army, an armed militia of the Dublin left. At the same time, he began talks with Patrick Pearse and other advanced nationalist leaders who were actively planning a wartime rising. This reflected Connolly's belief that Ireland had to win its freedom before a socialist republic could effectively be created. Apparently, he believed that the socioeconomic grievances of the Irish poor would be better addressed by Irish nationalist leaders than by the British, whom Connolly hated as the creators of Dublin's tenement slums.

Connolly quickly became one of the chief figures of the revolutionary nationalist conspiracy. When the Rising occurred on Easter Monday, 1916, Connolly played a leading role, taking active military command in Dub-

lin. He was gravely wounded in the conflict, shot in the ankle while leading a sortie outside the General Post Office. But Connolly's influence was more than military; his hand can also be seen in the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, which expressed an egalitarian socioeconomic vision and an implicit commitment to women's suffrage rarely seen in Irish nationalist circles.

When the Rising ended with the arrest of the Irish insurgents, Connolly and fifteen other leaders were given capital sentences. Combined with widespread arrests, the British military's semi-secret and prolonged execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising transformed Irish public opinion, which had originally been rather ambivalent and conflicted toward the nationalist rebellion. Connolly's execution was particularly important in this shift. Too weak to stand, he was shot sitting on a chair. Connolly quickly became one of Ireland's most celebrated martyrs, a man whose vision of a more just and equitable society remains inspirational for those seeking change in Ireland and abroad.

SEE ALSO Labor Movement; Larkin, James; Lockout of 1913; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Murphy, William Martin; O'Brien, William; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Trade Unions; **Primary Documents:** The Proclamation of the Irish Republic (24 April 1916); "What Is Our Programme?" (22 January 1916)

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Sean Farrell

Constitution

On 16 June 1922, the same day as the general election that was inter alia intended to ratify it, the Provisional Government published the constitution of the Irish Free State. A committee of legal and other experts, formally headed by Michael Collins, had drafted the constitution.

The document reflected a diverse range of influences, including the constraints of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, the Westminster model of government, the European and American constitutional traditions, conservative populism, and the radical contribution to the revolution.

In many respects the 1922 constitution was a conventional liberal-democratic document of its time. Despite the inclusion of the Crown (and the governor general as the Crown's representative) in the structure of government, and despite the incorporation of the treaty itself—insofar as legislation repugnant to the treaty was to be repugnant to the constitution—the constitution declared that all power derived from the people. It established a bicameral legislature, consisting of Dáil and Senate, with the government responsible to the Dáil, and the separation of powers between legislature and judiciary.

However, these structures also contained unique elements that reflected the perceived realities of Irish political life. The necessity (under the treaty) and the desire to give adequate representation to minorities led to the introduction of voting by proportional representation (single transferable vote) and of a partially nominated Senate with the power to delay legislation. The belief (ultimately inaccurate) that two-party politics would not develop and that there should be a comparatively unmediated relationship between government and the popular will led to the introduction of extern ministers and the powers of referendum and initiative. Extern ministers were not subject to collective cabinet responsibility and might not be members of the Dáil. They were appointed sporadically in the early years of the *Cumann na nGaedheal* administration. The powers of initiative and referendum were intended to allow a degree of popular control over legislation. In practice *Cumann na nGaedheal* bypassed these powers, which became obsolete.

The 1922 constitution also guaranteed a limited range of rights. The investment of the state with rights to the country's natural resources and the right of citizens to a free elementary education derived from the 1919 Democratic Programme of the Dáil. The main body of individual rights—such as the rights to freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and *habeas corpus*—stemmed from the liberal-democratic tradition. Religious rights were confined to an assertion of the freedom to practice any religion.

Significantly, the government retained the power to amend the constitution without referendum beyond what had been initially intended to be a transitory period; this power was inherited by *Fianna Fáil* in 1932. In consequence the 1922 constitution was changed be-

yond recognition by the passage of public-safety and other legislation under various governments, and more particularly by de Valera's legislative assault on the treaty.

In April 1935 de Valera commenced drafting a new constitution. It was a personal project, carried out in consultation only with a few hand-picked civil servants, notably John Hearne of the Department of External Affairs, and with members of the Jesuit community in Dublin.

Bunreacht na hÉireann, ratified on 1 July 1937, reflected de Valera's desire to replace a dictated constitution with one that would require little adjustment if and when partition ended; this established a form of government that more closely approximated the demands of republicans and that was attuned to Irish—in reality, nationalist and Catholic—values.

With partition in effect and with a view to maintaining links with the British Commonwealth, which he saw as necessary to persuade Ulster Unionists to enter a thirty-two-county state, de Valera declined to declare a republic. Nonetheless, his constitution set out a fundamentally republican form of government, with a president replacing the monarch as internal head of state. Though the powers of the president were limited and largely ceremonial, the office was responsible for the defense of the people and the constitution against arbitrary government—an essential role from the perspective of the international environment of the 1930s.

The question of partition was dealt with directly in Article 2, which defined the national territory as the whole island of Ireland (thereby establishing a constitutional claim to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland), and in Article 3, which restricted this jurisdiction to the twenty-six-county area, "pending the re-integration of the national territory."

The forms of government and the guaranteed rights in the constitution differed little from those of its predecessor and reflected a continuity of the same traditions. The bicameral legislature was reinstated—the Senate having been abolished temporarily in 1936—although the non-nominated members of the Senate were henceforth to be elected by vocational panels rather than directly.

However, the constitution also reflected de Valera's commitment to Gaelic and Catholic values. The state was renamed "Éire," and Irish was adopted as the first national language. Article 44, on religion, referred to the "special position" of the Catholic Church, and the constitution was deeply influenced by Catholic social teaching. De Valera was motivated by the social principles set out in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* promulgated

by Pope Pius XI in 1931. The underlying philosophy of the encyclical was the quest for a middle road between socialism and capitalism through the reorganization of society on vocational lines and according to the principle of subsidiarity, or decision-making at the lowest possible level. These principles suggested the method of election to the Senate and informed the social provisions and directives of the constitution, the existence and nature of which mark the most significant difference between the two constitutions.

The social provisions included a reference to the family as “the fundamental unit group of society” (Article 41). Following from this, the rights of the state in educational matters were circumscribed (Article 42) and the introduction of divorce legislation was prohibited (Article 41). Article 41 also acknowledged the contribution made to the state by woman “by her life within the home,” which led to a feminist protest in 1937 against the introduction of a gendered concept of citizenship.

Although the explicitly Catholic tenor of the constitution was subjected to increasing criticism from the 1960s onward, it aroused little antipathy when it was written. Article 44 represented a characteristic de Valera compromise between Catholic absolutism and pluralism and was drafted in consultation with leaders of all faiths. The social provisions were admired internationally, and they later provided a model for the constitutions of newly independent nations such as India and Pakistan.

Amendments to the constitution require a referendum and have generally reflected a changing political and social environment rather than a desire to alter the structure of government. Attempts by Fianna Fáil in 1959 and 1968 to abolish proportional representation were rejected. Among the most significant referenda have been those removing the “special position” of the Catholic Church (1972); permitting entry into the EEC (1972) and ratifying subsequent treaties; removing the ban on divorce (1995); and establishing and modifying the right to life of unborn children (1983 and 1992), thereby imposing a ban on abortion. In 1998, in the wake of the Good Friday Agreement, Articles 2 and 3 were replaced by articles emphasizing the common nationality of citizens of both parts of the island and of the Irish diaspora.

SEE ALSO Commonwealth; Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act; de Valera, Eamon; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Northern Ireland: Policy of the Dublin Government from 1922 to 1969; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Presidency; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; **Primary Documents:**

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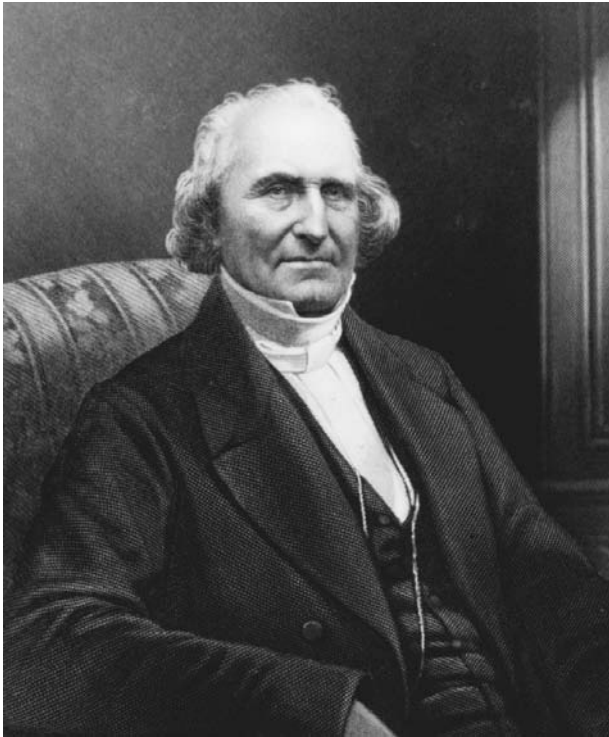
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Susannah Riordan

Cooke, Henry

Henry Cooke (1788–1868), Irish Presbyterian minister, champion of trinitarian orthodoxy and evangelicalism in religion and of conservatism and unionism in politics, was born near Maghera, Co. Londonderry, on 11 May 1788 and educated at Glasgow University. Cooke personified and led the nineteenth-century Irish Presbyterians' reaction against their eighteenth-century radicalism, which had involved them in the United Irish national and reform movements and the rebellion of 1798. The first target of his polemics was the Academic Institution, which provided higher education in rapidly growing Belfast, and whose founders had United Irish associations. Cooke denounced it as a “seminary of Arianism,” endangering the faith of its Presbyterian ordinand students. Arianism rejected the full divinity of Christ and the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity. Harnessing the rising forces of Orangeism and Evangelicalism, he forced the Arian, antitrinitarian minority in the Synod of Ulster to withdraw to form a separate synod, opening the way for the Synod of Ulster to unite with the ultra-orthodox Secession Synod to form the numerically strong Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Following his victory in the Synod of Ulster Cooke enjoyed enormous popularity and prestige, but many Presbyterians disapproved of his increasing identification with the Protestant Ascendancy in politics and his opposition to Catholic Emancipation, the tenant-right movement, and the disestablishment of the Church of



Rev. Henry Cooke (1788–1868) dominated Irish Presbyterianism from the 1820s to the 1840s. Among Presbyterian churchmen he is remembered for insisting on adherence to rigorous Calvinist doctrinal standards. Other Ulster folk remember him for his opposition to Daniel O’Connell’s assertive political leadership of Irish Catholics. BY COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON.

Ireland. Few Presbyterians shared his Toryism, but many approved of his resistance to O’Connell’s campaign to repeal the Union, and he was hailed as “the Cook who dish’d Dan” when O’Connell declined his challenge to debate the repeal question in Belfast in 1841 on the grounds that he did not want to appear opposed to the Presbyterians of Ulster. In death, as in life, Cooke, whose statue stands in the center of Belfast, remains a hero to some Irish Presbyterians and a villain to others.

SEE ALSO Presbyterianism

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Finlay Holmes

Cork

Corcach Mór Mumhan—the great marsh of Munster—was the ancient name of the modern *Corcaigh*, anglicized as *Cork*. *The marsh*, a term still used colloquially to describe the heart of the old city, was the area where the river Lee became estuarial, threading itself through various islands. Old Cork was bounded by the two main channels (north and south) of the river, famously described by Edmund Spenser: “The spreading Lee that like an island fayre / Encloseth Cork with his divided flood.” The seminal urban settlement was the seventh-century monastery and school associated with Saint Finbarr (or Bairre). It was situated on a ridge overlooking the river from the south side, not far from where the modern (Church of Ireland) Saint Fin Barre’s Cathedral stands on the site of its predecessors.

The Scandinavian settlement of the “south island,” the present South Main Street area, dates from the mid-ninth century. Native Irish as well as foreigners figured in this early urban development. With the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in the later twelfth century, the physical layout of the city was established in a form that lasted essentially until the late eighteenth century—one main street running from south gate to north gate with a separating strip of water midway, along what later became the filled-in Castle Street and Liberty Street.

Cork’s earliest surviving charter was granted by King John in 1185. The city was primarily dependent on agricultural produce from the hinterland and therefore on commercial contacts with the Gaelic Irish who stood in uneasy relationship with the burgesses, particularly so during the native resurgence from the late fourteenth century. The sense of a city under siege is well documented at that period. Moreover, the small population (between 1,300 and 2,000) was ravaged by the Black Death in 1349. Nevertheless, the city prospered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the important port greatly facilitating its development. Trade was conducted with England (notably with Bristol), Scotland, and France; the exports included skins, hides, beef, grain, and wool, and the main imports were wine, cloth, and spices.

The great political, religious, and plantation upheavals from the mid-sixteenth century saw the Old English ruling class (loyal in politics but Catholic in religion) eventually supplanted in Cork by a New English/Protestant elite. The period from the middle of the eighteenth century to the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 was a golden age for Cork’s economy. The population grew rapidly—to 41,000 in 1750, 57,000 in

1796, and a remarkable 80,000 by 1821. Cork remained Ireland's second city (after Dublin) until 1841; thereafter, industrial Belfast pulled ahead.

The Cork butter market handled nearly half of all Irish butter exports by 1789. Beef and pork exports were similarly impressive—provisioning British navy and army supply ships was a thriving business—and prosperous textile and tanning industries provided substantial employment and goods for export as well as the domestic market.

Cork has always identified itself with its harbor. The motto on the city's crest is *statio bene fida carinis*—"a trustworthy anchorage for ships." The harbor was important for British naval supremacy but was even more vital for commercial life. Cork was always a commercial rather than an industrial city, but a general decline in both sectors set in after the Napoleonic wars. There was a sharp decrease in agricultural prices and a falling-off in the provisioning trade, a result of the adverse impact of Anglo-Irish market integration following the Act of Union.

Meanwhile, the city was undergoing significant physical expansion beginning in the late eighteenth century. Channels were filled in and numerous bridges, including the imposing Saint Patrick's Bridge, were built, with Saint Patrick's Street becoming Cork's main thoroughfare. Throughout the nineteenth century suburban residence became the norm for the middle classes, and the areas of Sunday's Well, Tivoli, and Blackrock were variously favored by the merchant princes. Beginning in 1898 the tramline system offered citizens a reliable and economic means of enjoying residence in the suburbs while working and shopping in the city.

Queen's College (from 1908, University College) opened in 1849, making Cork a university town as well as a port and harbor city. In terms of nineteenth-century suburban growth the college was the catalyst for the development of the striking western approaches to the city. The handsome buildings and riverside grounds have given a distinctive and elegant appearance to that neighborhood over a hundred and fifty years.

Over 70 percent of all Cork families were living in slums during the second half of the nineteenth century. Leaders of the working classes were conservatives, socially speaking, concerned with preserving the aristocracy of the artisans against the unskilled workers. The lower classes were encouraged by the churches and the media to accept their "station in life" and they were diverted from socialist objectives by the lure of nationalist aspirations. Meanwhile, the professional and merchant classes were divided along sectarian lines. Catholics were envious of Protestant Ascendancy in municipal

politics until something of a level playing field for the religious majority was eventually created by such measures as the Municipal Corporations Act of 1840 and the Local Government Act of 1898, and the city council gradually became more representative.

Cork nationalist politics were exciting and turbulent in the faction-ridden years after the death of Charles Stewart Parnell, MP for the city from 1880 to 1891. The most colorful and volatile figure at the turn of the century was journalist and politician William O'Brien. Later, the radical nationalist tradition in Cork found strong expression in the resurgence of Sinn Féin after 1916. The momentous highlights of this period were the murder of Lord Mayor Tomás MacCurtain in March 1920; the death from hunger strike in October of his mayoral successor, Terence MacSwiney; and the burning of the city center by Crown forces in December. Since then, the office of lord mayor has had particular prestige in Cork.

Notwithstanding urban growth and spread throughout the twentieth century, there is an immemorial charm about old Cork that was once described (doubtless with the genteel grandeur of Sunday's Well and Montenotte in mind) as "a city of tattered grace." The winding channels of the Lee and its numerous bridges make for a variety of Italianate vistas, glimpsed by the walker from midstream bridges or through narrow lanes. These views often feature Cork's symbolic and most famous landmark, the clock tower of Saint Anne's, Shandon, with its nostalgic bells "that sound so grand on / The pleasant waters of the river Lee" (O'Mahony, "The Bells of Shandon").

Industrialization in Cork in the decades after independence (1922) was dominated by such plants as Ford's and Dunlop's, which afforded steady employment for decades to great numbers of Cork workers. The Sunbeam textiles factory was also important in the Cork economy. Under native government there were great advances in public housing, and in Cork vast local-authority estates were built on the south side at Ballyphehane and on the steep slopes above the North Cathedral, siphoning the population away from the decayed "marsh" area in the city center. Meanwhile, the outer suburbs continued to proliferate.

When the staple employment industries of car assembly and textiles collapsed in the 1970s under Common Market pressure, they were replaced in time by chemical plants, electronic businesses, and high-tech industries with a new wave of inward investment from multinationals. Cork shared in the remarkable "Celtic Tiger" prosperity of the 1990s and was worried by the signs of slowdown in 2001.

In the last decades of the millennium, enlightened municipal management arrested and reversed inner-city dereliction. Mean alleys have been transformed into settings for continental-style bistros and boutiques, fine plazas have been created, and there has been much imaginative pedestrianization. A land-use and transportation study (LUTS) was gradually implemented to deal with ever-growing traffic problems.

The harbor, so crucial to the Cork economy for centuries, has continued to play a central role in greatly changed circumstances. In earlier years, grain, coal, fruit, and timber imports brought about storage and workhouse facilities in the dock areas. Various harbor activities, as well as the vital business of dredging, came under the auspices of the Harbour Commissioners, whose splendid headquarters is a notable architectural landmark in respect of both facade and interior. The political significance of the harbor was underlined in 1938 when the British handover of naval bases, in Cork harbor as elsewhere, completed the process of sovereignty transfer that had begun in 1922. Today, large cross-channel and continental ferries constitute another facet of harbor business, as do the numerous industrial and chemical sites from Little Island to the lower harbor in the Ringaskiddy area. Meanwhile, international travel in and out of the city was transformed and intensified by the development of the thriving Cork Airport (opened in 1961), which combines efficiency with a warm and distinctive local flavor. According to the latest census figures, there were 127,000 people living within the municipal limits in 1996, with a further 53,000 in the suburbs.

Finally, we may observe that traditional rivalry between north side and south side is subsumed in a general Cork personality, recognized as distinctive by natives and outsiders alike. Apart from their renowned sing-song-accented speech, Cork people tend to be perceived elsewhere in Ireland as wily, opinionated, self-confident to the point of hubris, ambitious, with a penchant for taking over the top jobs nationally, able, witty, garrulous, and ostensibly friendly and charming but clannish to a degree!

SEE ALSO Belfast; Dublin; Landscape and Settlement; Towns and Villages

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John A. Murphy



Cosgrave, W. T.

W. T. [William Thomas] Cosgrave (1880–1965), Irish nationalist and head of government, was born in Dublin on 5 June. After education by the Christian Brothers he became a publican. He was active in Arthur Griffith’s Sinn Féin and was a member of Dublin Corporation from 1909. Cosgrave served as second in command of the rebel garrison at the South Dublin Union during the 1916 Easter Rising and was sentenced to death. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and he was released a year later. In August 1917, Cosgrave was the successful Sinn Féin candidate in a parliamentary by-election for Kilkenny city; he represented North Kilkenny in the first Dáil (1918–1920), then Carlow-Kilkenny from 1920 to 1927 and Cork city from 1927 to 1944. In 1919, Cosgrave became minister for local government in the underground Dáil administration, with Kevin O’Higgins as junior minister. In 1922, Cosgrave was a pivotal supporter of the Anglo-Irish Treaty and emerged as leader of the pro-Treatyites (later Cumann na nGaedheal) after the deaths of Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins. The harsh measures taken by the Cosgrave government during the Civil War (including reprisal executions, death sentences imposed after summary trials by military courts and semiofficial death squads) were widely criticized; Cosgrave always defended them as upholding the will of the people. As president of the executive council of the Irish Free State from 1922 to 1932 Cosgrave operated as “chairman,” balancing competing cabinet factions, but was increasingly dominated by conservative technocrats associated with O’Higgins. Cosgrave himself was an effective campaigner, cultivating a “man in the street” image and emphasizing his Dublin accent. His government secured civilian control over the armed forces, restored the public finances, asserted Irish independence within the Commonwealth, and undertook prestigious projects such as the Shannon hydroelectric scheme. However, its harsh fiscal and security policies and disdain for populism led many former protreaty supporters to support Fianna Fáil after that party entered the Dáil in 1927. Cosgrave’s acceptance of electoral defeat in 1932 rather than retaining power by force was perhaps his finest hour. After

a second defeat in 1933, Cosgrave gave way to Eoin O'Duffy as leader of the new Fine Gael Party. Cosgrave became Fine Gael leader in 1934 after O'Duffy's resignation, holding the post until 1943 as his party declined. Cosgrave died in Dublin on 16 November 1965. His son Liam was taoiseach from 1973 to 1977. The elder Cosgrave is generally seen as a competent leader who played a significant role in consolidating the new state.

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Patrick Maume

Council of Trent and the Catholic Mission

The successful implementation of the doctrinal and disciplinary decrees of the Council of Trent (an assembly of Catholic bishops and priests that met from 1545 to 1563 to reform the Roman church) was premised on state cooperation with a Catholic establishment of resident bishops who were committed to regulating the devotional lives of laity and clergy. The bishops would ideally hold regular diocesan and metropolitan synods, visit Rome (the font of orthodoxy) regularly, and monitor liturgy and organizations in the parishes. Stable social and political conditions were necessary for the Tridentine vision of a renewed Catholic Church to become a reality.

The three Irish bishops who attended the closing session of the council in 1562 to 1563 returned instead to a mission field where the Catholic Church was outlawed and its structures dislocated. Although their dioceses in the north and west of Ireland were outside the reach of the Protestant state church, the decades since Ireland's breach with the papacy under Henry VIII in the

1530s had witnessed great upheaval in the organization of the Roman church in Ireland. Some areas had bishops that conformed to the royal supremacy, and other sees such as Dublin and Meath were to remain without papally appointed prelates for many years. The closure of many monasteries across the country had disrupted parish activity, since many of the benefices had been in the gift of monastic orders. As a result, church livings that had in the later Middle Ages been endowed upon the monasteries by pious benefactors were now in the possession of the new lay grantees. Despite their best efforts, the remaining Catholic bishops were operating without a proper structure of ecclesiastical command or a proper parish system.

In an effort to kick-start the drive toward reorganization, Pope Paul IV appointed a Limerick Jesuit, David Wolfe, as commissary in 1558 with the task of rebuilding the Roman episcopate in Ireland. One of his key nominees was a fellow Limerick priest, Richard Creagh, who became archbishop of Armagh in 1564. He was a zealous protagonist of Tridentine reform, but the failure of his episcopal mission makes clear the obstacles to implementing the conciliar decrees in the Ireland of the 1560s and 1570s. He never got a foothold in his archdiocese because of political turbulence and crown suspicion, so Creagh's plans for convening synods and enforcing discipline came to naught. His position on state-church relations—that the papal warrant of Catholic agents should be recognized and tolerated in return for the church's acceptance of royal sovereignty in temporal affairs—was unacceptable to the state authorities. The excommunication of Elizabeth I by Pope Pius V rendered this approach increasingly intolerable to the Crown after 1570. Creagh spent most of his twenty-two years as a bishop in prison in London or Dublin.

During the latter half of the Elizabethan period up until 1603, growing Catholic militancy in Ireland led to the involvement of both laypeople and ecclesiastics in insurrections in all of the Irish provinces. Archbishop Edmund Magauran of Armagh (who died in a skirmish in south Ulster) and Archbishop Maurice MacGibbon of Cashel went on delegations to Spain seeking military aid. Other bishops such as Dermot O'Hurley of Cashel and Patrick O'Healy of Mayo were executed by the state as traitors. In the popular mind the deceased clerics were accounted martyrs, and their example inspired a more zealous dedication to Catholic activism. In particular, lay community leaders among the gentry and merchant elites were moved to make available the considerable resources of ecclesiastical tithes and clerical appointments that they possessed to a reviving Catholic organization. They also chose to eschew the newly founded Trinity College in favor of sending their off-

spring to Irish continental colleges, which became seminaries for a new Catholic priesthood that returned to staff the Irish Catholic Church beginning about 1600.

With a newly confident Catholic lay elite, and in spite of sporadic bouts of government prosecution of religious dissent, a church alternative to Anglicanism began to firmly take root in Ireland in the early seventeenth century. The return of a resident episcopate, spearheaded by David Rothe of Ossory, and the re-establishment of religious orders provided an ecclesiastical leadership for the movement. New religious societies such as the Jesuits and Capuchins joined the older established ones, such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites, to refound religious houses in most parts of the country.

Because the older church buildings and parish structures were now possessed by the Anglican Church, the emerging Catholic organization came to be based in the homes of the gentry in the countryside and in the houses of prominent merchants in the towns. These unofficial "mass-houses" were frequented by laypeople who heard mass celebrated there by seminary-trained priests, while the parish churches of the Anglican Church of Ireland were by and large thinly attended. Aristocratic patronage of the systems of worship and pedagogy was key to the success of the Counter-Reformation church in the late seventeenth century.

Diocesan organization was slowly re-established by the 1640s, with most areas of the country served by Catholic bishops and an adequate supply of priests. Diocesan and metropolitan synods were held from 1614 onwards, legislating for the implementation of the decrees of Trent in areas such as worship, the sacraments, and discipline among clergy and laity. When the enforcement of a strict code of practice came into conflict with the social mores of the Gaelic world (with respect to marriages and funerals, for example), compromises were worked out. By the 1640s there was a strong Catholic organization that incorporated the decrees of Trent and had gained the loyalty of most of the population. One of the attractions of the Counter-Reformation church was the ease with which priests communicated with their congregations orally in the native tongue, and the deft use of Irish in published form for catechisms and works of devotion was a most useful aid to the Catholic priests. (By contrast, most of the ministers of the Protestant reformed religion were committed to the advancement of the faith through English exclusively.) The Catholic Church had successfully molded itself to the contours of the native Gaelic and Old English societies, and its leaders were anxious to be seen accepting the temporal authority of the state.

The rebellion of the 1640s and the subsequent Cromwellian regime of the 1650s dislocated the nascent church, and when the monarchy was restored in 1660, a great deal of rebuilding had to be done. Some bishops and priests were among those who had been executed for resisting the Cromwellian armies, and most others had withdrawn from the country and had to be replaced. A slow recovery took place in the 1660s and 1670s, but the fragility of the Catholic position, dependent as it was on the grace and favor of the monarch, was made clear from the prosecution and execution of Archbishop Oliver Plunkett of Armagh for his alleged part in an antiroyalist Catholic conspiracy. The brief reign of James II in the late 1680s brought about an official Catholic restoration, but the Glorious Revolution and its aftermath cast into doubt once again the position of Catholicism in Ireland. The victorious Protestant Ascendancy was determined to consolidate its political, constitutional, and social position through the parliamentary vehicle of the penal laws. Aimed primarily at suppressing Catholic social and economic ambitions, the laws did make the practice of Catholicism very difficult, but there was some flexibility through local cooperation in the areas of clerical activity such as arrangements for baptisms, marriages, burials, and schooling for Catholic youth. Although the penal laws did constrain the Catholic community socially and politically, the Irish Counter-Reformation church of the seventeenth century proved robust enough to endure and provide a relatively vibrant Catholic Church in the eighteenth century and after.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); Irish Colleges Abroad until the French Revolution; Lombard, Peter; Plunkett, Oliver; **Primary Documents:** An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1704)

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Colm Lennon



Country Houses and the Arts

By the late twentieth century, Irish country houses built by members of the Protestant Ascendancy class began to be viewed as a significant part of the nation's cultural heritage. Growing support for preservation of these buildings marked a striking change in attitude; in the decades before and after independence in 1921, these estates were perceived as alien presences in the landscape by most Irish nationalists. Burnt-out shells of such houses are stark reminders of the destruction of Ascendancy homes during the Anglo-Irish and Irish Civil Wars. Unlike England's great houses, which were incorporated into the concept of national heritage early in the nineteenth century, the Ascendancy "big house" (an ambivalently derisive term for the country house that is unique to Ireland) signaled not community but division. In a colonial and postcolonial country, such division marked not just differences of class and wealth between landlords and tenants but also divisions of political allegiance, religion, and language.

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

Ireland's remarkable architectural flowering occurred during the eighteenth century when members of an Anglo-Irish Protestant oligarchy eager to display their growing wealth and status began a sustained program of building unfortified country houses. A young Irishman, Edward Lovett Pearce, carried out and supplemented the plans of the Italian architect Alessandro Galilei, who designed the central block of Ireland's major Palladian home, Castletown, Co. Kildare (since 1967 the headquarters of the Irish Georgian Society). Although a few examples of Classical and Palladian building existed before Pearce, his work revolutionized the architectural taste of a newly ascendant aristocracy. After Pearce's early death his influence was carried on by the German-born Richard Castle, who built some of

Ireland's grandest houses. Pearce and Castle's architecture introduced wide-spreading Palladian elements already popular in England, particularly the center block joined to subordinate wings by straight or curved lines, a plan that was rapidly adapted to local needs in Ireland. Generally, the two architects modified and toned down the English Palladian style. In Ireland, for example, the wings were typically occupied by offices and farm buildings, instead of by additional reception rooms as in England.

Another characteristic form of eighteenth-century Irish architecture was the familiar vertical rather than horizontal Georgian block house. Three stories tall, with five to seven bays, these houses appear to be as high as they are wide. Such comparatively small eighteenth-century houses were often built in remoter parts of the countryside. Literary associations with several of them—Bowen's Court in County Cork (Elizabeth Bowen), Tyrone House in County Galway (Somerville and Ross), and Moore Hall in County Mayo (George Moore)—have brought this vertical Georgian architectural style to the attention of readers of big-house fiction.

Although Palladian architecture remained popular until the 1760s (later in the provinces), the influence of English neoclassical and Greek Revival architecture began to be felt by the second half of the century. In the 1760s, for example, the English architect James Chambers designed the exquisite neoclassical pleasure house, Marino Casino, beside the earl of Charlemont's villa at Clontarf, on the outskirts of Dublin. Later in the century and after union, architects such as James Wyatt and Francis Johnston introduced major neoclassical country houses.

Gothic Revival building arrived in Ireland as early as 1762, when under the sway of Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill in England, the married owners of what was to be Castle Ward, in County Down, unable to agree on a single architectural style, imposed a Gothic side on a house with a Classical entrance front. In subsequent years, influenced by the Romantic movement and growing nostalgia for an antique past, many houses were pulled down and rebuilt in the newly revived Gothic style; others, retaining their classical shells, had battlements, arrow slits, and elaborate Gothic gateways added, with mock portcullises and coats of arms. The Gothic style played on the prominence of ruins in Ireland, where country estates often incorporated the remains of an old Norman tower or an abbey.

Generally, Irish country houses were smaller than their English counterparts (termed "great houses"), and changes in design and construction techniques came to Ireland twenty or thirty years after England. Architec-



Classical front, Castle Ward, Strangford, Co. Down (mid-eighteenth century). Because the Wards could not decide in which style to build their house, the entrance front was made Classical, whereas the garden front was Gothic. © CHRISTOPHER J. HALL; CORDAII PHOTO LIBRARY LTD./CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tural critics celebrate not just the grandest Irish buildings, but the high quality of countless well-proportioned and elegant small houses, whose creators were, according to Maurice Craig, “imbued with the language of classicism” (Craig 1976, p. 23). Although some of these buildings were designed by distinguished architects, others were put up by local builders working with pattern books.

INTERIORS

High ceilings, well-proportioned rooms, and magnificent stairways are typical of large and small houses, but elaborate plaster-work decoration was a spectacular feature of the grander eighteenth-century buildings. Although the Italian stuccodores, the Francini brothers, Paul and Philip, and Bartholomew Cramillon are the most famous names, native artisans had worked with plaster even before the Palladian period, and the majority of neoclassical interiors were by Irish craftsmen. The Francinis introduced human figures into plaster decoration; their 1739 saloon ceiling at Carton, Co. Kildare, is a masterpiece that inspired a growing fashion. The lead-

ing Irish stuccodore, Robert West, learned and adopted the Italian designs and techniques, preferring the bird in flight to the human figure. His rococo plaster work was in turn followed by Michael Stapleton’s neoclassical decoration, on occasion including painted roundels in the style of Robert Adam.

The furnishings of the grander Irish houses were generally purchased on the continent, but native Irish furniture existed and has become increasingly popular on the antiques market. In the pieces created between 1725 to 1775, before artisans adopted English Sheridan styles, exuberant carvings on dark wood often featured grimacing human, satyr, or animal faces reminiscent of the figures decorating pages of the Celtic medieval *Book of Kells*. Plain oval dining tables made with folding sides, so they could be carried outdoors, were called wake tables, as they were also used to display a coffin, surrounded by food and drink.

GARDENS

The walled demesnes, or private park lands, of Ireland’s country houses formerly occupied nearly 6 percent of

the country and always retained their function as farms for the landlords. The late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century geometrically planned grounds were dominated by tree-lined avenues and symmetrical gardens filled with statues and topiary surrounding the new unfortified country houses. But by the mid-seventeenth century Irish landscapers reacted against symmetrical formal gardens and adopted the revolutionary new English landscape park designs that were well suited to the Irish terrain. Houses now overlooked carefully constructed “natural” parklands of expansive lawns, clumps of trees, and even newly dug lakes; sunken fences, or ha-has, obscured the demarcation between the lawns and the further demesne lands; vegetables, fruits, and flowers were banished to walled gardens isolated from the house. Elaborate gateways and ornamental lodges at the demesne entrances offered a preview of the owner’s taste and wealth, and eccentric follies and mausoleums attested to the Irish gentry’s love of show.

With shortages of money and labor after the Great Famine of the late 1840s, few new parklands were created. A new enthusiasm for the collecting of exotic plants and trees led to the reintroduction of formal beds around houses. After the 1880s, however, the philosophy of the great Irish horticulturist William Robinson encouraged natural woodland gardens, bog gardens, and an ecological landscaping that became increasingly popular throughout the twentieth century.

DECLINE OF THE COUNTRY HOUSE

Many houses were built in the decades following union, as some members of the nobility and gentry retreated from Dublin into the countryside. However, after the Great Famine only the richest families built or remodeled, often in the Tudor Revival or Victorian Baronial style. The process of land redistribution that began with the Land Act of 1870 encouraged tenants to buy their own land from their landlords, and as great estates lost rental income and property, landlords increasingly became unable to maintain their homes and demesnes. Ironically, the neglect that led to the ruin of some houses also protected others from Victorian “improvements”; thus relatively more surviving Irish than English country houses retain their original features. The burning of approximately two hundred houses between 1920 and 1923 during the Anglo-Irish and subsequent civil war, particularly if the owner was thought to be pro-British, underscored the political hostility elicited by these monuments of Ascendancy culture and politics. Private stewardship of Irish country houses continued to decline long after independence. Many owners, now without the resources to support their former life-

styles, sold their homes for conversion into schools, convents, and hotels, or abandoned them to slow deterioration and eventual ruin or demolition.

The Irish Georgian Society was formed in 1958 to work for preservation in the Republic. Since the 1970s the decay and disappearance of country houses have received increasing attention, as public sentiment began to support tax concessions to owners of heritage properties viewed as major tourist attractions. In Northern Ireland important estates are owned by the National Trust, and in the Republic changes in the tax structure have aided owners struggling to maintain their houses. The Office of Public Works has taken several important buildings under its wing, and some houses are maintained through partnerships between owners and local authorities. The 1988 publication of *Vanishing Country Houses of Ireland*, however, dramatically called attention to the “decay, loss and destruction” of almost 500 country houses in the Republic alone (Knight of Glin 1988, p. 6).

BIG-HOUSE LITERATURE

Literature written about declining Irish country houses reflects the preoccupations of a landlord class facing extinction. Maria Edgeworth’s *Castle Rackrent* (1800) initiated a series of conventions that reappear in many subsequent novels: the improvident landlord, the decaying house and declining gentry family, and the rise of a predatory middle-class antagonist who seeks to acquire the landlord’s property and position. Gothic novelists working in the tradition depict corrupt and guilt-ridden proprietors. The big-house motif appears in literature throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, predominantly in Irish novels by Edgeworth, Charles Lever, William Carleton, Charles Maturin, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, George Moore, Somerville and Ross, Elizabeth Bowen, Jennifer Johnston, Molly Keane, William Trevor, Aidan Higgins, and John Banville. In contrast to the generally ironic indictment of an improvident gentry class emerging from most big-house fiction, the early-twentieth-century poetry of William Butler Yeats celebrates the Anglo-Irish country estate as the symbol of a beleaguered spiritual aristocracy.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Estates and Demesnes; Georgian Dublin, Art and Architecture of

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Vera Kreilkamp

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Craig, James, First Viscount Craigavon

James Craig (1871–1940), Ulster unionist and prime minister of Northern Ireland, was born in Sydenham, Co. Down, on 8 January 1871. Craig worked as a stockbroker and served in the British army during the Boer War before entering politics. He represented a new generation of leaders (predominantly from the Presbyterian Belfast professional and business classes) who replaced the landed parliamentarianism of Edward Saunderson with a more populist, sectarian, and Ulster-centered unionism. In 1905, Craig cofounded the Ulster Unionist Council. He was Unionist MP at Westminster for East Down (1906–1918) and Mid Down (1918–1921). Craig organized the Ulster campaign against the third Home Rule bill as Carson's principal Ulster-based lieutenant, and helped to organize the 36th Ulster Division during the First World War. He served as a junior minister at Westminster from 1916 to 1918 and from 1919 to 1921. In 1921, Craig succeeded Carson as unionist leader and became the first prime minister of Northern Ireland. In 1926 he became first Viscount Craigavon. Craig successfully resisted British pressure during the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations to make concessions toward Irish unity for the sake of keeping all of Ireland within the British empire; he refused to accept the legitimacy of the Boundary Commission (replying to proposed boundary changes with the slogan "Not an inch"), and his political skills (coupled with na-



James Craig, First Viscount Craigavon (1871–1940), was the prime minister of Northern Ireland from 1920 to 1940. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tionalist maladroitness) did much to ensure that Northern Ireland remained undiminished. A violent challenge to the new state by the Irish Republican Army was met with harsh security policies, local councils were gerrymandered to ensure unionist control, and the electoral system was altered to perpetuate the unionist-nationalist divide by making it harder for smaller parties to win seats. Even after external threats receded, Craig put unionist solidarity above intercommunal relations; attempts by the Northern nationalist leader Joseph Devlin to work within the political system in the late 1920s were spurned. Pressure from unionist hardliners, and the activities of Eamon de Valera, partly explain but cannot excuse Craig's notorious view that Northern Ireland was "a Protestant state for a Protestant people." Craig's ability to extract financial assistance from British governments partly offset his failure to address the economic devastation caused by the decline of Northern Ireland's traditional industries. His later years as prime minister were marked by declining health, long holidays, lavish official commemorations, and high-profile tours of the province during which Craig distributed "bones" (government assistance) without consulting his cabinet or the civil service. Despite increasing physical and mental decrepitude, he re-

tained his position until his death on 24 November 1940.

SEE ALSO Carson, Sir Edward; Ulster Unionist Party in Office; Unionism from 1885 to 1922; **Primary Documents:** On “A Protestant Parliament and a Protestant State” (24 April 1934)

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Patrick Maume

Cromwellian Conquest

Between August 1649 and June 1652, Ireland was largely reconquered by English forces. Since October 1641 the island had seen campaigns in which locally raised contingents of Protestants and separate armies dispatched from England and Scotland struggled against the insurgent Confederate Catholics, who controlled much of the country outside Dublin and eastern Ulster. The need to reconquer Ireland acquired greater urgency following the execution of Charles I in January 1649 and the establishment in England of a Commonwealth, because it was feared that the numerous opponents of this republican regime would use Ireland as a base from which to attack it.

On 15 August 1649 an army of approximately 12,000, commanded by Oliver Cromwell, landed near Dublin. Its task was eased by the victory over the Confederates of a local Protestant force under Michael Jones a fortnight earlier at Rathmines, close to Dublin. Cromwell rapidly captured the strategic garrisons of Drogheda (11 September 1649) and Wexford (11 October 1649). With those successes he shortened the campaign and reassured his employer, the Westminster parliament, that he was spending its money well, but the savagery meted out to civilian inhabitants as well as to the garrisons was at odds with Cromwell's restraint in England. It attested to the hostility of English and Scottish Protestants toward the Irish Catholics, and in the longer

term it blackened Cromwell's and England's reputations in Ireland. Although Cromwell met setbacks, as at Clonmel in May 1650, where his force suffered heavy casualties, he was confident enough that resistance had been broken to leave Ireland in the following month. His son-in-law Henry Ireton took over the command, but he died of plague while campaigning in November 1651. Besides English officers, some local Protestants, such as Roger Boyle, Baron Broghill (later earl of Orrery), and Sir Charles Coote (subsequently earl of Mountrath) joined the campaign. By April 1653, with the surrender of Cloughoughter, the entire island was again under nominal English control.

The Westminster parliament appointed parliamentary commissioners to govern Ireland, and peacetime administration was slowly restored. However, English rule could be maintained only with the help of large garrisons. These arrangements kept costs high and impoverished Ireland, wasted by warfare throughout the 1640s and more recently depopulated by plague. In the early 1650s, as much as a third of the total population may have died. Many of the defeated went into continental exile, some entering the armies of Spain, Portugal, and France.

For the Irish administration the most pressing task once military resistance had been contained was to reallocate property. It was assumed that the future security and prosperity of Ireland could best be guaranteed by confiscating the lands of the rebels and transferring them to others. In addition, it was hoped that this action would finance the military campaign. The essential measures that reserved the Irish insurgents' estates to pay for the reconquest had been taken by the English parliament in 1642. Its successors in 1652 and 1653 amplified the earlier acts. Two groups benefited: civilians, mainly in England, who had invested money in the reconquest on the security of future grants of Irish property; and soldiers serving in Ireland after 1649 who were to be paid largely in Irish lands. Furthermore, as a guarantee of future security, those implicated in the uprising of 1641 were also to be expelled from the boroughs and from coastal areas. As much as 11 million acres—55 percent of the total acreage of Ireland—was supposed to be at the disposal of the state. The work of surveying these holdings taxed the regime and provoked controversy. First, the wisdom of such a wholesale expropriation and the proposed banishment of the surviving rebels west of the river Shannon into the province of Connacht and County Clare was questioned. Next, the competence of the original surveyor, Benjamin Worsley, was impugned. Then, once Sir William Petty, Worsley's successor, had completed his Down Survey, quarrels erupted between the civilian in-

vestors and the soldiery. The redistributions eventually created 8,000 new proprietors, not all of whom settled on their new holdings. Of these, only about 500 were civilian adventurers or their heirs; the rest were soldiers, many of whom, rather than waiting to receive their portions, made over their claims to superior officers or civilian speculators. The undoubted beneficiaries from the upheavals were the members of some of the Protestant families who had settled in Ireland before 1641. Those dispossessed during the Cromwellian interregnum hoped that the Stuarts, once restored to power after 1660, would reinstate them. Lucky individuals did regain their estates, but the essential contours of the Cromwellian settlement were not altered between 1660 and 1688. The dramatic impact is clear from a simple statistic: In 1641 Catholics owned about 59 percent of the land in Ireland; by 1703 this total had dropped to 14 percent.

Some constructive measures accompanied the confiscations. As earlier, the English conquerors insisted that they only wanted to break the power of the traditional leaders of Catholic Ireland. Their prime targets were therefore the priests, heads of the *septs* (clans), lawyers, and military men. The English administration hoped to persuade the bulk of the people of the merits of its rule through a program of social and legal reforms. At the same time, efforts to convert Catholics to Protestantism were redoubled, but resources—of manpower and money—proved too meager to transform Irish society. Schemes to bring the law within the reach of more were disappointing, as were attempts to improve the provision of education and Protestant preaching. Initiatives such as the creation of a second university college in Dublin were short-lived. So, too, were schemes to map and exploit natural resources. A further difficulty was that the English regime in Ireland was no longer monarchical but republican, and this characteristic was detested by some Protestants as well as by many Catholics.

The regime tended toward introversion and quarrelling. Necessarily, it concentrated on routine affairs. Most efforts were directed toward guarding against internal subversion and foreign invaders. These threats worsened when in 1656 the Cromwellian protectorate went to war with Spain, a frequent ally of Irish Catholics and confederate of the exiled Charles Stuart. It had also to collect taxes and try to restore a measure of prosperity so that tax yields could be increased. In addition, it was hampered by unresolved differences over how best to treat the Catholic majority. As in the past, opinions varied between coercion and conciliation. Yet if this regime failed to put down deep roots among the Catholic populace, it did gradually endear itself to many with-

in the Protestant population, who saw their grip on property, office, and power tighten. Irish Catholics, despite English professions to the contrary, were subjected to a series of discriminations that depressed almost all into the condition of “hewers of wood and bearers of water,” where once they had owned and governed the island. For this reason, the decade after 1649 can be seen as inaugurating in outline, if not in name, what would be known in the eighteenth century as the Irish Protestant Ascendancy.

SEE ALSO Confederation of Kilkenny; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Petty, Sir William; Puritan Sectaries; Solemn League and Covenant; **Primary Documents:** On the Capture of Drogheda (17 September 1649); From *The Great Case of Transplantation Discussed* (1655); From *The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated* (1655); From *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (1698)

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Toby Barnard

Cruachain

References in early Irish literature identify *Crúachu* (“the mounded place”) as an assemblage of burial mounds at which an *oenach* (assembly) was held, and as a dwelling place of the earth goddess Medb and her husband Ailill, both of them rich in cattle. Oweynagat nearby was the gateway to the otherworld in the early tale *Echtra Nerai*. The site of Carnfree (*Carn Fraich*) was the inauguration place of the O’Connor kings of Connacht, their ancestors and forerunners, from time immemorial until the fourteenth century. Both these sites are foci around which hundreds of monuments, constructed over at least four millennia, are concentrated.

Fifty mounds I certify,
 Are at Oenach na Cruachna,
 There are under each mound of them
 Fifty truly fine warlike men.
 (from a poem in *Leabhar na Uidhre* [*Book of the Dun Cow*], quoted with translation in Petrie 1845, p. 104)

The monuments of the Cruachain/Carnfree complex stand on two great ridges 400 to 500 feet above sea level, running northeast to southwest on the ancient plain of *Magh n-Aí* west of the Shannon in County Roscommon. Dominating the northwest end is the cemetery around Rathcroghan (*Ráth Cruachan*), a natural mound over 6 meters in height, scarped and built into a roughly circular form 100 meters across, with a circular bank and ditch on top which identify the mound as a ring-barrow. Around it is a ditched enclosure 370 meters in diameter. Within the cemetery complex are Stone Age megalithic tombs, two Early Bronze Age tumuli, and several late prehistoric ring-barrows, with a few tiny round cairns and standing stones. Prominent features of the complex are three parallel avenues running straight along the axis of the ridge, two of them overlain by ring-barrows. Four named wells in the area demonstrate the importance of drinking water for cattle in this prime grassland. On the more southerly ridge 6 kilometers to the southeast stands Carnfree, a burial cairn of the early Bronze Age; it lies close to a classic “bowl barrow” of the same period. A later cemetery of ring-barrows and three standing stones surround these focal tombs.

These twin cemeteries encircle spaces that reputedly were in early historic times an oenach site and an inauguration site. The sacred character of the cemeteries probably led to the creation of a zone of exclusion around each of them, outside of which several ringforts were built between 500 and 1000 C.E. In that era many tales about these sites were written down. The great spring well of Ogulla between Rathcroghan and Carnfree, the most powerful in the area, is pointed out as the meeting place of Saint Patrick and the daughters of King Laoghaire of Tara at the dawn of Christianity in the second half of the fifth century.

SEE ALSO Cú Chulainn; Dún Ailinne; Myth and Saga; Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland; Tara

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Michael Herity

Cú Chulainn

The myth of Cú Chulainn (Cuchulainn) is told in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (the *Cattle Raid of Cooley*), first fully transcribed in the twelfth century C.E. (see Kinsella 1970). The epic tale tells of rivalry between Queen Medb (Maeve) of Connacht and her husband Ailill as to which of them had the richest possessions. They were evenly matched except in one respect—that Ailill had a large bull. So Medb set out with her army to the Cooley peninsula in Ulster to steal a large brown bull belonging to Dáire mac Fiachna, owner of the brown bull of Cooley, casting a spell on the defending warriors of Ulster—the Red Branch (Craobh Rua) heroes. One warrior did not succumb to the spell: Cú Chulainn was semidivine, the son of the princess Deichtine (Dectera) and the sun god Lugh. As Medb made her way back to Connacht with the stolen bull, Cú Chulainn employed guerrilla tactics to harass her army until the Red Branch heroes shook off the spell and came to his aid. A further tale tells how Cú Chulainn acquired his name. As a young boy known as Sétanta, he was making his way to the house of Culann for a feast when Culann’s wolfhound attacked him. Sétanta struck a hurling ball with his stick so forcefully that he killed the wolfhound instantly. By way of reparation Sétanta promised to be Culann’s guard dog, thereby changing his name to Cú Chulainn, the hound of Culann. Another tale tells of his death: Mortally wounded in battle, Cú Chulainn tied himself to a rock so that he might die upright. As he expired, a raven landed on his shoulder. This is significant because the raven would not land on the shoulder of a live person. It indicates that the hero is really dead.

The popularity of the myth of Cú Chulainn has waxed and waned through the centuries, and each revival has served a political purpose. The O’Neill clan revived the myth in the fifteenth century to justify their rule in Ulster against the usurping Elizabethans (Morgan 1993). The Gaelic revival of the late nineteenth century saw the exploits of Cú Chulainn reworked by scholars such as Standish O’Grady for an emerging nationalist consciousness. The Gaelic scholar and revolutionary Padraic Pearse in particular viewed Cú Chulainn as the embodiment of the nationalist ideal, and when Pearse was executed for his role in the doomed 1916

Easter Rising, it was perhaps inevitable that Cú Chulainn should come to symbolize not just nationalist aspirations but also republican struggle. Thus Cú Chulainn was the obvious choice when Taoiseach Eamon de Valera, himself one of the leaders of the 1916 Rising, sought an emblem to sum up the spirit of 1916. The sculptor Oliver Sheppard had already begun casting a bronze statue of the dying Cú Chulainn in 1914, and for the twentieth anniversary of the Rising, at the direction of de Valera, the completed statue was placed in the General Post Office in Dublin, the headquarters of the republican insurgents.

Ironically, in 1991 the image of the Sheppard sculpture was meticulously reproduced in a loyalist wall mural in East Belfast—one of a half-dozen murals that, for the most part, display the weaponry and activists of the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), the largest loyalist paramilitary group. This imaginative attempt to convert Cú Chulainn to the loyalist cause began with Belfast doctor—and later lord mayor—Jan Adamson, who argued that Ulster was once inhabited by Cruthin (or Picts) who were progressively forced out by the invading Celts from Europe, pushing their way up from the west and south of Ireland. In this interpretation Queen Medb is a Celt and Cú Chulainn the brave Cruthin defending Ulster. Not only does this serve to emphasize that Ulster is historically, culturally, even racially separate, but it also justifies the role of the UDA—Cú Chulainn becomes, in effect, the first UDA man.

Historians agree that Adamson's reinterpretation is fatally flawed. More significant, though, is the question of how it has been accepted by loyalists. Although the officer cadres of the UDA (and on one occasion, the Ulster Volunteer Force, the other major loyalist paramilitary group) have sponsored Cú Chulainn murals in Rathcoole (north Belfast), Highfield (west Belfast), and Derry, as well as on the walls of the UDA wings in Long Kesh prison, rank-and-file loyalists appear to be unconvinced by the revisionism. Most people interpret the Cú Chulainn image in its traditional republican light, and indeed republicans have transposed the Sheppard emblem onto the walls in their own murals in Turf Lodge and Lenadoon (west Belfast), as well as in Armagh. In this setting Cú Chulainn justifies the struggle of republican militants, prisoners, and hunger strikers.

SEE ALSO Cruachain; Emain Macha (Navan Fort); Myth and Saga; Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland; *Táin Bó Cúailnge*

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Bill Rolston

Cullen, Paul

Paul Cullen (1803–1878), Ireland's first cardinal (1866), was born on 29 April into a strong farming family in Prospect, County Kildare. He was educated at the Quaker school at Ballitore and at Carlow College, and his outlook was marked by thirty years spent in Rome (1820–1850). There he served as rector of the Irish College beginning in 1832. He was consecrated archbishop of Armagh in 1850, in which year he was papal legate to the National Synod of Thurles. The synod condemned the third-level Queen's Colleges and called for a Catholic university to be established.

Upon the death of Archbishop Murray, Cullen transferred to Dublin as archbishop in 1852. He invited John Henry Newman to Dublin to become first rector of the Catholic University, a largely unsuccessful project. He pursued a policy of having his own candidates appointed to Irish bishoprics, favoring young and active pastors. Cullen oversaw the completion of the Tridentine model of the church in a reinvigorated post-penal and postfamine church, which was confident of its own strength for the first time since the Reformation.

In politics he was much more of a nationalist before he became archbishop than afterward. He condemned the militant nationalist Fenians, a secret oath-bound society. He pursued a policy of alliance with Liberal governments, and Irish Liberals MPs needed Cullen's goodwill to be certain of their seats. He denounced "priests in politics" who took a line contrary to his own. He had poor relations with his rival, Archbishop MacHale of Tuam.

He was suspicious of Protestants, and his pastorals condemned evangelical proselytism in Dublin. In the 1860s he argued successfully for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. He was influential at the First Vatican Council of 1869 and 1870. Cautious



Суманн на мБан

Cumann na mBan—literally, “league of women”—was founded in Dublin in April 1914 as a women’s auxiliary to the Irish Volunteers. The founders were Agnes O’Farrelly (one of the first women professors in the National University of Ireland), Agnes MacNeill, Nancy O’Rahilly, Louise Gavan Duffy, Mary Colum, and Mary McSwiney. Cumann na mBan members were to train in signals and first aid, and their role was envisaged as a noncombatant one. Although it had its own command structures, the Cumann as a whole was subordinate to the Volunteers’ organization. Leading Irish suffragists of the day criticized it, claiming that these “slave-women” would become nothing more than “animated collecting boxes.” Prominent Cumann member Helena Molony spoke for many members when she responded that there could be no free women in an enslaved nation. Initially the membership was drawn from the leisured middle class, but gradually, more and more lower-middle-class and working-class women came to be represented in the organization. Typical was the trained hospital midwife Elizabeth O’Farrell, who delivered the surrender at the end of the 1916 Rising.

The Volunteers split in the autumn of 1914 when the majority of its members voted to answer Britain’s call to arms. In Cumann na mBan, however, the majority voted to stay with the minority of the Volunteers who served “neither King nor Kaiser, but Ireland.” The Cumann played an important role in the 1916 Rising, performing vital life-maintenance work in the garrisons and carrying messages. From 1916 to 1918 it was women who were largely in charge of revolutionary nationalism, campaigning for prisoners’ dependents’ relief, upholding the cult of the dead 1916 leaders, sustaining the anticonscription movement, and electioneering for Sinn Féin’s landslide victory in the 1918 election. The number of branches of Cumann na mBan soared from 100 in 1917 to 600 in 1918. During the War of Independence the women played vital yet hidden roles as keepers of safe houses, dispatch riders, and first-aid workers. The truce and the subsequent Anglo-Irish Treaty saw the country bitterly divided, but Cumann na mBan was the first nationalist organization to publicly reject the treaty. The Cumann were active during the Civil War, during which many of its members were imprisoned, and it continued to be the most politically radical (usually left-wing) political organization in Ireland until the revolutionary generation died out.

Paul Cardinal Cullen (1803–1878). From Harper’s Weekly, 30 November 1878. COURTESY OF THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and secretive by nature, he took an uncompromising line for the Catholic Church in accord with the Ultramontane policy of Pope Pius IX (1846–1878). He even regarded Maynooth College with suspicion for its alleged independence from Roman thinking. In the absence of strong lay leadership between the death of Daniel O’Connell and the rise of Charles Stewart Parnell, Cullen was a dominant figure in Irish public life.

SEE ALSO Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891

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SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Clarke, Kathleen; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Women in Nationalist and Unionist Movements in the Early Twentieth Century

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Caitriona Clear



Cusack, Michael

Michael Cusack (1847–1906), founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association, was born in the Burren, Co. Clare, on 20 September and qualified in 1866 as a primary-level schoolteacher. In 1877, three years after he moved to Dublin, he opened the Civil Service Academy, preparing students for the army, police, and civil service. He also ran weekly courses in the educational column of a nationalist magazine.

From boyhood Cusack had participated in the traditional athletics of rural Ireland, and in Dublin he joined in the management of amateur athletics. Convinced that Irish athletics urgently needed reforming to open them to nationalist youths, who were de facto barred from competing, and to end abuses such as betting and rigging of results, he advocated the formation of a new athletics body. However, largely because of his quarrelsome personality and his constant preaching of nationalist views to loyalist audiences, his efforts were continually thwarted. In 1882 he decided to go it alone.

In 1884 Cusack received backing from Maurice Davin, an Irish athlete of international repute, to start a new body that would revive the ancient Celtic game of hurling and reform athletics. At a meeting in the Tipperary town of Thurles on 1 November 1884, Cusack and Davin launched the Gaelic Athletic Association. Because Cusack had carefully laid the organizational foundations in provincial Ireland, the new body spread rapidly. But rifts in the association's executive led to Cusack's dismissal as chief officer in July 1886, and for the remaining twenty years of his life he remained on the fringes of the association.

By the late 1890s Cusack, dependent on private tutoring for his livelihood, had met the undergraduate James Joyce. By then having lived more than twenty years in Dublin, Cusack was a familiar figure in the city—with a bushy beard, frock coat, and broad-brimmed hat, and accompanied by his dog Garryowen. He became the model for the Citizen, the main character in the Cyclops episode of Joyce's *Ulysses*, who dominates the boisterous gathering in Kiernan's pub near Green Street courthouse. Both as the founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association and as the model for an immortal character in *Ulysses*, Michael Cusack carved out his own distinctive niche in Irish history.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic Athletic Association; Literacy and Popular Culture

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Marcus de Búrca



Dáil Éireann

See Griffith, Arthur; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922.



Dál Cais and Brian Boru

The origins of the Dál Cais, a dynasty of early medieval Ireland, are found in east Limerick, but around the start of the eighth century they were forced to expand into County Clare. They forged alliances with Cormac Cas, who was descended from the Eóganacht, a loose grouping of people who provided many early kings of Munster, and thus attempted to claim a major interest in the kingship of Cashel. From the tenth to the twelfth centuries, just as the fortunes of the Eóganacht declined, the Dál Cais dominated the province of Munster, initially under the leadership of Cenétig mac Lorcáin, and then under his sons Mathgamhain and Brian Boru.

Brian Boru, arguably the most famous king of this dynasty, succeeded to the kingship on the violent death of his brother Mathgamhain in 976. He spent the first part of his reign attempting to consolidate his power over Munster, but when he tried to expand the area of his control into Leinster, he came up against Máel Sechnaill II, then the high king of Ireland. They made a truce in 997, and as a result were able to join together and defeat the Dublin Hiberno-Norse at the battle of Glenn Máma in 999. Brian was the first ruler not from the Uí Néill who made a claim for the high kingship of Ireland, and he was finally acknowledged as such by Máel Sechnaill II in 1002. From the security of his base in the

southern part of the country Brian Boru fought several campaigns against the leading dynasties of the northern half of the island. He was slain at the battle of Clontarf in 1014, but not before his army had routed the forces of Leinster and their Norse allies. It was his strategic skills, especially the construction of defensive fortifications and his employment of naval power, that made him such an effective military leader. His astute political sense and the appointment of many of his relations to major offices within the church of Munster ensured the close control of the church. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that, following Clontarf, he was buried in Armagh, the primatial capital, and he was also given the title *Imperator Scotorum* (emperor of the Irish) in the *Book of Armagh*, a ninth-century gospel book.

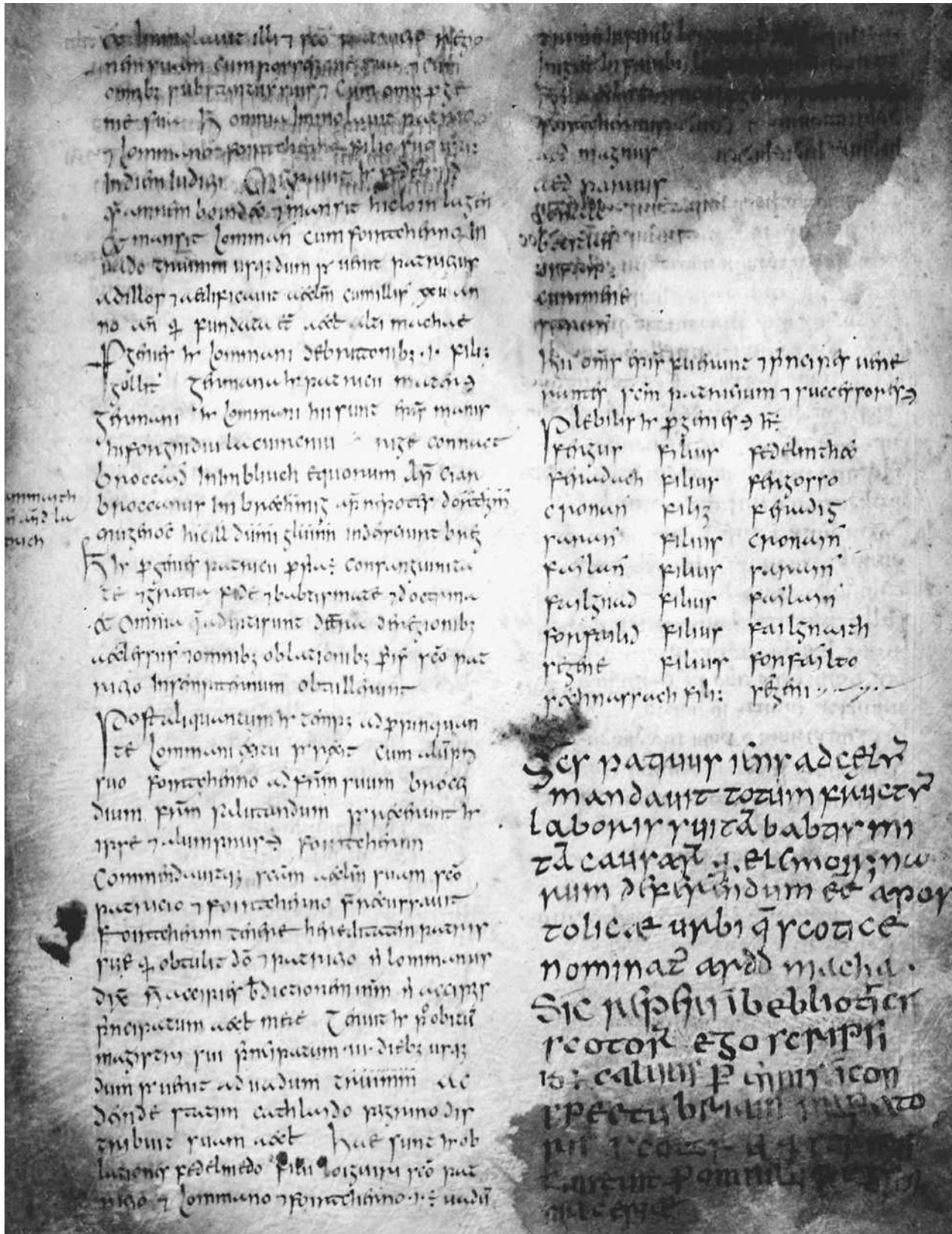
Despite the death of Brian, the Dál Cais were able to maintain their control of Munster through other strong leaders, some of whom were descendants of Brian Boru, right up until the early part of the twelfth century. But after the death of Muirchertach O'Brien in 1119, the O'Briens, as they came to be called in memory of Brian Boru, had a more limited role in the politics of Munster.

SEE ALSO Clontarf, Battle of; Norse Settlement; O'Connors of Connacht; Uí Néill High Kings

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Brian Boru describes himself as Imperator Scotorum (Emperor of the Irish) in an early-eleventh-century inscription from the Book of Armagh. THE BOARD OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Darcy, Patrick

Patrick Darcy (1598–1668) was born into a leading Galway merchant family and laid the foundations of his prominent legal career at the Middle Temple, one of the four Inns of Court that controlled the education of lawyers in England, under the patronage of the earl of Clanricard, who retained his services after he qualified. He played an active role both in the Old English parliamentary opposition to Wentworth's government in 1634 to 1635 and in the resistance to the official program for the confiscation and plantation of lands in Connacht between 1635 and 1637. Though he was disbarred for leaving Ireland without license to deliver a petition to the king, his practice flourished, and his clients included influential members of the nobility and government. He was returned to Parliament in a by-election in May 1641 and at once joined the leadership of the opposition coalition of Old and New English members. When rebellion broke out in October 1641, Darcy remained aloof and cooperated in efforts to preserve neutrality in Galway, but he supported the move to establish an alternative government, was closely involved in drafting the constitution adopted by the Confederate Catholics, as the allied Irish and Old English rebels styled themselves, at Kilkenny in October 1642, and accepted appointment as lord chancellor, the chief legal officer in the rebel administration. Deeply involved in the protracted peace negotiations, Darcy's political behavior became erratic after the king's defeat in England and the failure of the first Ormond peace in the summer of 1646, and his influence declined thereafter.

Darcy lived quietly in Ireland in the 1650s and resumed his practice after Restoration. His contribution to both parliamentary opposition and Confederate ideology was embodied in "An Argument," presented at a conference of Lords and Commons on 9 June 1641, in which he reviewed the legal and constitutional objections of the Commons to developments in the practice of government under Wentworth. In a programmatic analysis of the constituents of legal authority in Ireland, which he identified as the common law of England and the parliamentary statutes and lawful customs of Ireland, he not only stripped the powers traditionally vested in the king of their discretionary character and subordinated them to the law but also excluded English parliamentary authority from Ireland. The essence of his position, that Ireland was a separate kingdom, subject to the same crown as England yet distinct from it, was not novel. However, at a time when the English parliament was taking over royal powers, including the right to rule Ireland, the clarity and force of his state-

ment of the public-law relationship between the English and Irish parliaments was extremely influential. When it was delivered, Darcy's "Argument" expressed the views of Protestant colonists as well as of Catholics. During the Confederate years, when it was published (in 1643) and legislative independence was a Confederate aim, it validated the claim to be loyal to the Crown while fighting in self-defense against Parliament. In later years it became an important source in the case for Irish legislative independence, which was controversially stated by William Molyneux in 1698 and espoused by Protestant "patriots" in the eighteenth century.

SEE ALSO Confederation of Kilkenny; Rinuccini, Giovanni Battista

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Aidan Clarke

Davis, Thomas

A journalist, poet, and unofficial leader of Young Ireland, noted especially as the first to articulate the idea of cultural nationalism, Thomas Davis (1814–1845) was born at Mallow, Co. Cork, on 14 October 1814. The son of an English army surgeon and an Irish woman, Davis was educated at Trinity College and called to the Irish bar in 1838. In 1841 he joined the Repeal Association with his close friend John Blake Dillon and quickly made a name for himself in nationalist circles for both his comprehensive vision of Irishness and his stirring political ballads.

In October 1842 Davis and Dillon, along with Charles Gavan Duffy, founded the *Nation*, a newspaper that advocated Irish self-government and national pride. Within a year the *Nation* had the most paid sub-



Thomas Davis (1814–1845) was one of a trio of journalists who founded the *Nation* newspaper in October 1842 and quickly turned it into the most influential weekly paper of its time. His nationalist verse and prose helped to stimulate a burst of cultural nationalism. Widely admired leader of the Young Ireland group within the Repeal Association, Davis died of scarlatina at 30 in September 1845. Pencil drawing by Sir Frederick Wilhelm. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 2032. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

scribers of any Irish newspaper and Davis had become the principal editor and contributor, using the editorial page to develop his romantic concept of Irish identity. In his view Ireland was a spiritual reality based on historic cultural tradition, and anyone who adopted Ireland as his homeland, regardless of his religion or when he arrived, was Irish. Davis's editorials, patriotic verse, and enthusiastic support for reviving the Irish language made him the most respected and admired of the Young Irelanders.

Politically, Davis and the other Young Irelanders regarded Ireland's claim to self-government as a fundamental demand that could not be compromised. Davis also believed strongly that Irish national identity should be secular and disapproved of what he saw as undue clerical influence on Daniel O'Connell and the repeal movement. Davis's dissatisfaction with O'Connell's management of the Repeal Association and his opposition to nondenominational education led to a famous verbal clash between the Young Irelanders and O'Connell on 26 May 1845. Reconciliation was achieved, but tensions remained, and a little over one

year later the Young Irelanders seceded from the repeal movement entirely, but by then Davis had died unexpectedly on 16 September 1845 after a short illness. Davis was a significant literary and political influence on his contemporaries, but his ideas had an even greater impact on subsequent generations, providing a foundation for the Gaelic revival at the turn of the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Balladry in English; Mitchel, John; Newspapers; O'Connell, Daniel; Repeal Movement; Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation

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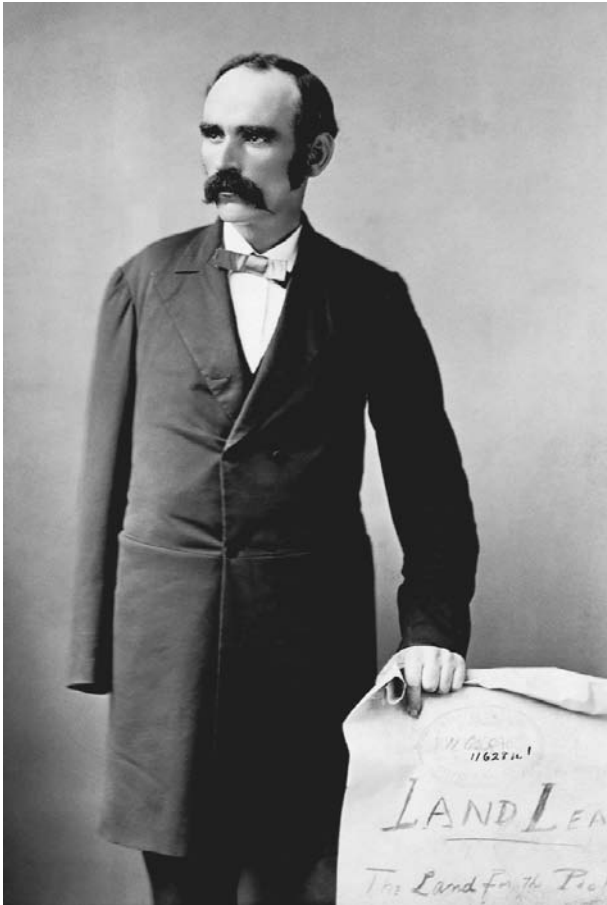
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Michael W. de Níe

Davitt, Michael

Fenian and Land League founder Michael Davitt (1846–1906) was born on 25 March in Straide, Co. Mayo. In 1850 his family's landlord evicted them from their small farm, and they emigrated to Haslingden, an industrial town in Lancashire, England. At age eleven, when he was working in a cotton mill, a machine crushed his right arm, and it was later amputated. Ironically this injury allowed him to resume formal schooling, and in 1861 he became a post office clerk. In 1865 Davitt, like many young Irishmen in Lancashire, joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), or Fenians. He rose quickly through the ranks and in February 1867 helped to lead the ill-conceived raid on Chester Castle. Appointed IRB organizing secretary for England and Scotland in 1868, during the next two years Davitt traveled clandestinely around Britain organizing arms shipments to Ireland. In 1870 the authorities arrested and tried Davitt for arms trafficking. A jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude.

Davitt's mistreatment in prison became a cause célèbre, and many Irish nationalists campaigned for his



Michael Davitt (1846–1906) was the son of an evicted Mayo tenant whose family emigrated to Lancashire, where as a mill-hand at age eleven, he lost his right arm in a factory accident. Once the chief arms buyer for the Fenians, he spent over seven years in British jails under degrading treatment before his release in 1877. The real founder of the Land League in 1879, his espousal of state ownership of the land helped to marginalize him politically after 1882. Photograph c. 1879. © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

release. Davitt thus emerged with a high public profile when he was released eight years early in 1877. He went to the United States in 1878 and with John Devoy set the nationalist movement on a new course by promising American Fenian support for both Charles Stewart Parnell's constitutional campaign for self-government and renewed land agitation. This "new departure" bore fruit when agricultural depression hit Ireland in the late 1870s. In October 1879 Davitt founded the Irish National Land League, and Parnell became its president. The league united large farmers, small farmers, laborers, constitutional nationalists, and Fenians in a great agrarian movement that received substantial financial backing from Irish Americans. The ensuing Land War forced the British government to grant the 1881 Land

Act, which gave Irish tenants the famous "three Fs"—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale.

After 1882 Davitt began advocating land nationalization. This put him at odds with most Irish nationalists, who sought tenant ownership of the land. In 1890, after news surfaced of Parnell's long-standing love affair with a married woman, Davitt became a leading anti-Parnellite. He served as an anti-Parnellite MP from 1893 until 1899, when he resigned his seat to protest the Boer War. Davitt spent the rest of his life traveling, mostly as an investigative journalist. By founding the Land League, Davitt had begun the process that fundamentally transformed Irish landholding.

SEE ALSO Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Ladies' Land League; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Parnell, Charles Stewart; **Primary Documents:** Establishment of the National Land League of Mayo (16 August 1879)

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Patrick F. Tally

Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act

Under the External Relations Act of December 1936 the role of the British crown in internal Irish affairs was removed, though the Irish state remained associated with the Commonwealth for external affairs. External association with the Commonwealth had been devised by Eamon de Valera in 1921 as a compromise between dominion status and an outright republic. He hoped in vain that the 1936 act, with its remaining link with the Commonwealth, would facilitate Irish unity by allowing Ulster unionists a path into a united Ireland. The 1937 constitution complemented the External Relations Act, and through the two documents Ireland effectively became a republic within the Commonwealth, though

no official declaration to this effect was ever made. A consequence was that though Ireland had a president beginning in 1937, the British monarch continued to sign the credentials of Irish diplomats, so it appeared to the international community that the British king, not the president of Ireland, was the head of the Irish state.

De Valera was careful not to formally break the link between Ireland and the Commonwealth, because such an action would allow Britain to treat Irish citizens living in Britain as aliens and it could lead to the curtailment of Irish exports to Britain. In the run-up to the 1948 general election it seemed as if de Valera was prepared to repeal the External Relations Act, declare a republic, and keep Ireland within the Commonwealth. The interparty government that came to power in February 1948 was led by Fine Gael's John A. Costello, a former Irish Free State attorney-general and veteran of Irish delegations to the imperial conferences of the 1920s. Many members of the government, including its minister for external affairs, Seán MacBride (who was the leader of Clann na Poblachta, a small radical republican party), felt that the External Relations Act was damaging to Ireland's international status. On 1 September 1948, during a speech to the Canadian Bar Association, Costello criticized the External Relations Act and hinted that it would be removed. On 5 September 1948 the Irish *Sunday Independent* reported that the External Relations Act was to be repealed and that Ireland would leave the Commonwealth. There was general surprise among the members of Costello's cabinet, and there is evidence that the story, written by Hector Legge, the newspaper's editor, was encouraged by MacBride in the hope of forcing Costello's hand. On 7 September, at a press conference in Ottawa, Costello confirmed the story that the External Relations Act was to go and that Ireland would leave the Commonwealth.

The rationale for Costello's action has been debated since 1948. Some have argued that Costello acted on impulse after being snubbed at a banquet given by the pro-unionist governor general of Canada, Lord Alexander, when a replica of "Roaring Meg," a cannon used in the siege of Derry, was placed on the table in front of Costello. Others have said that coalition partners, such as Sean MacBride, forced Costello's hand, or that Costello was countering Eamon de Valera's worldwide antipartition campaign of 1948 and 1949. Fine Gael had always been seen as a pro-Commonwealth party, and the declaration of a republic by a Fine Gael taoiseach was regarded by some as an attempt to steal Fianna Fáil's republicanism is the wake of de Valera's world tour. Another theory is that the government was trying to avoid embarrassment over questions about Ireland's international status that had been asked in the Dáil by independent

Teachta Dála (Dáil Deputy) Peadar Cowan. Costello may have felt that it was better for the government to take the initiative in repealing the External Relations Act than to be forced into repealing the act by a backbencher such as Cowan introducing a private member's bill in the Dáil. (A backbencher is a Teachta Dála who is not a member of the government or of the opposition front bench, or shadow cabinet. A certain amount of time is allotted in each Dáil sitting for private-member bills to be introduced. They are bills that are not part of the government programme and are introduced into the Dáil for consideration by individual backbench Teachta Dálas.)

Curiously, there is no mention in the 1948 cabinet minutes of a decision to declare a republic and repeal the External Relations Act. Interparty government Minister for Health Noël Browne later suggested that no such official government decision had been made. However, under the interparty government, informal ad hoc cabinet meetings took place, and its nonappearance in the written minutes does not necessarily mean that the government did not make the decision. There appears to have been a general agreement among government members that the act should be repealed. This was also the view in the Department of External Affairs, and the British representative in Ireland, Lord Rugby, had informed London before Costello's statement in Canada that the External Relations Act would be repealed before the end of 1948. London was infuriated by Costello's announcement and threatened through Lord Rugby that Ireland might lose access to valuable British markets if it left the Commonwealth. After Costello's death, Noël Browne suggested that because of this pressure from London, Costello considered resigning (though this story has little foundation). But the Irish government refused to back down, and it was supported by Commonwealth prime ministers.

The Republic of Ireland Bill was passed by the Dáil and signed into law in December 1948 by President Seán T. O'Kelly. The act came into effect on Easter Monday, 19 April 1949, the thirty-third anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising. There was a parade to mark the occasion in Dublin, and smaller parades occurred nationwide. Costello's unorthodox declaration did at least have popular support in the new Republic.

It has been suggested, notably by Dennis Kennedy in *The Widening Gulf* (1988), that the declaration of the Republic of Ireland further increased the gulf between North and South in Ireland. Northern Irish prime minister Sir Basil Brooke (later Viscount Brookeborough) used the occasion to call a general election in which his Unionist Party was returned with an increased majority. The British Ireland Act of May 1949, which recog-

nized the Republic of Ireland, guaranteed northern unionists that the union with Britain would not be broken without the consent of the Northern Ireland parliament. The British act came as a shock to Dublin, but ironically the years between 1950 and 1955 saw unprecedented cooperation between Dublin and Belfast over such issues as electricity generation, the running of the Dublin-to-Belfast railway, and the establishment of the cross-border Foyle Fisheries Commission.

The declaration of the Republic of Ireland enhanced Ireland's international status: Irish ambassadors now had their credentials signed by the president of Ireland, and the independence of the Republic was clearly defined. Ireland was now a fully sovereign independent state. However, some problems persisted; for example, a dispute raged from 1955 to 1964 between Ireland and Australia about whether to refer to the Irish state as "Ireland" (insisted upon by Dublin) or "Republic of Ireland" (insisted upon by the pro-unionist governor general in Australia). As a result of the dispute, Ireland had no ambassadorial representation in Canberra from 1956, when Ambassador Brian Gallagher was withdrawn in protest, until 1964.

The declaration of the Republic of Ireland ended the saga of Ireland's international and national status that began with the 1921 treaty. From 1949 onward, economic development, not the question of sovereignty, would be the key theme in Irish politics.

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Michael Kennedy

Decommissioning

Decommissioning entered the lexicon of the Irish peace process obliquely. It was not mentioned specifically in the Downing Street Declaration of December 1993, which stated that only parties committed to "exclusively peaceful means" could fully engage in the political process. Nor did a clarification of the declaration the following May make any specific reference to disarmament. It made its official entrance only in March 1995 in a speech given by the Northern Ireland secretary of state in Washington, D.C. The "Washington 3" speech contained three elements: the acceptance of the principles of disarmament; the modalities by which it could be achieved; and a gesture of decommissioning as an act of good faith prior to all-party talks. Paramilitary groups balked at the third because it was interpreted as surrender. Washington 3 had followed the cessation of violence by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in August 1994 and an Ulster Unionist Party policy paper the following January that proposed establishing an International Commission on Decommissioning (adopted by the British in June 1995). In addition, Washington 3 was launched two weeks after the Frameworks Document, which was considered to be too nationalist by unionists.

So decommissioning was wrapped in ambiguity. Republicans set it in the wider context of total demilitarization as part of a process rather than accepting it as a condition of entry into all-party talks. The Irish government worried that it was an examination that republicans could not pass. In November 1995 the two governments attempted to break the impasse with their "twin-track" process of making progress on decommissioning in parallel with all-party negotiations. An independent body chaired by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell, reporting in January 1996, made the stark point that "success in the peace process cannot be achieved simply by reference to the decommissioning of arms." It enunciated six fundamental principles of democracy and nonviolence. But it was too late: In February an IRA bomb exploded in London. The cease-fire was not reinstated until July 1997 after Labour had won a massive general election victory in May and the secretary of state had announced that decommissioning was "secondary to actually getting people into talks."

An Independent International Commission on Decommissioning (IICD) was instituted to stimulate the process. In the Belfast Agreement of April 1998 the parties affirmed their commitment to paramilitary disarmament and to using their influence to achieve decom-

missioning within two years. In June, Sinn Féin spoke of “a voluntary decommissioning [as a] natural development of the peace process” and appointed Martin McGuinness as its representative to the IICD in September. Many unionists countered with a “no guns, no government” policy, meaning that Sinn Féin could not be in government unless the IRA began decommissioning. It was not until June 2000 that an inspection of an IRA dump was carried out, followed by a second inspection in October and a third in May 2001. On 23 October 2001 the IRA publicly declared that it would be putting its weapons permanently and verifiably beyond use. But by the deadline of February 2002 full-scale decommissioning had not happened, and the deadline was extended for another year, with an option until 2007. The secretary of state put all of this in context when he said that decommissioning would not be finished for a generation, and that ultimately it is “culture and the mindset that has to be decommissioned.”

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Paul Arthur

Defenderism

The Defender movement, which originated in County Armagh in the mid-1780s and whose participants were

once described by a historian as “rural rioters,” used to be closely associated with older traditions of agrarian unrest such as Whiteboyism, and indeed the two phenomena had much in common. Both the Whiteboys, who first emerged in Tipperary in the early 1760s, and the Defenders were overwhelmingly rural, lower-class, Catholic, oath-bound secret societies; both used quasi-military and masonic terminology (“Captains” and “brothers”); and both used violence and intimidation to police what the historian E. P. Thompson later conceptualized as the “moral economy”—fair rents, tithes, taxes, access to common lands, and so on. The Defenders in County Meath in the early 1790s were sometimes referred to as “regulators.”

However, the differences between Defenderism and Whiteboyism are at least as important as the similarities. First, the local mid-Ulster context from which the Defenders arose contrasted markedly with the Whiteboy heartlands of Munster and South Leinster. Since almost all Irish landlords were Protestant, Whiteboys were sectarian by default. In Armagh, on the other hand, the Defenders confronted lower-class Protestants and in fact were born out of sectarian conflict. The precise causes of this conflict are obscure but are intimately related to the relaxation of the anti-Catholic penal laws. By the 1780s Catholics who had hitherto been barred from owning land were in a position to bid—and to outbid their Protestant neighbors—for leases. Another and more important bone of contention concerned the ownership of firearms. The right to bear arms denoted citizenship, and Catholics had been duly stripped of that right by one of the earliest penal laws. By the 1780s, however, in the new atmosphere of religious toleration promoted by some of the Volunteers, Catholics had enrolled in Volunteer companies and armed themselves. In response, the lower-class Protestant vigilante bands—known as the “Peep o’ Day Boys” because they raided Catholic homes at “the peep of day” in search of illegal guns—began re-enforcing the penal laws. Defenderism constituted a response to these arms raids.

Another difference between the Defenders and the Whiteboys was the social profile of the membership. Many of the first Defenders were weavers by trade; significantly, the Peep o’ Day Boys destroyed Catholic-owned looms in addition to confiscating firearms. Later on, as the movement spread, the typical Defender was as likely to be a canal worker, blacksmith, or schoolmaster as a tenant farmer, cottier, or landless laborer.

High levels of politicization represent the third major difference between Defenders and Whiteboys. In 1789 the Defender movement had scarcely spread beyond the borders of Armagh, but by 1795 Defender

lodges were established across much of Leinster (especially in Meath) and Ulster, in Dublin city, and in Connaught. A faction in a local sectarian feud had been transformed into a mass revolutionary organization. There are three main reasons for this startling development: the radicalizing effect in Ireland of the French Revolution, the steep escalation in agitation surrounding the “Catholic question,” and the antimilitia riots. Both reformers (such as the United Irishmen) and the newly militant Catholic Committee had mobilized mass movements behind their campaigns, and the Defenders were politicized along with the rest of a crisis-ridden society. (There is even evidence that the Catholic Committee directly enlisted the covert support of the Defenders.) The sense of alienation from the state and the Protestant Ascendancy generated by the campaign for Catholic relief was intensified by the introduction of a new militia and conscription by ballot in 1793. Widespread rioting spurred recruitment for the Defenders, and Defenders conscripted into militia regiments served as emissaries for the movement in the counties where they were stationed. The organization meanwhile evolved its own “middle-class” Ulster-based central leadership, and it was the alliance, albeit shaky, between this group and the underground United Irishmen in 1795 and 1796 that created one of the most formidable revolutionary movements in Irish history.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Irish Tithe Act of 1838; Tithe War (1830–1838); Oakboys and Steelboys; Orange Order: Origins, 1784 to 1800; Whiteboys and Whiteboyism

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James Smyth

Derry, Siege of

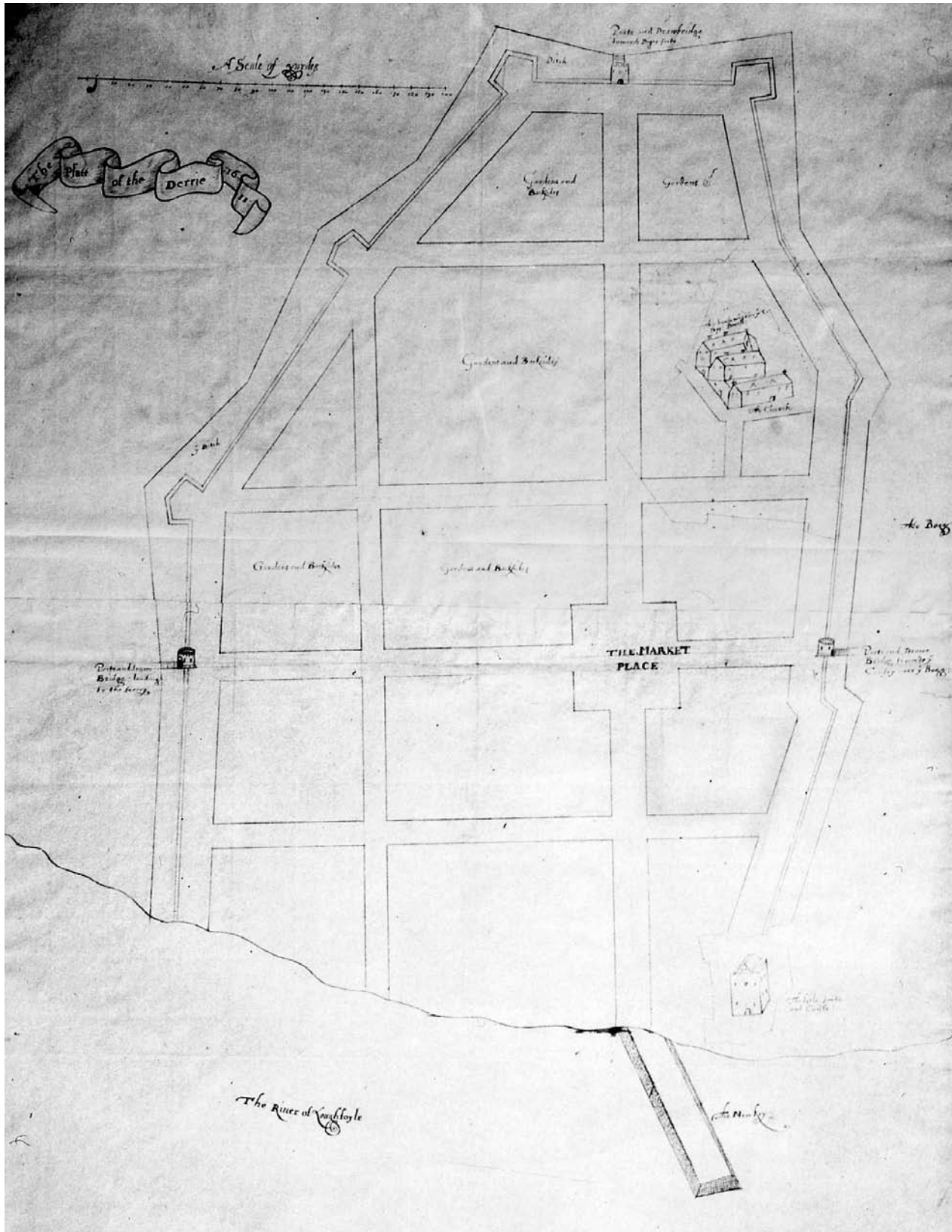
King James II, after being forced to flee England in 1688, landed in Kinsale, Co. Cork, and swiftly secured control of all of Ireland except for Enniskillen and Derry, the last walled city to be built in western Europe. Lord Antrim was ordered to replace the largely Protestant garrison in Derry, but when his troops began to cross the River Foyle from the Waterside on 18 December 1688, thirteen apprentice boys seized the keys from the main guard, raised the drawbridge at Ferryquay gate, and closed the gates. Around 30,000 Ulster Protestants loyal to William of Orange sought sanctuary in the city. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lundy, the military governor of the city, whose loyalty was in question, was allowed to slip away. Major Henry Baker and the Reverend George Walker were appointed joint governors in his place. The siege intensified when King James joined his army. When he advanced toward the walls and offered terms on 18 April 1689, he was greeted with cries of “No surrender!” At the end of May a train of heavy guns arrived to intensify the bombardment. The rain of shells, bombs, and cannonballs never threatened to breach the walls, but it did exact a heavy death toll on the densely packed defenders. By the beginning of July those inside the walls were starving, and as fever spread, as many as 15,000 may have died. After hesitating for weeks at the mouth of Lough Foyle, a naval relief force commanded by Major-General Percy Kirke made its way upstream on 28 July. The *Mountjoy* smashed through a Jacobite boom made of logs and chains, other vessels followed, and the siege was raised. This epic 105-day defense not only provided William with a vital breathing space in his war with Louis XIV but also gave Ulster Protestants inspiration for more than three centuries to come.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Jacobites and the Williamite Wars

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Jonathan Bardon



The town of Derry (Londonderry) was perhaps the most impressive landmark created in the Ulster Plantation of the early seventeenth century. As this 1625 sketch by Thomas Raven shows, the site was heavily fortified several decades before the famous siege. THE BOARD OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Desmond Rebellions

Of the three great Anglo-Norman earldoms—Kildare, Ormond, and Desmond—the last was the most remote from English authority and administration in the sixteenth century. The earl's territories stretched over much of Munster in southwest Ireland. His palatinate in north Kerry gave him unusual jurisdiction over a large area, though he possessed other, more valuable land in counties Limerick, Cork, and Waterford. In the same region were further members of the numerous FitzGerald family, known collectively throughout Ireland as the Geraldines, holding their land in varying degrees of subordination to the earl. Many of the Geraldines, not least the earl himself, had adopted certain Irish ways and customs. As the Tudor government exerted itself to bring this area of Ireland under control, Desmond's autonomy and way of life was threatened. Some sort of resistance became likely.

FEUD WITH THE HOUSE OF ORMOND

Gerald FitzGerald, the fifteenth earl (c. 1538–1583), faced other problems besides advancing English centralization. The Desmonds were traditional enemies of the house of Ormond, whose representative was Black Tom Butler, the tenth earl (1531–1614). Ormond outshone his rival at court and in personal ability. In fact Desmond had little experience of England, having been brought up with a haphazard education in his homeland. In 1565 their private armies had met in open battle, with Desmond being defeated and carried off wounded by his opponents. (Despite his inadequacies, it is said that the earl managed some smart repartee, replying to the taunts of "Where was the great earl of Desmond now?" by retorting "On the backs of the Butlers where he belongs.") The government summoned both nobles to London, decided in favor of Ormond, fined his rival, and detained him in England until 1573.

Taking advantage of the earl's absence, his cousin, James Fitzmaurice FitzGerald, claimed to be his deputy and led much of the province into rebellion from 1569 to 1573. With him joined numerous Geraldines, including the earl's brothers, a few dissident Butlers, and some Irish lords, principally MacCarthy Mór. Their motives were: concern over the destruction of Desmond's traditional military power base; dismay at the attempts by English adventurers, colonizers, and swordsmen to confiscate and occupy lands by claiming that the local inhabitants had insufficient land titles; and, in Fitzmaurice's case particularly, a defense of the Roman Catholic

religion—the first overt sign of the Counter-Reformation in Ireland.

The rebellion commenced with small numbers of English settlers being attacked and driven off their lands. Cork and other towns were then threatened; however, the insurrection lost momentum with the return of Ormond and the arrival of Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy. Fitzmaurice's supporters soon fell away. Pacification of the province continued under the ruthless policies of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the first lord president of Munster, Sir John Perrot. In 1573 Fitzmaurice capitulated and soon went abroad to plot his return.

REINFORCEMENTS FROM ABROAD

By the late 1570s Ireland was beginning to be drawn into the greater European power play. Now the pope openly (and Spain covertly) was prepared to aid insurrection in Ireland as a means of attacking English Protestantism in general. Gathering together a motley band of papal troops left over from a bizarre expedition against Muslims in Morocco, Fitzmaurice reappeared in Munster in 1579, calling for a political and religious rising against the queen and the new religion. Instantly, this charismatic rebel was joined by many Munster Geraldines, including the earl of Desmond's capable brothers. The second, and last, Desmond rebellion of 1579 to 1583 had been launched.

DESMOND LENDS SUPPORT TO REBELLION

The earl himself was not among those first supporters of the rebellion. Despite some restless behavior since his release from sequestration in England, he had cooperated, by and large, with the authorities in Munster, particularly the sympathetic Sir William Dury, lord president of Munster in the late 1570s. It was in Desmond's own interests, moreover, to adopt certain of the new reforms pushed by the administration. Much of his wealth and power came from unwieldy and controversial feudal services merged with Gaelic custom, a prime example being coign of vantage and livery whereby a lord could billet his troops on his tenants. Such a custom was open to abuse and resistance, and from the government's point of view it resulted in large numbers of swordsmen being maintained in quarrelsome idleness. It made sense for both the earl and the government when such services were commuted to an agreed rent in 1578. Less enamored of this development, however, were the MacSheehy gallowglass and other of Desmond's professional soldiers, now threatened by unemployment, and hence willing recruits to Fitzmaurice's call.

Once the rebellion had broken out in 1579, the earl of Desmond was placed in an awkward position. To support the government unambiguously would mean losing control over many of his followers, already seduced by his cousin, who was fast becoming an open rival. Even Fitzmaurice's death in a confused inter-Irish scuffle did not lessen the pressure, for his banner was seized by Desmond's brothers, Sir John and Sir James of Desmond. On the other hand, to challenge the Crown meant the possible loss of lands and life. Such conflicting pressures explain Desmond's equivocal actions and protestations in the first few months after Fitzmaurice's landing. In addition, suspicious English officials, particularly the new lord president of Munster, Sir Nicholas Malby, put the worst possible gloss on the earl's reactions, hoping perhaps to encourage Desmond to take that last, fatal step. After the battle of Monasternenagh in October, when Malby destroyed Sir John of Desmond's army, the victor proceeded to attack the earl's castles and execute his followers. Eventually, the earl of Desmond was proclaimed a traitor in November 1579.

Over the next four years the rebellion waxed and waned. At times Desmond inflicted his will, as in the sacking of Youghal in 1579 and of Cahir in 1582. More often, he was a fugitive, with comparatively few troops, dodging Crown forces as they marched about his territories. His strategy seems to have been to stay in the field until strengthened by foreign aid or further Irish rebellion. But the Baltinglass rebellion in the Pale and the landing of papal reinforcements at Smerwick in 1580 were both dealt with effectively by Lord Deputy Grey. The latter suppression became a cause célèbre, with the entire force of some six-hundred odd men being massacred after their surrender. (It took an hour's concentrated stabbing and thrusting to kill the naked prisoners. One of the two army captains in charge of this operation was Walter Raleigh; another Renaissance luminary, Edmund Spenser, was Grey's secretary and vigorously defended his employer's actions against later criticism.) In 1581 the Jesuit Nicholas Sanders, the intellectual éminence grise behind the rebellion, died; in the next year Desmond's two brothers were killed. These disasters and defeats encouraged many in Munster to swap sides. Many of the Irish lords had not participated in this Geraldine venture in the first place, and soon the rebellion resembled a civil war within Munster. The scorched-earth policy by government troops and retaliatory depredations by the rebels caused unspeakable suffering and plentiful examples of famine throughout the province, especially in Desmond's heartlands. Yet it proved impossible to administer the final blow. It was not until the appointment of the earl of Ormond as overall commander in 1583 that at last the rebellion was extinguished. The queen allowed him

to issue pardons indiscriminately, with the result that Desmond soon was left with a bare handful of followers. After stealing some cattle, revenging Moriarty's sur-prised his men in camp and simply cut off the earl's head.

THE MUNSTER PLANTATION

After the rebellion the government recognized that this was a supreme moment to impose a new order on the province. The confiscated lands of Desmond and his associates came to about 300,000 acres, two-thirds of the value belonging to the earl. To grant this massive area to the usual favorites on the Irish establishment would effect no permanent social change. Instead the plantation of entire English families would provide a sheet anchor for security and a powerful impetus toward Anglicization. There had been minor English settlements in the Irish midlands in the middle of the century, but the scale of these Munster confiscations presented the opportunity for much more radical measures.

It was decided largely by Lord Burghley—very much the instigator and planner of the entire venture—that portions of land, ranging up to 12,000 acres, would be granted to suitable individuals in England, who then would undertake to settle or “plant” it with a stipulated number of English families. The resultant Munster plantation gradually got off the ground in the half dozen years after Desmond's death, and by 1598 the English population might have reached four thousand. In that year the plantation was destroyed by the extension of the Nine Years War from the north; however, in the early seventeenth century it was reestablished and thereafter became the nucleus of the substantial English presence in Munster. Various Geraldines survived the plantation, though most were to follow the last earl of Desmond into oblivion, owing to the Cromwellian and Williamite land confiscations of the seventeenth century.

SEE ALSO Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Nine Years War; Sidney, Henry; Spenser, Edmund

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Eamon de Valera was the most significant political figure of twentieth-century Ireland. When he died in 1975, thousands of ordinary Irish people queued to attend the lying in state. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE IRISH TIMES.

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Michael MacCarthy Morrogh

de Valera, Eamon

President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, taoiseach (prime minister), and president of the Republic of Ireland, Eamon de Valera (1882–1975) was born on 14 October in New York and raised near Bruree in County Limerick. In 1908 he joined the Gaelic League, where he met his future wife, Sinéad Flanagan. He joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913 and commanded the

Boland's Mills garrison during the 1916 Rising. Although he was sentenced to death, his sentence was commuted, and he was released from prison in June 1917. De Valera was subsequently elected Sinn Féin MP for East Clare and in October, the president of the party and of the Volunteers. Interned in May 1918, de Valera escaped from Lincoln prison. He returned to Dublin briefly and was elected president of the First Dáil, the separatist parliament established by Sinn Féin MPs in January 1919, before beginning a propaganda tour of the United States, which lasted until December 1920.

Following the truce in the Anglo-Irish war in July 1921, de Valera met Lloyd George in London but did not join the Irish delegation to the treaty negotiations of October through December 1921. He subsequently rejected the treaty, leading the opposition in the Dáil debates and trying to gain support for his own scheme of "external association." When the Dáil endorsed the treaty, de Valera resigned his presidency and during the Civil War (June 1922–May 1923) he remained political leader of the antitreaty forces. Unable to wean Sinn Féin

away from abstentionism, de Valera founded a new constitutional republican party, Fianna Fáil, in 1926. Fianna Fáil entered the Dáil in 1927 and came to power after the general election of 1932.

Initial fears that the Fianna Fáil commitment to republican principles and social reforms would undermine the democratic nature of the state proved unfounded. De Valera's administration was both constitutional and conservative, and during his period in office he took harsh measures to confront threats from both the right-wing Blueshirt movement and the IRA. Furthermore, although de Valera articulated strong opposition to partition throughout his career, he took few practical steps to end it.

Once in office, de Valera undertook a fundamental revision of the treaty. The office of the governor-general, the king's representative, was undermined; the contentious oath of allegiance to the Crown was abolished; and a series of constitutional changes reduced the scope of Westminster authority. In 1936, following the abdication of King Edward VIII, the remaining references to the Crown were removed from Irish law. By this time the 1922 constitution, based on the treaty settlement, had been dismantled and in 1937 de Valera introduced a new constitution.

De Valera made judicious use of foreign policy as a means of furthering Irish claims to independent nationhood, acting personally as minister for external affairs. He inherited both a temporary seat on the council of the League of Nations and the revolving presidency. His first speech to the League in September 1932, criticizing it for failing to protect weaker nations, attracted world attention and launched de Valera's career as a respected international statesman, and in 1938 he served as president of the Assembly of the League. His adherence to a "small nations" policy served to distance him from the British presence at the League, but it also reflected a sincere belief in the League ideal. This commitment led to criticism at home when he refused to adopt policies consistent with the views of the Catholic Church. He applauded League sanctions against Italy following the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935, supported the admission of the USSR to the League in 1934, and adhered to the Nonintervention Agreement during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939).

Throughout the 1930s de Valera pursued cultural and economic as well as political self-determination. His promotion of Gaelic and Catholic values was more overt, if more pragmatic, than his predecessors' and whereas his social policies were somewhat more liberal, they were countered by the effects of promoting a self-sufficient and labor-intensive economy through the adoption of high tariffs. His policy of withholding an-

nities payable to the British government under the treaty led to a tariff war that furthered both his economic and political goals. The Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1938, which resolved the "economic war," also transferred control of the naval ports retained by Britain under the treaty to the Dublin government, a development that allowed de Valera to pursue a policy of neutrality during the World War II.

De Valera remained in power until 1948 and was returned to office again between 1951 and 1954 and in 1957. His chief political goals had been achieved by 1945, and future administrations were less vigorous and beset by economic crises. In 1959 he resigned as taoiseach and was elected to the presidency. Despite his age and virtual blindness, de Valera served two terms as president. He retired, in his ninety-first year, in 1973 and died on 29 August 1975.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Civil War; Collins, Michael; Constitution; Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Griffith, Arthur; Lemass, Seán; Media since 1960; Neutrality; Newspapers; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Presidency; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; **Primary Documents:** The Anglo-Irish Treaty (6 December 1921); "Time Will Tell" (19 December 1921); Republican Cease-Fire Order (28 April 1923); "Aims of Fianna Fáil in Office" (17 March 1932); "Failure of the League of Nations" (18 June 1936); From the 1937 Constitution; "German Attack on Neutral States" (12 May 1940); "National Thanksgiving" (16 May 1945)

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Susannah Riordan

Devotional Revolution

In a 1972 article the historian Emmet Larkin argued that in the third quarter of the nineteenth century Irish

Respectably dressed mass attendees at a country chapel, reflecting the rising prosperity and increasingly observant religious practice of those who survived the famine. From Harper's Weekly, 9 July 1870. COURTESY OF THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Catholicism underwent a “devotional revolution” that made “practicing Catholics of the Irish people.” Prior to the Great Famine, he maintained, the church lacked the human and material resources to address the spiritual needs of the swollen, nominally Catholic population. Adverse ratios of clergy to laity were complicated by scandalous lapses of clerical discipline in some dioceses, and in many districts there was seriously deficient lay compliance with canonical obligations. Analysis of an 1834 religious census by David Miller corroborates this picture by demonstrating that virtually universal weekly mass attendance, which would be the norm in Ireland in 1972 when Larkin wrote, was largely confined before the famine to the relatively affluent south-eastern countryside and a few towns. Larkin attributed

the reversal of this situation to the determined efforts of Paul Cullen, archbishop of Armagh (1850–1852) and of Dublin (1852–1878); Cullen used his influence in Rome to ensure the appointment of reform-minded bishops, promote parish missions (the Catholic version of what Protestants called “revivals”), and introduce a variety of new devotional practices from the Continent. Those efforts were facilitated by the reduction of population to more manageable levels as a result of the famine, Larkin suggests, and perhaps also by direct psychological effects of the famine and by the key role of Catholicism in the formation of Irish national identity.

Critics of the devotional-revolution thesis have taken issue both with its factual claims (including those made by Miller in his analysis of the 1834 mass-

attendance data) and with Larkin's interpretation of those facts. Some of the initial questions about levels of pre-famine religious observance reflect simple misunderstandings of quantitative methods. There is now little doubt that pre-famine levels of religious practice were remarkably low by mid-twentieth-century standards, especially in the north and west; in some areas as few as 20 percent of Catholics attended mass on a typical Sunday. Whether this situation dated to the remote past or was specifically an artifact of the population explosion that began in the late eighteenth century is unresolved.

Critics have also suggested that devotional changes may have begun earlier than 1850. Some scholars have identified pre-famine devotional innovations in towns and in the relatively affluent southeastern agricultural districts. It was during the archepiscopate of Cullen, however, that such changes had their initial impact on most Irish Catholics. The changes included more frequent confessions and communions than canonically required, as well as special rites such as the forty-hours devotion and the "perpetual adoration" and benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Devotion to the Sacred Heart became much more widespread, and Marian exercises (above all, the praying of the rosary) flourished, increasingly taking on forms that originated in continental Catholicism, such as devotion to the Immaculate Conception and to Our Lady of Lourdes. The spread of various lay confraternities introduced many Catholics to more earnest and purposeful practice of their faith.

Criticisms of Larkin's interpretation of the facts are also interesting. Sociologist Eugene Hynes (1978) offered the intriguing hypothesis that canonical religious practice was a class-specific behavior, and that the famine eliminated much of the nonpracticing underclass while leaving largely unscathed an already observant class of better-off farmers. Hynes's explanation has been taken up by another sociologist, Michael Carroll, who sees the devotional revolution as a late-eighteenth-century initiative by wealthy Catholics whose effects were obscured by the presence of the huge underclass until after the famine. Carroll calls this initiative the "second" devotional revolution and theorizes that there was an earlier "devotional revolution" in the seventeenth century. In this "first" devotional revolution, he argues, the lay elite of seventeenth-century Irish Catholicism resisted clerical efforts to implement the decrees of the Council of Trent and instead promoted folk religious practices, such as patterns (festive outdoor observances of patron saints' days) and pilgrimages to holy wells, which would later be misunderstood as survivals of pagan Celtic religion. This initiative ensured that antagonistic kin groups would not have to interrupt their feuds in order to gather peaceably together

for mass every Sunday. Both Hynes and Carroll offer important insights into devotional change in the nineteenth century, but on the issue of Carroll's thesis of a "first" devotional revolution, the jury of early modern Irish historians is still out.

The most sweeping critique of Larkin's interpretation has been offered by Thomas McGrath (1990), who argues that what Larkin calls a "devotional revolution" was actually the final stage of a "tridentine evolution." The fact that for about a century after 1875 Irish Catholics almost universally complied with canonical norms is attributed to the decision of the Council of Trent in 1563 that it should be so. Lack of compliance during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is blamed on the restrictions placed upon Catholic clergy, who longed to implement the tridentine standards but were only able to do so effectively as the penal laws were gradually relaxed. Though McGrath is right to criticize proponents of the devotional-revolution hypothesis for failing to situate the religious changes of the nineteenth century in a longer temporal perspective, his placement of the cause as far back as 300 years before the effect has found little support.

Some of the initial negative reaction to Larkin's argument was probably due to his provocative—and ahistorical—suggestion that "the Irish people" were not "practicing Catholics" before the famine. It is sometimes suggested—equally ahistorically—that at the end of the twentieth century Ireland has become a "post-Catholic society." It is historically accurate to say that the nearly universal religious observance whose erosion prompts the latter claim is no older than a century and a half.

SEE ALSO Marianism; Religion: Traditional Popular Religion; Religious Orders: Men; Religious Orders: Women; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Societies and Confraternities

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David W. Miller



Diaspora

THE IRISH IN AUSTRALIA	DAVID FITZPATRICK
THE IRISH IN BRITAIN	ENDA DELANEY
THE IRISH IN NORTH AMERICA	TIMOTHY J. MEAGHER

THE IRISH IN AUSTRALIA

The first half-century of white settlement in Australia, beginning with the "First Fleet" of 1788, was dominated by convicts from Britain and Ireland. About 36,000 of Australia's 163,000 convict settlers were from Ireland, most of them of "peasant" background in contrast to the mainly urban laborers and artisans from Britain. Colonial indignation prevented further transportation to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) after the 1840s, and the last shipload of convicts, containing sixty-three Fenian rebels, reached Western Australia in 1868. Irishmen were also prominent among those supervising the convicts, ranging from common soldiers to officials such as Sir Richard Bourke from Thornfield, Co. Limerick, who initiated assisted immigration while governor of New South Wales from 1831 to 1837.

Between 1840 and 1914 about a third of a million Irish people emigrated to the Australian colonies. Until after the World War I the Irish were second only to the English as a component of Australia's immigrant population. In 1891, when the number of Irish immigrants peaked at almost 230,000, they accounted for nearly a quarter of foreign-born Australians, with little variation between the eastern states. No other regions of settlement apart from some of Canada's eastern provinces

drew so heavily upon Irish settlers. If Australia was a minor destination for the Irish, Ireland was a major source for the Australians.

The flow from Ireland to Australia was sometimes a trickle, sometimes a minor flood. By comparison with the immense emigration elsewhere during the years of the Great Famine, there was rather little movement to Australia, where demand for immigrant labor was sluggish until the discovery of gold in 1851. The effect of economic fluctuations was blurred and indirect. Few Irish immigrants could afford the full fare of about 17 pounds at the best of times, being reliant upon assistance from governments whose readiness to invest in emigration was affected by political as well as economic calculation. More than any other stream of Irish settlers, those choosing Australia were subject to state management.

Every Australian colony offered financial encouragement for emigration, under schemes that were often cumbersome, restrictive, and liable to sudden amendment or termination. Inducements ranged from land guarantees to free passages, with many intermediate varieties of partial funding from the state, typically supplemented by contributions from those already in the colonies. A combination of British recalcitrance, Irish eagerness, and colonial demand for unskilled labor ensured that the Irish were consistently overrepresented among assisted immigrants, especially in New South Wales and Victoria. Over the entire period 1836 to 1919, subventions were provided for nearly a quarter of a million Irish immigrants, about half the number from Britain. Ireland's persistent poverty ensured that the Irish were underrepresented among those wealthy enough to pay their own way. The withdrawal of assistance was therefore a major factor in reducing the ratio of Irish to British immigrants as well as in increasing the proportion from Ulster.

State funding was supplemented by private benefactors such as landlords and colonial philanthropists. But the main sources of private funding were those already in the colonies who contributed toward further immigration under the various nomination and remittance schemes. Irish settlers, everywhere adept at forging chains of migration from their localities of origin, made far more intensive use of these facilities than did British settlers. The increasing preference of colonial governments for nomination schemes devolved most of the selection process to previous immigrants, encouraging self-replication in terms of background.

Political concern about the quality of assisted immigrants ensured that remarkably detailed statistics were compiled. Over two-thirds of Irish assisted immigrants arriving in New South Wales between 1848 and

1870 were aged between fifteen and twenty-nine years. About two-fifths traveled in family groups. In a country chronically starved of women, the Irish were unique in their response to the inducements for female immigration. The most spectacular importation of Irish girls as servants and potential wives occurred during the Great Famine, with the removal of over 4,000 female orphans from Irish workhouses. Women greatly outnumbered men among Irish assisted immigrants. With men predominating among unassisted immigrants, Irishmen and Irishwomen settled in Australia in virtually equal numbers. Every other immigrant stream was dominated by men.

The typical Irish assisted immigrant embodied "human capital" in the form of vigor rather than skill. The vast majority of men described themselves as plain laborers or agricultural laborers, and the women as domestic servants. That many Irish immigrants had worked only within the family unit did not detract from their capital value, in a primitive economy with insatiable demand for unskilled manual labor. A more serious impediment to success in Australia was illiteracy. Until the 1860s, only a minority of Irish immigrants were reportedly able to read and write. Subsequently there was a rapid improvement in basic literacy, among both immigrants and the population of origin.

The most controversial attribute of Irish immigration was the predominance of Catholics, who usually accounted for about four-fifths of the total. This slightly exceeded the Catholic component in the regions of Ireland most inclined to provide Irish Australians. The predominance of Protestants among unassisted immigrants probably explains the surprisingly large non-Catholic component (29%) of Australia's Irish-born population in 1911. The Protestant element in Australia's Irish population was less important than in New Zealand or Canada, but presumably greater than in Britain or the United States.

The prevalence of chain migration ensured that the distribution of county origins changed remarkably little between the later 1840s and the end of the century. Two regions were particularly inclined to send settlers to Australia, neither being particularly poor but both being overwhelmingly rural. Clare and Tipperary were almost invariably the two counties sending most assisted immigrants to Australia, with a secondary cluster in south Ulster. Once in Australia, the Irish dispersed throughout the settled districts with striking uniformity. In contrast to their compatriots in the United States, they were no more inclined to cluster together than were other immigrant groups. The Irish showed no ten-

dency to avoid agricultural districts, and English settlers were usually more urbanized than the Irish.

While Irish immigrants penetrated every trade and profession, their aggregate occupational status remained low throughout the nineteenth century. The first comprehensive occupational census for different religious groups was conducted in New South Wales in 1901. The male occupations most heavily colonized by Irish immigrants were (in descending order) religion, "independent means" (having private sources of income), refuse disposal, and road construction. Building construction, a trade often regarded as being quintessentially Irish, attracted few Irish workers in New South Wales. By 1901, the admittedly aging population of Irish-born women was no longer overrepresented in domestic service. For most women, however, paid employment was only a secondary indicator of status, since the majority entered the workforce only as a prelude or sequel to housewifery. Marriage probably offered better chances of upward mobility than employment. By 1911 the majority of both Irish husbands and Irish wives were married to persons born outside Ireland. Even so, ethnic and especially religious networks continued to affect Irish marriage choices. The statistics indicate a marriage market that was neither fully open nor firmly closed, so permitting alternative strategies for social mobility through marriage. Such findings suggest that most Irish men and women made fairly effective use of their opportunities in Australia before World War I.

After federation in 1901 Irish immigration slowed to a trickle, causing the Irish-born population to decline from 186,000 in 1901 to 106,000 in 1921, and to its nadir of 45,000 in 1947. Though a few former servicemen and others from Northern Ireland received assistance from empire-settlement schemes, citizens of the Irish Free State were ineligible for assistance. The post-war resumption of assisted immigration caused a recovery to 70,000 by 1981, representing 0.5 percent of the population and only 2.3 percent of those born outside Australia. The Irish presence in twentieth-century Australia was dominated by those, often of mixed descent, who considered themselves Irish, an identity fostered energetically by the Catholic Church through its network of schools and social clubs. As the Catholic community was transformed by the influx from continental Europe, Irishness became increasingly a sentimental affiliation or a flag of convenience in the stormy waters of multicultural Australia.

SEE ALSO Diaspora: The Irish in Britain; Diaspora: The Irish in North America; Migration: Emigration from

the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Migration: Emigration and Immigration since 1950

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David Fitzpatrick

THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

Until the 1970s the Irish-born population was the largest immigrant group in British society. Historically, Ireland's nearest neighbor had been one of the most significant destinations for emigrants since medieval times. Surviving records indicate that even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, poor Irish immigrants were the cause of concern on the part of municipal authorities in the growing towns and cities of Tudor England. Yet the greatest influx of Irish migrants occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Second only to the United States, Britain was a central destination of the Irish diaspora from the early nineteenth century.

One of the consequences of the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 was the emergence of mass migration, as agricultural depression resulted in declining Irish standards of living, thereby strengthening the imperative for people to leave for North America and Britain. In the period before the Great Famine of the late 1840s, substantial numbers of men and women left Ireland in search of work in the expanding British industrial economy. In the 1830s and early 1840s the large numbers of Irish migrants settling in Britain were perceived as a problem because so many of them were poor, and it was assumed that they would make little positive contribution to the evolving industrial society. Social commentators such as J. P. Kay in his well-known essay on the Irish in Manchester in 1832 underlined the negative effects of large-scale Irish immigration on the living conditions of the poor in that city, especially in the infamous "Little Ireland" district. Sometime later, Friedrich Engels in 1844 described the poverty and squalor of the Irish in Manchester. Social theorists lamented that the abysmal conditions in which the Irish lived would in time lower the living standards of the British working classes. To a large extent this hostility toward the Irish in Britain was a clash of values because Irish customs,

Irish-born population of Britain, 1841–1991

Year	Population
1841	415,725
1851	727,326
1861	805,717
1871	774,310
1881	781,119
1891	653,122
1901	631,629
1911	555,040
1921	523,767
1931	505,385
1951	716,028
1961	950,978
1971	952,760
1981	850,387
1991	836,934

SOURCE: Extracted from U.K. census, 1841–1991.

ways of living, and cultural practices were often considered alien. The stark poverty of many Irish migrants meant that they were a highly visible presence in the poorer slum districts of large British cities. Geographical proximity and the ability of the Irish labor to move freely between the two islands ensured that, notwithstanding deeply engrained anti-Irish prejudice, Britain continued to be a popular destination for Irish migrants throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Two distinct waves of Irish emigration to Britain can be noted, the first lasting from the 1840s until the 1860s, and the second from the 1930s until the 1960s. In the nineteenth century the most sustained inflow of Irish men and women was directly related to the famine crisis of the late 1840s. The Irish-born population in England and Wales nearly doubled between 1841 and 1861. Famine refugees arrived in huge numbers in Liverpool, Glasgow, and in other smaller ports such as Newport in South Wales, prompting a strong sense of panic about the influx of diseased and poverty-stricken migrants from Ireland. This alarm was compounded by the fact that the Irish migrant's arrival coincided with an economic recession in Britain in 1847 to 1848. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century Britain retained its importance as a center of Irish settlement. Estimates suggest that from 1852 until the outbreak of World War I in 1914 between one-fifth and one-quarter of all emigrants from Ireland traveled to Britain. This resulted in the Irish-born population of Britain remaining relatively stable during the second half of the nineteenth century, though it declined in numbers in the early decades of the twentieth century (see table). In the mid-1930s, as a result of restrictions imposed on American immigration in the 1920s and its

swift economic recovery from the Great Depression in the early 1930s, Britain became the principal destination for the hundreds of thousands of Irish who sought new lives abroad. Approximately four out of every five migrants who left independent Ireland after 1921 traveled to Britain. The 1950s saw the peak in Irish emigration, and by 1971 the Irish-born population of Britain numbered nearly one million people.

The Irish settled where employment was available. In the nineteenth century Lancashire, the west of Scotland, and London were the major regions of Irish settlement, though many Irish migrants were also found outside the large conurbations of Liverpool, Glasgow, and Manchester. From the mid-1930s on, the migrant flow was directed toward the midlands and southeastern England, principally London, reflecting the changes in employment location in twentieth-century Britain. The other obvious trend was the decline in the Irish population of Scotland. In 1841 nearly one-third of the Irish-born population in Britain lived in Scotland, but by 1991 the figure had declined to just 6 percent.

In contrast with most other migrations, men and women left nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ireland in roughly equal proportions. Until the 1860s more Irish women than men settled in Britain, but thereafter (until 1921) the position was reversed, though the overall differences were slight. From the 1920s to the early twenty-first century, Irish women have outnumbered Irish men in Britain. This is a reflection of the wide range of employment available for female migrants and the obvious shortage of similar jobs for women in Ireland.

Until 1921 Irish migrants could enter Britain without any hindrance, and visas or employment permits were not required. This remained the situation even after the end of the legislative union in 1921 and the foundation of the independent Irish state. Irish citizens, however, were required to have a visa during World War II and for a short period after the end of the war in 1945. In the context of restrictions on the entry of citizens from the "New" Commonwealth in the 1960s, that the Irish were excluded from legislation to control immigration is striking. Irish migrants could enter Britain as often as they wished and take up any form of employment. This special status was justified on the grounds of the long and close historical relationship between the two countries, though it was also perceived that because Irish migrants were white, they were unlikely to provoke racial tension.

The absence of expressions of a hyphenated identity by Irish migrants living in Britain, such as "Irish British" is in sharp contrast to the experience of Irish Americans in the United States. There is no obvious explanation for this, but the tangled and sometimes fraught

political relationship between the two countries is one reason. Irish identity in Britain, however, was not monolithic, and it was shaped by religion, class, and the wider social environment. What marked Irish migrants as different from the British population, apart from their accents, cultural practices, and perhaps forms of dress, was adherence of the majority to Catholicism. The degree of attachment to some form of Irish identity varied among individual migrants. The Irish in Britain were mobilized in support of campaigns for Home Rule in the 1870s and 1880s, but they lacked the political focus that existed for Irish Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

SEE ALSO Diaspora: The Irish in Australia; Diaspora: The Irish in North America; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Migration: Emigration and Immigration since 1950; **Primary Documents:** From *Narrative of a Recent Journey* (1847); "An Irishman in Coventry" (1960)

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Enda Delaney

THE IRISH IN NORTH AMERICA

In 1980 over 40 million people in the United States and millions more in Canada claimed Irish ancestry. The Irish diaspora in North America was ten or more times as large as the population of Ireland itself and several times larger than the Irish diasporas in Europe, Africa, Australia, or any other continent.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The huge Irish presence in North America began with only a small trickle of largely anonymous immigrants—perhaps no more than 5,000 in the seventeenth century (Fogelman 1998)—but the numbers increased

considerably in the eighteenth century. Curiously, the people leaving did not come from among impoverished Irish Catholics but from the Presbyterian descendants of Scottish migrants who had settled in Ulster from the early seventeenth century. The first large group of Ulster Presbyterians left Ireland for North America in 1717 and 1718. Thereafter the emigrant tide ebbed and flowed, picking up momentum in the late 1720s and again in the 1740s and reaching a climax in the years before the American Revolution.

Historians agree more or less on the periodization of eighteenth-century Irish migration, but because of incomplete documentation, numerical estimates vary from about 100,000 (Dickson 1966, Fogelman 1998, Griffin 2001) to more than 200,000 (Miller 1985, Doyle 1989). Estimates of the proportion of Irish immigrants and their descendants in the American population by the end of the colonial era vary from about 9.5 percent to 14 percent or even more.

Why did so many people leave Ireland, or more specifically Northern Ireland, for America in the eighteenth century? Because most of these emigrants (though by no means all) were Presbyterians, older histories often stressed the religious and political discrimination that these men and women faced because they were not members of the established Church of Ireland. Although such discrimination rankled with Ulster's Presbyterians and probably loosened their commitment to Ireland, a bundle of related economic changes had a more powerful effect in pushing the migrants out of Ulster and making North America an attractive alternative. The dramatic rise in rents in Ulster over the course of the eighteenth century and severe depressions in the linen industry, especially in the 1760s and early 1770s, contributed to emigration. The linen trade had cultural and psychological as well as economic effects. It encouraged Ulster Presbyterians to break out of a traditional peasant agriculture, and because much of the linen trade was with North America, it made them aware of possibilities in the new colonies. Regular trading links between the colonies and Northern Ireland also provided the ships that were the means of escape to the New World. For these reasons and many more specific ones, such as occasional droughts or excessive cold, Ulster emptied out periodically through the eighteenth century. There was some migration from the other provinces of Ireland to North America; for example, from the Waterford area to Newfoundland. The great mass of impoverished Catholics in the South of Ireland, however, did not stir in the eighteenth century.

The first Irish migrants had gone to Boston expecting to be welcomed by their fellow Dissenters there, the descendants of the Puritans. Instead the New England

Yankees spurned them, and throughout the rest of the eighteenth century most Irish immigrants entered the United States through Philadelphia and New Castle, Delaware. The reason was not simply Pennsylvania's famed tolerance but also the more practical reason that Pennsylvania was a critical source of flax for linen manufacture. Most Irish immigrants did not tarry long in their ports of entry. About 36 percent in the eighteenth century came as indentured servants, committing themselves to a contract of a few years of labor for the cost of their passage to America. Although urban artisans and shopkeepers picked up the contracts of some of these, more were sold for plantation or farm labor. Free Irish immigrants usually headed to the frontier, having been nudged or lured there by large landowners with vacant lands or by colonial officials eager to use the new immigrants as buffers between Native Americans and colonial settlements. Irish immigrants moved farther and farther west and north in Pennsylvania, then south along the Great Wagon Road through western Maryland and Virginia's Shenandoah Valley into the Carolina backcountry. Western Pennsylvania and the western Carolinas became the Ulster Irish heartland. As much as 17 percent of North Carolina's population, 25 percent of South Carolina's, and 23 percent of Pennsylvania's consisted of Irish or Scotch Irish by 1790 (Doyle 1981).

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Irish immigrants gained a reputation for violence and hard drinking that made them quite visible and notorious to colonial officials, but they seemed to vanish into an undifferentiated American frontier mainstream within a generation. They played critical roles in the American Revolution, though these roles varied according to local political configurations. The Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania and New Jersey were patriot zealots, but in the Carolinas they were more ambivalent about the conflict. The Revolution, however, broke down whatever barriers to success Irish Presbyterians had known before 1776 and eased their absorption into American society. The religious hothouse of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America, with its many competing evangelical sects, also sapped the strength of Presbyterianism, the chief marker of Ulster Scots' sense of difference in the New World.

Irish immigration to America was interrupted by the Revolution but resumed in huge numbers almost immediately after: an estimated 5,000 emigrants left Ireland for America in 1783. The river of immigrants continued to run strong through the 1790s but ebbed in the early nineteenth century. After peace returned to

Europe and America in 1815, Irish migration picked up again, steadily building to 50,000 or more migrants by the late 1830s.

Between the Revolution and the Great Famine there was a change in the destination of the immigrants. By the early nineteenth century Irish migrants to the United States were choosing New York City, not Philadelphia, as their principal port of entry and settling in northern cities, not the southern countryside. A substantial number began to go to British North America (Canada), encouraged by British regulations that made trips to American ports more expensive and by grants of cheap land in Canada. This migration to Canada peaked in the 1830s but remained strong through 1847. In all, more than 450,000 Irish entered North America through Canadian ports between 1825 and 1845—50,000 more than came in through U.S. ports. Perhaps as many as two-thirds of Irish emigrants to Canada quickly re-emigrated to the United States, but the population of Canada was substantially remade by Irish migration. Already by 1841 Canada counted 122,000 Irish-born among its people.

There were changes too in the immigrants' geographic and class origins and religious backgrounds. Gradually the main sources of immigration shifted south and west into south Ulster and northern Connaught and then to the southern province of Munster. As migration drew increasingly from these largely Catholic-dominated areas, Catholics became a majority of Irish immigrants, probably surpassing Protestants by the early 1830s. Immigrants were perhaps also coming from poorer strata in the population than before, though they were probably still wealthier and better educated than the mass of the Irish at home.

All of these changes reflected new conditions in Ireland. The end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 severely cut the demand for Irish grain and sent Ireland's economy into decline, while slowing but not halting the rise in population. Competition for land and the contraction of cottage industry undermined peasant household economies. At the same time, integration of ever-expanding areas of Ireland into the British and even international economy forced more and more Catholics in the southern provinces to learn English, the language of the market, but also made them vulnerable to the market's booms and busts.

By the 1820s and 1830s many Irishmen in America were navvies, construction workers on projects like the Erie, Chesapeake and Ohio, and Blackstone canals. For many of these men life was brutal, harsh, and insecure in the work camps, but studies of the Irish in Worcester and Lowell, Massachusetts, suggest that some settled into relative prosperity after their canal-building days.

Most urban Irish immigrants were blue-collar workers, and those outside the cities were mainly small farmers. Although not rich, they did not seem to suffer the dire poverty that would afflict masses of famine-era immigrants. In the lands of Ontario opened to settlement in the 1830s, for example, both Catholic and Protestant Irish seem to have found opportunities to build farms and carve out decent lives for themselves.

One group of Irish emigrants—refugees of the 1798 United Irish Rebellion—was small in number but had a powerful impact on the new nation. They quickly became leaders of the Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans, editing newspapers, writing books and pamphlets, and organizing political clubs and campaigns that helped secure their political party's triumph over the Federalists. They also defined an identity that was stoutly Irish or Irish-American but republican in ideology and insistent in its nonsectarianism. In the early nineteenth century optimistic revolutionary republican ideals were still powerful, and because Irish Catholics and Protestants were both strong supporters of the Democratic-Republican Party, they shared common political interests. Such alliances between "orange" and "green" were struck in Canada in this era as well, however, even without the nourishment of republican influences.

Nevertheless, as Irish immigrant numbers and the proportion of Catholics among them increased, American Protestant suspicions rose. Nativist anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic movements fed off of the Protestant religious revival called the Second Great Awakening. The party system that pitted Democratic-Republicans against Federalists was supplanted by a new pairing of Democrats and Whigs, polarized in many places along religious lines. The possibility of a nonsectarian Irish-American community was passing; its death knell perhaps sounded in 1844 when Irish Protestant and Catholic workers clashed in deadly riots on the streets of Philadelphia.

THE GREAT FAMINE AND ITS AFTERMATH

It would be difficult to overestimate the impact of the Great Famine of the late 1840s on Irish America. About 1.5 million people left for the United States between 1845 and 1855; 340,000 traveled to Canada and about 200,000 to 300,000 settled in Britain. More people left Ireland in just eleven years than during the previous two and half centuries (Miller 1985). Trends and patterns that had emerged before the Great Famine now hardened with the flood of migrants who had left to escape catastrophe.

Ever since Archbishop John Hughes called the famine Irish immigrants "the debris of the Irish nation," the

dominant assessment of their experience has been that it was a tragedy—for many immigrants a horror that seemed little more than an extension of the horrors of the famine in Ireland itself. Several historians have found that depiction too gloomy and generalized, noting significant variation in Irish experience among the regions of the United States. The Irish in Philadelphia were not nearly as forlorn as those in Boston, for example; fewer were laborers or residents of squalid, disease-ridden tenements. Substantial numbers of the Irish who settled in Detroit or San Francisco even became prosperous, and in San Francisco some moved quickly into the political or economic elite.

Nevertheless most famine Irish immigrants experienced difficult, often brutally hard conditions that improved only marginally over time. One study found that Irish famine immigrants fared much worse in the American economy than German or British immigrants, even when class was held constant. The Irish who landed in New York between 1840 and 1850 were much less likely than German immigrants to move inland to presumably richer opportunities in the Midwest. In most big cities the Irish quickly became the majority of inmates in prisons, hospitals, lunatic asylums, and poorhouses. Today's Irish Americans have focused on the deaths of immigrants' on the so-called coffin ships to America, but many more, hundreds of thousands more, enfeebled by famine, bewildered by uprooting and transit across the Atlantic, died within three or four years of their arrival in America. Irish death rates in Boston and New York were particularly catastrophic. Conditions may have been better farther west, but most Irish did not live in the West (Ferrie 1999).

Historians disagree as to whether Irish culture, or more specifically Irish Catholic culture, hindered Irish immigrant adaptation to America. Kerby Miller has argued that Irish Catholic immigrants were burdened by a culture rooted in an ancient Celtic world that privileged communalism over individualism and tradition over innovation. The most strongly essentialist notions in Miller's argument—that ancient Gaelic roots were more important than years of oppression or a stunted economy in shaping the culture that hindered Irish mobility in America—are open to question, but clearly life in rural Ireland had not prepared the vast majority of Irish newcomers for the rapidly industrializing and urbanizing United States. A further threat to Irish immigrants came from nativism, which peaked in 1854 with victories by the anti-Catholic Know-Nothing Party in city, town, and state elections across the United States.

Popular interpretations of Irish-American history often dwell on the patriotism of Irish Americans during the Civil War, as exemplified in their heroic sacrifices in

such bloody battles as Antietam and Gettysburg. Sacrifices there were, but the battle casualties that seemed so glorious to later generations of Irish Americans did not seem so much heroic as horrific to Irish immigrants themselves at the time. They were also dismayed by what they perceived as a shift in the war's purpose from preserving the union to the destruction of slavery in the Emancipation Proclamation. In July 1863 Irish immigrant discontent erupted in protests against military conscription. Draft riots broke out in Boston, the Pennsylvania coal fields, and most notably in New York City, where at least 119 people died and whole sections of the city were taken over by rioters.

Communal and familial values that may have inhibited upward mobility nonetheless nurtured and protected famine-era immigrants caught in the harsh realities of poverty and squalor. Neighborhoods were often laced with ties of friendship, reinforced by gatherings at saloons or by credit received at local groceries and reflected in the clustering of people who hailed from the same counties or even the same estates in Ireland on specific blocks or streets in American cities.

Parish churches emerged as the centers of such neighborhoods, but Irish Catholic immigrants' commitment to the norms and requirements of an institutional Catholicism was not a given. In Ireland the church limped out of the penal era with a shortage of chapels, schools, and priests, and America too suffered from such shortages. Jay Dolan estimates that only about 40 percent of Irish Catholic immigrants attended mass regularly in New York City at mid-century. Yet over time the church became central to Irish-American identity. A devotional revolution much like the one that was sweeping Ireland was transforming Irish America.

Nationalism also helped to define Irish-American life in the famine era. Irish-American support for Ireland's freedom had begun with the United Irish exiles. Through the early and mid-1840s a mass base began to develop as clubs sprang up all across the country backing Daniel O'Connell's campaign to repeal the Act of Union. Yet it was the Fenians, founded in 1858 in New York and Dublin and rising to prominence just after the American Civil War, who established nationalism firmly as a central organizational nexus in the Irish-American community. The Fenians would claim up to 50,000 members in the United States, but it seems clear that their sympathizers far exceeded that number.

LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Trends that had been occurring in eastern Ireland before the famine spread across the island after it—conversion

from tillage to pasturage and impartible inheritance being the most important. These changes meant that all children but male heirs and daughters with dowries confronted bleak futures in Ireland. Many left the country, contributing in turn to those who would come after or sending remittances to help sustain parents at home. Migration thus flowed more or less steadily from Ireland to North America—especially to the United States—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Emigration fell with the hard times in America during the 1870s but rose again during Ireland’s agricultural crisis later in that decade. After the 1880s it very slowly diminished, but it did not stop until the late 1920s, when increased American regulation of immigration and the onset of the Great Depression in the United States helped to reorient the flow of Irish migration to nearby Britain. An increasing proportion of postfamine migrants came from western Ireland, the province of Connacht and western parts of Munster. Rocked by disastrous harvests in the late 1870s, these areas had become increasingly vulnerable to economic and cultural change thereafter. (The much smaller migration to Canada in this era drew largely from Ulster.) More and more of the migrants were single women as it became clear that their opportunities for economic advancement or marriage were shrinking in Ireland in the late nineteenth century.

If there were changes in the character of Irish immigration, there was a disappointing consistency in the economic performance of these immigrants in America. In 1900 over half of Irish immigrant women worked as domestic servants, and about one-quarter of Irish-born men were unskilled workers, mostly day laborers. The proportion of immigrants who broke into white-collar work remained small; as before, however, the percentages varied significantly from city to city. It appeared that there were fewer Irish slums than at mid-century, but death rates among the Irish-born remained exceptionally high into early twentieth century. As late as 1915 the death rate among the Irish-born in New York was among the highest of any group in the city.

In the late nineteenth century children of the Catholic famine migrants began to find their place in American life. These second-generation Irish were very different from their Irish-born parents. They were far more likely to be white-collar or skilled blue-collar workers. They were also less likely to live in inner-city slums or neighborhoods that were exclusively Irish. Inter-marriage rates among the second-generation Irish varied: one-quarter in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1900; about one-third in New York City in the 1910s; and half or more farther west in the 1910s. Yet everywhere in the nation the second-generation Irish rates of inter-

marriage were greater than the rates among Irish immigrants. The new generation also avidly embraced the new urban American popular culture emerging at this time. Many stars of the era, including baseball players “King” Kelly, John McGraw, and Connie Mack, boxing champions John L. Sullivan and Jim Corbett, and vaudeville or theater performers Ned Harrigan, Tony Hart, Maggie Cline, and George M. Cohan, were second-generation Irish.

Yet all this did not mean the easy assimilation of Irish Americans into the mainstream, for American culture, society, and politics were still rigidly divided along religious lines. In the 1880s Catholic liberals, led by the Irish-born archbishop John Ireland and the second-generation Irish cardinal James Gibbons, sought to work out an accommodation with Protestant culture and society that might soften religious tensions and earn American Catholics some acceptance. In the same decade, Irish-American labor leaders like the second-generation Terence Powderly took another tack, trying to unite workers and their sympathizers of all ethnic backgrounds in defense of old republican ideals and workers’ rights in the face of industrial change. Neither of these efforts endured. In the 1890s and 1900s Irish-American labor recoiled from the nascent radical potential of the Knights of Labor in order to embrace the anti-radical business unionism of the American Federation of Labor. Catholic liberalism collapsed at the same time, caught between revivals of both American nativism and Vatican orthodoxy.

By the 1910s and 1920s the possibilities of Irish-American identity had narrowed considerably, and that definition hardened into a form that would last more or less until the 1950s. Irish-American Catholics were militant Catholics, suspicious of and hostile to the dominant Protestant and secular mainstream, but they were also fervently patriotic Americans, convinced that they were indeed the best of all Americans. Most Irish Americans were liberals in politics, at least on economic issues like labor legislation and extension of the welfare state, but they were also fiercely antisocialist and anticommunist. The people who defined this new Catholic militancy were largely second-generation Irish Americans. Cardinal William O’Connell of Boston was their most authoritative voice, and the Knights of Columbus, which grew from about 40,000 members to over 600,000 in the early twentieth century, was the organizational backbone of the new militant American Catholicism.

This new identity was not simply a compromise between the new American-born generation’s ambitions and the realities of a Protestant-dominated America. It also was a strategic effort to secure Irish leadership

of the rapidly growing immigrant and Catholic populations of Boston, Chicago, New York, and other cities across the Northeast and Midwest and to rally them against the dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs). As patriotic Americans but Catholic outsiders, Irish Americans stood across the boundary between inside and out and brokered between people on either side.

Local differences in social structures and political cultures produced significant variations in this pattern. Irish Americans seemed already integrated into the broader societies and even the elites of western cities like San Francisco, for example, thus softening if not stilling Catholic militancy. Irish Catholic Canadians, by contrast, faced a formidable rival within their own church in a huge, entrenched French Canadian population as well as confronting a powerful and militant Protestantism suffused with "Orangeism." In the late nineteenth century an estimated one in three Canadian Protestant males belonged to the Orange Order. Irish Catholics in Canada were thus in no position to mobilize Catholic outsiders against Protestant insiders. Confronting this difficult situation, they followed quieter, more timid assimilationist strategies than the Irish south of their border.

The militant American Catholic identity dominated in the Irish-American community even as the Irish became politically powerful as members of the Democratic Party's ruling coalition in the 1930s, asserted cultural power through the church over American movies in the same decade, and began to surpass native-stock Yankees as well as other ethnics in the occupational hierarchy by the 1920s and 1930s.

IRISH NORTH AMERICA SINCE THE 1960S

A series of events and movements in the 1960s finally undercut the religious division that sustained the old militant American Catholicism: John F. Kennedy's election and death, the ecumenism of the Second Vatican Council, and the powerful impact of the civil-rights movement and subsequent ethnic and racial assertions on American conceptions of pluralism and difference. In this new environment Irish-American identifications became "optional"—no longer socially or politically constrained—in a way that they had never been before in the Irish American heartland of the Northeast.

People did not stop thinking of themselves as Irish Americans; they just found new meanings for that identity. Some Irish found their "Irishness" in a revival of republican nationalism as conflict erupted in Northern Ireland. In the 1980s, Ireland's economic troubles forced a whole new wave of immigrants to leave the island and find jobs in America. These newcomers had

definitions of Irish identity very different from those of previous immigrant generations as well as those of American-born Irish. Most Irish Americans, however, perhaps began to understand their Irishness through one or another versions of Irish culture. Traditional Irish music and dance nearly died in America in the 1950s, but, riding the American folk-music boom (or in some cases leading it) and the broader American post-1960s obsession with authenticity, Irish folk music and dance achieved an unheard-of prominence in America by the end of the twentieth century. Irish high culture also enjoyed a new popularity, as university Irish studies programs multiplied and imports of Irish drama and fiction flourished in the 1980s and 1990s.

Irish America, then, had not yet disappeared. It had merely changed, as it had so many times before in the history of Irish North America.

SEE ALSO Diaspora: The Irish in Australia; Kennedy, John F., *Visit of*; Migration: Emigration and Immigration since 1950

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Timothy J. Meagher

Direct Rule

See Ulster Politics under Direct Rule.



Divorce, Contraception, and Abortion

In the socially conservative climate of Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s the issues of divorce, contraception, and abortion were settled with little controversy and were not to become major issues again until the late 1960s and early 1970s. Abortion was outlawed in Ireland under the Offences against the Persons Act (1861). Legal abortion was introduced in Great Britain in 1967 but was not extended to Northern Ireland owing to the united opposition of church leaders. Under the Criminal Justice (Northern Ireland) Act (1945) anyone attempting to destroy a fetus capable of being born alive was deemed to have committed an offense, but abortion was permitted to save the life of the mother. The advocacy and sale of birth control devices were outlawed in the Irish Free State under the Censorship of Publications Act (1929), and the remaining loopholes regarding the importation of contraceptives were closed under the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1935). Divorce by civil process was available in England from 1857, but extension of this process to Ireland was strongly opposed by both Catholic and Protestant clergy. In the early years of the Irish Free State the introduction of private divorce bills in Dáil Éireann caused alarm and led to the official banning of divorce in 1925. To solidify this position the 1937 Constitution of Ireland included an unequivocal ban on divorce. Northern Ireland continued to receive divorce bills after partition and legislation for divorce was introduced in 1939. Under the Matrimonial Causes (N.I.) Act (1939) divorce was permissible on the grounds of desertion, cruelty, and incurable insanity. It

was not until the Matrimonial Causes (N.I.) Order (1978) that the grounds for divorce ceased to be solely offense based.

In Southern Ireland the papal encyclical *Casti connubii* (On Christian marriage), issued on 31 December 1931, was regarded as the ultimate Catholic guide to the sanctity of marriage and the immorality of birth control. In a state with an overwhelming Roman Catholic majority there was little room for dissent, and in the prevailing social climate people were generally satisfied with the legal restrictions on divorce, contraception, and abortion. Whereas the Irish state's legal position on civil divorce and abortion remained relatively uncontroversial until the early 1980s, the issue of family planning reared its head considerably earlier primarily because of concerns regarding maternal health. In 1963 the pharmaceutical companies were able to introduce the Pill as a "cycle regulator," but it was not advertised as a contraceptive. Nonetheless, it was at a grassroots level that change gradually began, involving key members of the medical profession and concerned volunteers. There was a general sense of optimism among Catholic liberals that the spirit of the Second Vatican Council would translate into some kind of a tacit acceptance of Catholics' right to limit their families by artificial means. The papal encyclical *Humane vitae* (On human life), which was issued in 1968, was therefore considered a major setback as it reiterated the Roman Catholic Church's opposition to contraception. The archbishop of Dublin, John Charles McQuaid, used the encyclical to institute a ban on contraceptive advice being issued in the Dublin hospitals under his control.

The tide of change, however, was not stemmed. Women began to give sex education talks in some Protestant schools, and the Fertility Guidance Company set up a family-planning clinic in Dublin in 1969. The group of medical volunteers behind this company issued free advice and free contraceptives, circumventing the law by not selling the contraceptives. On 22 May 1971, the Irish Women's Liberation Movement traveled to Belfast on what became known as the "contraceptive train" in order to bring back contraceptives across the border to the Irish Republic, thereby raising public awareness. Meanwhile, a young Catholic lawyer, Senator Mary Robinson (née Bourke) drafted a bill to legalize contraceptives and placed her Criminal Law Amendment Bill before the Senate in March 1971. Both of Robinson's attempts to have her bill ratified failed. In 1973 the Supreme Court's decision to reverse the High Court decision on the McGee case was considered a watershed in the contraception debate. Mrs. McGee claimed that she had attempted to import contraceptives via the post for personal use and her package had been intercepted



Solidarity's anti-divorce march in Dublin, November 1995. The second attempt to remove the constitutional ban on divorce in November 1995 was carried by a margin of only 9,000 votes. © LEWIS ALAN/CORBIS SYGMA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

by customs. She had taken a case against the attorney general, claiming that the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1935) was inconsistent with the section of the 1937 Constitution that vowed to respect the rights of citizens. The Supreme Court's ruling that Mrs. McGee's rights had been interfered with opened the way for Irish citizens to import contraceptives for their own use.

On 13 December 1978 Charles Haughey, the minister for Health in the Fianna Fáil government, introduced a Health (Family Planning) Bill, which allowed contraceptives on prescription to be available to married couples and legalized the importation of contraceptives for sale in chemist shops. This law became operative in 1980, though it remained illegal until 1985 to sell contraceptives to anyone without a medical prescription. Although the attitude to the distribution of condoms became more relaxed in the 1980s because of growing

anxiety regarding HIV and AIDS, the Irish Family Planning Association was still fined in 1990 for selling condoms in the Virgin Megastore in Dublin. Department of Health figures released in 1992 revealed that 108 Irish people had died from AIDS. It was the concern regarding sexually transmitted diseases, more than any other issue, that helped to liberalize the access to barrier methods of contraception and contraceptive information.

In Southern Ireland abortion and divorce remained contentious issues well into the 1980s and 1990s. The abortion debate began in earnest in 1981 when anti-abortionists, concerned that Europe might impose an abortion law on Ireland, requested a referendum to insert an antiabortion clause in the Irish constitution. Despite an acrimonious national debate the eighth amendment to the constitution was passed by 66.9 percent, with an electoral turnout of only 54.6 percent. In 1989

the Supreme Court ruled in favor of an injunction preventing the publication of phone numbers and addresses of British abortion clinics in student-welfare clinics in Ireland. The official figure for Irish women traveling to Britain for abortion services was 4,000 in 1990, rising to an estimated 6,000 in 1999. The so-called X case brought the issue of Irish women seeking abortions abroad to a head and generated considerable national debate. In 1992 the High Court prevented a pregnant fourteen-year-old girl, the victim of an alleged rape, from traveling to England for an abortion. The Supreme Court overturned the ruling by a four-to-one margin and accepted that abortion was legal in limited cases where there was a real danger that the pregnant woman was suicidal. As a direct result of the X case a referendum was held on 25 November 1992, in which the Irish people voted on the right to abortion information and the right to travel. The voting public affirmed the right to information and travel but rejected the wording for a new amendment allowing abortion in cases of maternal ill health.

In 1997 another case, the C case, once again brought the issue of abortion to the fore. The C case involved a thirteen-year-old girl pregnant as a result of rape. The High Court ruled in this case that, by virtue of the Supreme Court judgment in the 1992 X case, a girl who was suicidal was entitled to an abortion within the Irish state. In September 1999 the Irish government published a Green Paper on abortion. An all-party Oireachtas Committee on the constitution was invited to collect written submissions regarding abortion. On 6 March 2002 the Irish people narrowly defeated a third abortion referendum. The situation remains unresolved.

The issue of civil divorce became increasingly pressing in the 1980s, with mounting statistics of marital breakdown in the Republic of Ireland and growing concerns regarding the legal injustices imposed on the children of subsequent unions. In 1986 there was a referendum to permit divorce in restricted cases, which was rejected by the voters. As a result the Judicial Separation and Family Law Reform Act (1989) was introduced to permit permanent judicial orders of separation and to formalize a custody and property-settlement process for those experiencing marital breakdown. In November 1995 the Irish electorate voted in favor of legal divorce.

SEE ALSO Family: Fertility, Marriage, and the Family since 1950; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Secularization; **Primary Documents:** From the Decision of the Supreme Court in *McGee v. the Attorney General*

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Lindsey Earner-Byrne

Doyle, James Warren

James Doyle (1786–1834), Catholic bishop of Kildare and Leighlin from 1819 to 1834, was born in New Ross, Co. Wexford. An Augustinian educated at Coimbra in Portugal, he taught at Carlow College before becoming bishop at the age of 33. Pastorally, politically, and educationally, Doyle was the outstanding church figure in Irish public life in his time.

As bishop, Doyle undertook the renewal and reform of religious life in his extensive diocese. He promoted Sunday-school catechesis, confraternities, and chapel libraries. His firm pastorate was a model of Tridentine church administration.

Politically, Doyle was a powerful supporter of the Catholic Association, though his important relationship with Daniel O'Connell was often strained. He was the author of numerous works under the monogram J. K. L.—James of Kildare and Leighlin. His most outstanding book, *Letters on the State of Ireland* (1825), is a searing attack on state policy in Ireland. A key Catholic architect of the national system of education, which was established in 1831, he favored the education of Catholic and Protestant children together, and there is an ecumenical dimension in his thought even though the spirit of the times was very inimical to ecumenism.

Doyle published extensively on religious controversy during the "Second Reformation" campaign in the



James Warren Doyle (1786–1834), Catholic bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. COURTESY OF THE GRADUATE LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

1820s. He defended his church from Protestant evangelical attacks and criticized the wealth of the Established Church. In the tithe war of the early 1830s he coined the slogan, “may your hatred of tithes be as lasting as your love of justice.”

Doyle’s name dominated parliamentary discussion of Ireland during his episcopacy. He gave lengthy evidence before parliamentary committees in 1825, 1830, and 1832. An active theorist for an Irish poor law based on parochial assessment, he received little support from Irish politicians. He thought that Daniel O’Connell should pursue an alliance with the Whigs in 1830 rather than repeal of the union. He did not see how repeal could be achieved at that time, and he sought legislative reform instead. Doyle’s brilliant career was cut short by his early death. He was one of the most talented of the modern Irish Catholic bishops.

SEE ALSO Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829;
Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891

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Thomas McGrath

Drama, Modern

Modern Irish drama was initiated in 1897 at a meeting of three people: William Butler Yeats, Lady Augusta Gregory, and Edward Martyn. In 1903 they founded the Irish Literary Theatre, now called the Irish National Theatre Society, and in 1904 opened the Abbey Theatre with a double bill of Lady Gregory’s *Spreading the News* and Yeats’s *On Baile’s Strand*. From its inception, the Abbey was dedicated to cultural nationalism and committed to staging native plays with Irish themes. Rather than simply serving as a stage for British imports (Dublin had long been a stop on the eighteenth-century circuit of London, Bath, Dublin), the Abbey was and is still today a central venue for shaping modern drama. In fact, the history of modern Irish drama is inextricably linked to the history of Irish theater.

Many of Yeats’s plays were based on Irish mythology and legend, in accordance with the Abbey’s celebration of Ireland and Irish traditions. Those of Lady Gregory were based on her interest in Irish folk tales and mythology. According to theater historian Oscar Brockett, Lady Gregory “virtually invented the Irish folk-history play based primarily on oral tradition” (p. 454). For example, her *Kincora* (1905) revolves around a mythic Irish king. Thematically, both Yeats’s and Lady Gregory’s plays were in reaction to the stereotypical “stage Irishman” character so often the object of ridicule in plays imported from England. Lady Gregory’s plays were very popular with audiences but were not given the critical praise that Yeats’s have received.

In 1906 Edward Martyn withdrew from the Abbey in disagreement with the policy of excluding non-Irish plays; he went on to help form the Theatre of Ireland and later started the Irish Theatre Company (1914–1920). He was replaced at the Abbey by a future star of modern Irish drama, John Millington Synge. In 1908 the talented Fay brothers (Frank and W. G.), who had been important figures in the work of the early Abbey, left to work in England and the United States.

Although Yeats had envisioned an ideal theater that would be separate from politics, the fervent Irish nationalism that led to the birth of the Irish Free State also



Scene from a production of the Charabanc Theatre Company's *Lay Up Your Ends*, Belfast, 1983, with Brenda Winter, Eleanor Methven, and Marie Jones (left to right). PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS HILL PHOTOGRAPHIC. © CHRIS HILL. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

brought changes to the Abbey. In the early 1900s, the Abbey became a center of Irish cultural and political friction. Audience protests at the Abbey occurred due to differing artistic and political attitudes and also reflected tensions in society. The nationalists protested certain plays that they felt did not represent an accurate view of Irish life. The artistic staff of the Abbey was interested in promoting new Irish writing on a variety of themes. The public wanted plays that presented positive views that countered the stereotypes of the stage Irishman. The peasant plays of the Abbey were the "bread and butter" (Owens and Radner 1990, p. 7) of the theater. If a character was felt to portray the national character in a negative way, that character, play, and playwright were subject to protests.

The Abbey was the site of Synge's early work, including *The Playboy of the Western World*, whose initial production in 1907 provoked the infamous Playboy riots that started when some audience members object-

ed to his portrayal of the national character and his mention of the word *shifts* (female undergarments). Others objected to the play's depiction of the Irish peasantry. Despite the lasting influence of his work (his plays continue to be staged in the twenty-first century), some critics believe that Synge, in his peasant characters and invented peasant language, created unflattering stereotypes of the Irish people. Other scholars consider his *Riders to the Sea* (1904), which deals with a mother's loss of her fishermen sons, to be one of the best short plays ever written in the English language.

Between 1904 and 1930, the Abbey continued to produce new plays on Irish themes (family life, Big House stories, social issues), culminating with Sean O'Casey's trilogy of Dublin life during the Irish Civil War: *The Shadow of the Gunman* (1922), *Juno and the Paycock* (1924), and *The Plough and the Stars* (1926). This last play provoked protests by those who felt that O'Casey was mocking Irish patriotism and the Irish

people. Just as Synge was criticized for his portrayal of the Irish common people, O'Casey was criticized for showing the gritty hardships of Dublin city life, particularly prostitution. Although O'Casey's Dublin trilogy is realistic, his later plays such as *The Silver Tassie* (1928) are expressionistic. His change in style led to a break with the Abbey, and O'Casey, like Shaw before him, moved to England.

In 1914 George Bernard Shaw's 1904 play about British imperialism in Ireland, *John Bull's Other Island* (1904), was finally produced. Shaw, like his fellow expatriate O'Casey, became and remains one of the major figures of world drama. Although he left Ireland and most of his plays do not have Irish settings, he took great pride in his Irish heritage. Using comedy as a tool to explore and promote social issues, his plays are full of the political ideas of the day. In *Major Barbara*, a munitions manufacturer is found to be a greater humanitarian than his daughter, a member of the Salvation Army. *Arms and the Man* questions, through the mode of comedy, romantic attitudes about love and war.

In addition to O'Casey, other playwrights of note in the early twentieth century include Theresa Deevy (*Katie Roche*, 1936), Lennox Robinson (*The Whiteheaded Boy*, 1916), Padraic Colum (*The Land*, 1905), Denis Johnston (*The Old Lady Says No!* 1929), and St. John Ervine (*Mixed Marriage*, 1911). Deevy's *The King of Spain's Daughter* (1935) deals with a young woman who escapes reality into a fantasy world, and Ervine's *Mixed Marriage* deals with the problem of mixed Roman Catholic and Protestant marriage. Thematically, these plays reflect social concerns that continue to be examined in contemporary plays.

At the same time that the Abbey was developing, several other theaters were founded in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland. In 1928 Micheál Mac Liammóir and Hilton Edwards founded the Dublin Gate Theatre. In Galway in 1928 the Irish-language theater Taibhdhearc na Gaillimhe was founded. In the North, in Belfast, the Ulster Literary Theatre was established in 1902; it was followed by the Ulster Group Theatre in 1940 and in 1951, Mary O'Malley's Lyric Players, which acquired its home, the Lyric Theatre, in 1968.

1930–1960

According to Fintan O'Toole, after O'Casey's plays were produced in the late 1920s, the great, first era of Irish theater ended and there began a "long period of decline" (p. 48). He earmarks the "second revival" of Irish theater as starting in the 1950s and continuing into the 1980s. (The first revival spanned the period between the founding of the Abbey and the end of the 1920s.) Despite the

conservative atmosphere in Ireland from the 1930s to the 1950s, Ireland in the 1950s saw the work of two internationally important playwrights, Samuel Beckett and Brendan Behan. Behan's *The Hostage* (1958) holds a crucial place in the annals of political theater; Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* (1953) is a landmark in theater history. In 1954 the Pike Theatre presented the first Irish production of Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, a classic work of the theatre of the absurd, a twentieth-century movement that examines humankind's growing isolation in the aftermath of World War II. In this and many other of Beckett's plays, characters are unable to control a world that seems to be disintegrating around them. Like Shaw and O'Casey, Beckett also left Ireland, moving to France and settling there permanently in 1938; he aided the French Resistance during World War II and was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1970.

1960–1980

The two most vital voices of the period between 1960 and 1980, whose plays continue to shape modern theater into the twenty-first century, are Brian Friel (*Philadelphia, Here I Come*, 1967) and Tom Murphy (*A Whistle in the Dark*, 1961). Friel's influence cannot be denied, and his works command an international audience. *Philadelphia, Here I Come* and *A Whistle in the Dark* fall into the larger genre of immigration/emigration plays, which include M. J. Molloy's *The Wood of the Whispering* (1953), John Murphy's *The Country Boy* (1959), John B. Keane's *Many Young Men of Twenty* (1961), Dermot Bolger's *In High Germany* (1990), Sebastian Barry's *White Woman Street* (1992), and Charabanc's *Gold in the Streets* (1986). Along with Murphy and Friel, Hugh Leonard (*Da*, 1973), Thomas Kilroy (*Talbot's Box*, 1979), and John B. Keane (*The Field*, 1965) are also major and influential playwrights. The work of Tom MacIntyre (*The Great Hunger*, 1983; revised 1986) is also of merit, especially for its experimental aspects. Besides emigration, Christopher Murray identifies several other major themes of late-twentieth-century Irish writing: sexual identity, religious consciousness, and politics (Murray 1997, pp. 165–186). He divides the last into several sub-categories: the rural-urban divide, the history play, and the political allegory. With the occupation of Northern Ireland by British troops in 1969, the atmosphere on the streets, particularly in Belfast, gave rise to the important genre of "Troubles" plays. Along with the earlier playwrights Sam Thompson (*Over the Bridge*, 1960) and John Boyd (*The Flats*, 1971), the premier dramatist was the brilliant Belfast playwright Stewart Parker. Parker's untimely death in 1988 robbed the theater of one of its most gifted talents. He is particularly known for *Spoke-song* (1975) and *Pentecost* (1987).

1980 TO THE PRESENT

Since 1980, Ireland has seen exciting and innovative theater staged in the Republic and in Northern Ireland, and the establishment of numerous companies. In 1983 the Belfast-based Charabanc Theatre Company was founded by five out-of-work actresses. Known for the vitality and balance of their work, Charabanc's plays, researched and developed by the company, include *Lay Up Your Ends* (with Martin Lynch, 1983) and *Somewhere over the Balcony* (1988). Until its dissolution in 1995, the company toured all over Ireland and internationally. Field Day Theatre, established by Brian Friel and Stephen Rea in 1980, had as its first production Friel's landmark *Translations*, a play that is now widely produced and anthologized. Field Day disbanded in 1982, leaving a lasting legacy in the new work they created, but they were also widely criticized for marginalizing women in their directorship, their work, and their publications. With the publication of the three volumes of its work in 1991, supervised by its all-male board (four other male directors having been added), Field Day was reproached for the absence of women writers. A proposed fourth volume was to be devoted to the work of Irish women; however, after several years it was clear that the original board had no interest in seeing the women's volume published. A group of women scholars finally brought the long-awaited volumes to press (published by Cork University Press in 2002).

In 1990 Friel's *Dancing at Lughnasa* was a great success not only at the Abbey but also in London and New York and in other theaters around the world. Besides Friel, until the late 1990s the other most widely produced playwright was Frank McGuinness, known particularly for his *Someone to Watch Over Me* (1992) and *Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching toward the Somme* (1985). The 1980s also saw the success of playwrights Anne Devlin (*Ourselves Alone*, 1985) and Christina Reid (*Tea in a China Cup*, 1982), both from Belfast.

The second half of the 1990s saw a tremendous surge and success in Irish dramatic writing. Marina Carr (*Portia Coughlin*, 1996) was one of the few women to have her plays produced at the Abbey (the lack of women playwrights at the Abbey has been decried by feminist critics, especially during the 1990s). Sebastian Barry's plays (for example, *The Stewart of Christendom*, 1995) were noted for their autobiographical bent. Marie Jones, a founding member of Charabanc, has been internationally successful with her 1999 *Stones in His Pocket*. The Leenane Trilogy (*The Beauty Queen of Leenane*, 1996; *A Skull in Connemara*, 1997; and *The Lonesome West*, 1997) by Martin McDonagh has made him one of the most widely produced Irish playwrights of the late 1990s. Like Marina Carr, McDonagh often explores the

dark side of Irish life, but unlike Carr's plays, which can be emotionally bleak, McDonagh's dramas in their violence satirize the peasant world of J. M. Synge. In McDonagh's *The Lonesome West*, the priest Father Welsh is a man so insignificant that no one can remember the correct pronunciation of his name. Defeated by his inability to reach his parishioners, Welsh has become a drunk who eventually kills himself. Like Friel, who often sets his plays in the imaginary depressed small town of Ballybeg, Marina Carr has a favorite location for her plays, the Irish midlands, and in this setting she takes often disturbing looks at the dark underbelly of Irish life. The leading character of *The Mai* (1994) kills herself; *By the Bog of Cats* (1998) is a reworking of *Medea*, with the Medea character Hester Swane killing not only her child but also herself at the end of the play; *On Raftery's Hill* (2000) is about a cycle of incestuous abuse.

Dublin has been a dynamic center for new theater companies and new writing. Particularly outstanding is the Rough Magic Theatre Company (artistic director Lynne Parker), which has had a strong commitment to new writing. Also based in Dublin is Conor McPherson, a writer known for his monologues who has earned praise for his modern ghost story, *The Weir* (1997). Galway is the home of the celebrated Druid Theatre Company and its artistic director Garry Hynes, the first woman to win a Tony Award for direction (in 1998); Druid first produced the work of Martin McDonagh and of Vincent Woods (*At the Black Pig's Dyke*, 1992). Also based in Galway is Patricia Burke Brogan, whose *Eclipsed* (1992) helped to expose the tragedy of the Magdalene laundries. Unwed mothers and troubled young women were "committed" to these laundries that were attached to Roman Catholic orders and were more or less indentured to the church; their babies were taken from them and in many cases adopted by Catholic families. One of the newest voices in modern Irish drama is Gary Mitchell (he calls himself British rather than Irish) whose prize-winning examinations of Northern Protestant life in Belfast can be seen in his *In a Little World of Our Own* (1997) and *The Force of Change* (2000).

Modern Irish drama was born at the end of the nineteenth century; at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Irish drama (modern, postmodern and contemporary) still holds a central position in the arts and the culture of the island, capturing the imagination of audiences worldwide with its power, diversity, and vitality.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Beckett, Samuel; Fiction,

Modern; Literary Renaissance (Celtic Revival); Literature: Twentieth-Century Women Writers; Poetry, Modern; Yeats, W. B.

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Charlotte J. Headrick



Dublin

Dublin, the capital city, is located on the east coast of Ireland, on both sides of the River Liffey along a wide sweeping bay with mountains to the south that shelter it from the prevailing southwesterly winds. This situation ensures low annual precipitation (averaging 750 millimeters) but can exacerbate problems of air quality. Growth has accelerated since the mid-1990s and the population of the built-up area is approximately one

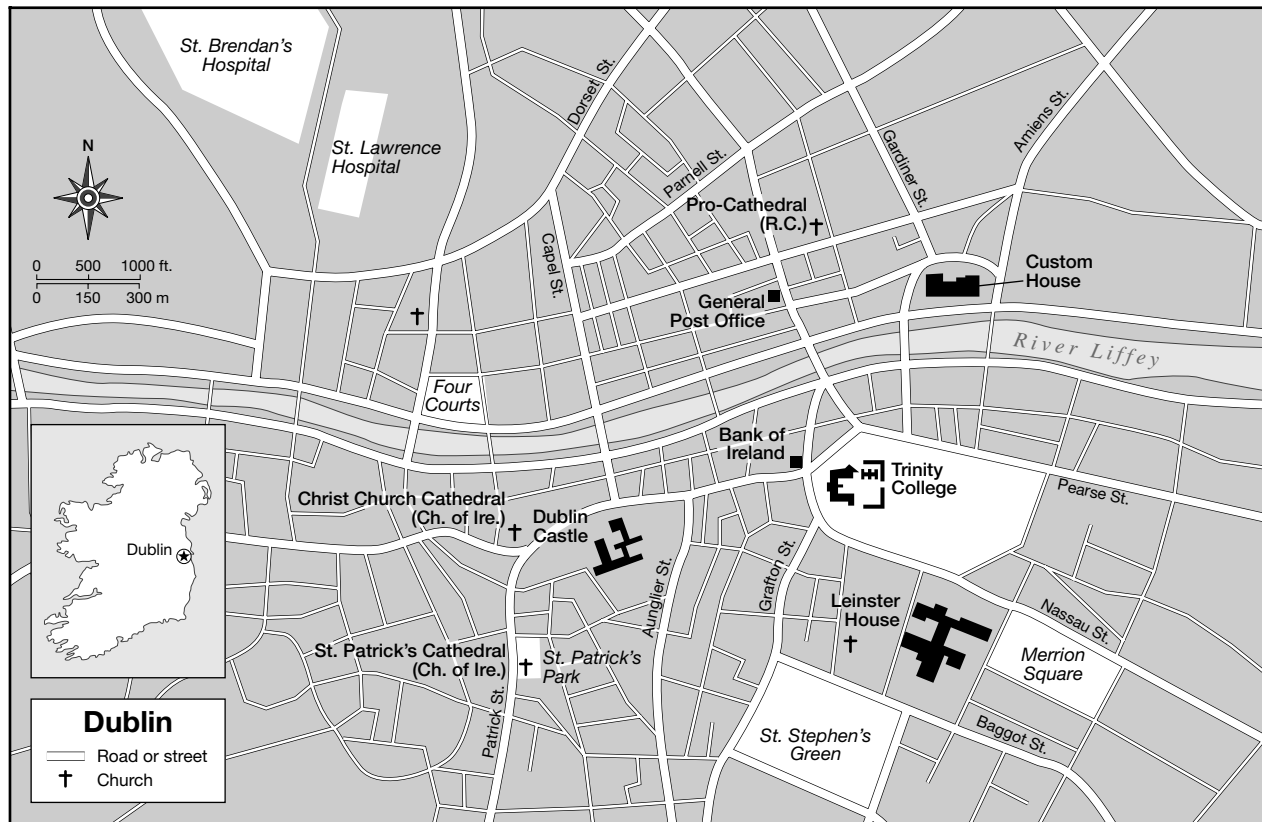
million, with another half million in the hinterland. Dublin is a primate city, that is, a city which dominates the urban system, in that it has five times the population of Cork, the second largest city in the Republic. The city is low density: Over 85 percent of housing dates from the twentieth century, and most dwellings are one-family, three- or four-bedroom houses. Apartments in the central area have become popular with young professionals only since the 1990s. In 1991, 75 percent of households were homeowners and only 15 percent occupied public housing.

Dublin is the center of government administration and the location of most of the corporate headquarters in Ireland. Three out of four workers are employed in the service sector by 37,000 service companies. The most important sectors are business and financial services, information technology, and public administration. There are some 1,300 manufacturing companies with concentrations in electronics and engineering, food, drink, tobacco, and paper and printing. Companies are generally small; only forty employ more than 1,000 people and about 200 companies have 200 or more workers. There are over 800 overseas companies, including some 350 U.S. companies, mainly in software, electronics, and financial services. Over 40,000 people are now employed in tourism. The importance of this industry has grown steadily, and the city is one of the most popular city destinations in Europe, attracting 4.4 million visitors annually.

Since the mid-1980s government-supported programs of urban renewal have eliminated much inner-city blight and attracted people back to the city center. The docklands have been redeveloped into an international financial services center, and there has been significant investment in the development of the city's tourism industry. The city center is low-rise, with few buildings over ten stories. High-rise buildings will be permitted in the future in specifically designated areas. Issues of concern to the city authorities include managing traffic (particularly, reducing the use of private cars for commuting), limiting urban sprawl, and managing waste disposal.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY

In Celtic times there was an important ford on the Liffey, and this may have supported a small settlement. There is also evidence of a monastic establishment. In the ninth century Vikings established a raiding base along the river, and by the tenth century Dublin had developed into an important Viking trading town. It passed into the hands of the Anglo-Normans in the late twelfth century and became the center of the feudal



lordship of Ireland. By 1610, the date of the earliest surviving map, Dublin was a small walled town (approximately 12 hectares) on the south bank of the Liffey with substantial suburbs on both sides of the river. The combined population of the town and suburbs is estimated to have been 10,000, with 3,800 within the walls. Little remains of this city today, with the exception of two cathedrals, Dublin Castle, and elements of the street plan.

Dublin flowered in the eighteenth century as both city authorities and private speculators developed the city beyond the medieval walls. A Wide Streets Commission established in 1757 oversaw development and acted as a planning authority for almost a century. The city was provided with wide, straight streets, residential squares, and impressive public buildings—the Four Courts, Custom House, and Parliament buildings—in a style greatly influenced by contemporary European ideas. By 1790 the city's elegance and charm was widely admired in Europe.

In the nineteenth century a number of circumstances combined to produce serious social problems. In the years after 1801, following the implementation of the Act of Union, the economy of the city suffered as many wealthy citizens moved to London. More importantly, the better-off moved in large numbers to legally independent townships just outside the municipal

boundary, thus reducing the tax base of the city. Two townships south of the city, Pembroke and Rathmines, became particularly important as higher-status enclaves. At the same time many people migrated from the countryside to the city, fleeing abject poverty and sometimes famine. They found themselves in a city without sufficient labor-intensive industry to absorb them productively. By 1851 the city's population had risen to 258,000 from 182,000 (in 1800), and there were problems of public health and housing of such intensity that it was well into the twentieth century before they were satisfactorily addressed. Nonetheless, Dublin continued to function as an important regional center, many infrastructural improvements were undertaken, and the better-off continued to come to the city for business and recreation. The municipal authority, Dublin Corporation, was reformed under the Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act of 1840, and control quickly passes into the hands of the national politicians. Tension resulted between the Corporation and the British and unionist establishment, which continued until Irish independence. This manifested itself in many ways—for example, in arguments over the naming and placement of civic monuments and in the failure of the Corporation to win approval for the absorption of the Pembroke and Rathmines townships into the city.



Dublin Philosophical Society

Established in 1683, the Dublin Philosophical Society copied the Royal Society in London and other recently established scientific groups in Oxford and Edinburgh. It owed much to the enthusiasm of two young members of Dublin University, the brothers William (1656–1698) and Thomas Molyneux (1661–1733), and drew in others from the university, including some senior to the Molyneuxs. It attested to the spread into Ireland of interest in scientific and technological speculation, and raised hopes that its discoveries might correct apparent Irish backwardness.

Earlier efforts had been made to inquire systematically into the natural resources of Ireland, to chart improvements, and to identify how further improvements could best be achieved. These had been pursued during the Cromwellian interregnum of the 1650s, when the island looked receptive to change, but official backing was meager and more urgent matters intervened. Yet at least one pioneer of the 1650s, Sir William Petty, survived into the 1680s. Continuities between the earlier endeavors and the Dublin Society were suggested when Petty was installed as the society's president. Furthermore, much of the underlying philosophy and many of the practical schemes harked back to the earlier project. Indeed, Petty drew up rules for the infant society, stressing experiment and personal observation rather than dependence on tradition. In addition, he insisted that "the rules of number, weight, and measure" were to be strenuously applied to its inquiries. What had changed since the 1650s, enabling the society to take on a solid existence, was the presence of a larger interested group. It had also become easier to link up with similar organizations in Britain and continental Europe.

Much of the thinking behind the society derived from Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who had advocated an empirical and experimental approach to the natural world. Importance was attached to the collection of information about phenomena and resources across Ireland. To this end William Molyneux solicited informants in each county to supply accounts. Once these were collected and published, it was hoped that the problems of agricultural and commercial underdevelopment could be effectively addressed. The material sent to Molyneux varied greatly in length, detail, and quality. It was not published, so the immediate impact of these researches was negligible. In the absence of a national survey that would publicize its activities and intentions, the society contented itself with correspondence with interested parties in Ireland, Britain, and further afield.

The suburbs grew dramatically during the twentieth century. The southeastern sector, the location of the most successful nineteenth-century townships, expanded and retained its high social status. Extensive programs of social housing from the mid-1920s onward also produced large suburban developments. In the south city these were mainly to the west, creating a west/east social gradient. However, north of the Liffey, the social geography of the city did not develop such a clear-cut pattern, and areas of different social status are smaller and less spatially differentiated. Until recently, the trend in Dublin was towards suburban living, and most of the inner city experienced population decline. Industry also moved from the increasingly congested central areas to cheaper and more accessible sites in suburban industrial estates and business parks. Nonetheless most employment continues to be located in the city center, and the lack of an efficient public transport system together with increased car ownership has made commuting more time consuming. As a consequence, new housing developments in older and more central suburban and inner city areas have proved very popular since the 1990s.

For most of the twentieth century, Dublin grew without a strategic plan and with a fragmented system of local government. There was no real attempt to manage change until the 1960s when, following a state-sponsored strategic review, the Myles Wright Report, it was decided to concentrate growth into new towns on the western edge. Attempts to continue strategic planning in the 1980s and 1990s came to nothing, but the Irish government intends that urban growth in the twenty-first century will be managed in the context of a national and regional strategy.

SEE ALSO Belfast; Cork; Landscape and Settlement; Towns and Villages

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Joseph Brady

In this way, it was hoped, useful innovations could be introduced into Ireland. The members met in Dublin, where they conducted experiments and discussed these and other scientific matters, intending through collaboration to advance knowledge with useful applications.

Membership of the society was concentrated among graduates and fellows of Trinity College in Dublin and the officials and professionals of Protestant Dublin. Its first meeting on 28 January 1684 was attended by fourteen people; of these, nine were associated with Dublin University. As with the Royal Society of London, fashion and a wish for diversion encouraged participation. Interest was often transitory, making it difficult for the directors to sustain the society. Even before enthusiasm for the meetings waned, political events conspired to halt its operations. The mounting unease among the Protestants of Dublin as the Catholic takeover under James II and Tyrconnell, lord deputy from 1687, gathered pace removed many active members. However, its meetings were merely suspended, not abandoned. After 1690, once the Protestant interest re-established itself more securely, the society soon revived. Optimism arising from the conclusive defeat of the Catholics (in 1690 to 1691) and the desire to make good the perceived deficiencies of previous generations of Protestants in Ireland favored ventures of collective improvement such as those advocated by the society. It was, moreover, a program which, for all its practical applications and material benefits, was inseparable from religious ideologies. The proper use of the natural world, first by understanding and surveying it and then by exploiting it for the common good, was enjoined on active Christians. Indeed, a fuller comprehension of creation amounted to a form of worship, in which the power of God was at once perceived and acknowledged. In this mood clergymen of the Protestant Church of Ireland were prominent in the society, and some pursued theological exercises that paralleled their work for the society itself.

In April 1693 the revived society attracted fresh faces. Its base was still in Trinity College, but it was joined by important civil administrators such as Sir Cyril Wyche and Sir Richard Cox. Once more, efforts were directed toward a comprehensive description of the surface and history of the island. Despite its enlarged membership, the Philosophical Society depended—dangerously as it proved—on the direction of the Molyneuxs. With William Molyneux preoccupied with public affairs (he was both a barrister and an MP), the society declined. His premature death in 1698 seemed to signal an end to the organization. However, his son Samuel Molyneux, while an undergraduate at Trinity College, reanimated the society in 1707. He was helped

by a new generation interested in this type of collective activity and by the patronage of the current viceroy, Lord Pembroke. But this phase lasted only a year. Even more than its two predecessors, this incarnation of the society relied on the energies of a Molyneux, and Samuel Molyneux's were soon diverted into making a career for himself.

If concrete achievements were few, the Dublin Philosophical Society represented an important stage between the more diffuse work of Petty and his associates in the 1650s and the sustained activity of the Dublin Society, set up in 1731 and incorporated by royal charter in 1733. There were continuities between these groups in their agenda, especially in the eagerness to collect and disseminate information. All subscribed to an optimistic view that Ireland's potential was great, but would be realized only when it had been properly mapped and its resources identified and quantified. All accepted a duty to use the materials at hand for the benefit of the entire population, which thereby might be delivered from famine, idleness, ignorance, and poverty, though sometimes members were naïve in assuming that methods of cultivation and manufacture successfully adopted elsewhere could be introduced profitably into Ireland. Almost a quarter of the recorded discussions of the Dublin Philosophical Society centered on medical inquiries. These had local and practical applications, and may have improved the training of physicians in the capital. Much of the time, though, the society functioned essentially as a club for a circle of privileged Protestants, and amusement as much as betterment—ethical or material—resulted. Also, if the remit of the group did not tie it to any particular confession, it nevertheless failed to become a place where Protestants and Catholic *virtuosi* mingled. Only one Catholic, Mark Baggot, was admitted to the circle, and he took little part in the proceedings. Essentially a Protestant monopoly from the start, it also tended to celebrate the achievements of the Protestant interest in Ireland, crediting it alone with most of the cultural and material advances of the seventeenth century. In this it looked forward to its successors, the Dublin Society and the Physico-Historical Society of the 1740s. Nevertheless, the Philosophical Society did encourage closer and more systematic study of the natural and civil histories of Ireland. It also helped to popularize such endeavors among the propertied and professionals of Protestant Ireland. Moreover, through its questionnaires and inquiries it connected provincials with what was happening in the capital, and (more generally) linked Ireland with the wider world of educated speculation and experiment.

SEE ALSO Boyle, Robert; Molyneux, William; Petty, Sir William; Trinity College

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Toby Barnard

Duffy, James

An enterprising publisher of patriotic and religious works for a mass market, James Duffy (c. 1809–1871) was a native of County Monaghan, but the exact date of his birth and the circumstances of his background are unknown. He is believed to have received a hedge-school education before going to Dublin to start in business as a bookseller. Reputedly, he made an early fortune by buying cheap Bibles bestowed on unappreciative Catholics by Protestant missionaries and reselling them in Liverpool, where they commanded a considerable profit. As a beginner in publishing, Duffy issued editions of established lowbrow favorites such as *The Life of Freney the Robber*, but it was as the publisher of respectable literature in inexpensive but tasteful formats that he made his mark. By the 1840s the growth of literacy and the flourishing of Irish Catholicism created a thriving market for works of piety and devotion. Duffy tapped that market and extended it to the Catholic Church throughout the British empire, winning business around the globe. Eager to find a medium for the propagation of an elevated nationalism, Thomas Davis and Charles Gavan Duffy of the *Nation* turned to Duffy to publish their multivolume series of low-priced works of literature, history, and reference, the Library of Ireland. Twenty-two volumes appeared between 1845 and 1847. Several of them, such as Gavan Duffy's anthology *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland* and Davis's *Literary and Historical Essays*, were enormously successful. Diversifying his trade, Duffy ventured in 1847 into the thriving but volatile periodical sector with *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine* (although there was no commitment on the publisher's part to the more comprehensive ideals of the

Young Irelanders). He experimented with successive titles, ending with *Duffy's Hibernian Sixpenny Magazine* in 1864. By then Duffy had assembled a book list that encapsulated a large segment of the emerging canon of popular patriotic literature. His entrepreneurial ethic allegedly denied holidays both to himself and to his employees, and there is little hint of warmth in the tributes paid to him after his death on 4 July 1871. There is no known cache of personal or business papers, and this major Irish pioneer of print capitalism has not yet attracted a full-length study.

SEE ALSO Balladry in English; Chapbooks and Popular Literature; Education: Secondary Education, Female; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Literacy and Popular Culture

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R. V. Comerford

Dún Ailinne

Dún Ailinne, located in Knockaulin Townland, near Kilmullen, County Kildare, was one of the preeminent royal sites of pre-Christian Ireland—the Leinster equivalent to Emhain Macha in Ulster, Cruachain in Connacht, and Tara in Mide. Reputedly, it was constructed by the earliest Leinster king (Art Mess Telmann or Setna Sithbacc). Although these sites were deserted by the medieval period, they retained great symbolic significance (see Grabowski 1990).

Dún Ailinne is an oval hilltop site of about 15 hectares, enclosed by a bank and ditch with an entrance on the eastern side. It was excavated between 1968 and 1975. The main excavation area was on the top of the hill, near the center of the site. Here, pottery, flaked flint, and ground stone artifacts show Neolithic and (very slight) Bronze Age activity (see Johnston 1990). The nature of this activity is quite unclear, however, because of extensive disturbance by the construction of three successive circular timber structures in the Iron Age.

These were large: The diameter of the first was 28 meters, the second 38 meters, and the last 42 meters. The entrance of each faced roughly east-north-east. Each in turn was dismantled and, after the last had been taken down, accumulations of burnt stone, ash, charcoal, and animal bone indicate periodic feasting. Radiocarbon dates for these Iron Age activities lie between the fifth century B.C.E. and the third century C.E., while bronze, iron, and glass artifacts are mostly of the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E.

Survey and excavation of the site entrance revealed a roadway eight meters wide running through the entrance into the interior. Its alignment is directly toward the entrances of the circular timber structures on the top of the hill. All available evidence indicates that Dún Ailinne in the Iron Age was a ritual and ceremonial site, which later fell into disuse (see Wailes 1990). The ENE orientation of the timber circles and the roadway suggests that they may have been aligned with sunrise on or about the festival of Beltane (1 May), the traditional beginning of summer. Pam Crabtree's 1990 analyses of the animal and plant remains suggest that Iron Age ac-

tivities at the site were mainly around that time, and in the fall.

SEE ALSO Cruachain; Emain Macha (Navan Fort); Pre-historic and Celtic Ireland; Tara

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Bernard Wailes



Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity

The history of early medieval Ireland can be understood only against the background of the conversion to Christianity that introduced ideas that changed the culture and society of pagan Ireland forever. Christian doctrine and theology shaped social behavior and altered cultural practice, yet much was kept that did not contravene Christian conscience as affirmed by some early Irish law tracts. Christianity, as the “religion of the book,” required literacy so that believers could read the Bible and perform the Latin liturgy. With literacy in Latin came literacy in the vernacular, that is, in Irish (Gaelic). The early Irish took readily to these intellectual pursuits, and Ireland produced the earliest, and arguably the richest, vernacular literature in medieval Western Europe.

The richness and variety of literary texts in the early Irish language has encouraged many to see this literature as a repository of pre-Christian lore and belief. But most Celticists accept that it is impossible to recreate accurately the pagan beliefs and practices of pre-Christian Ireland based on archaeology and the surviving literature. Most medieval texts that purport to represent pre-Christian Irish characters and events were compiled several centuries after the introduction of Christianity, and vast cultural and societal changes separate them from the times they pretend to portray. Many texts reveal direct influence from identifiable Christian authors and their writings. Critics now accept that a tenth-century Irish saga from the Ulster Cycle, for example, tells us as much about Ireland in the time of its tenth-century redactor as it does about the pre-Christian Irish characters depicted in the saga.

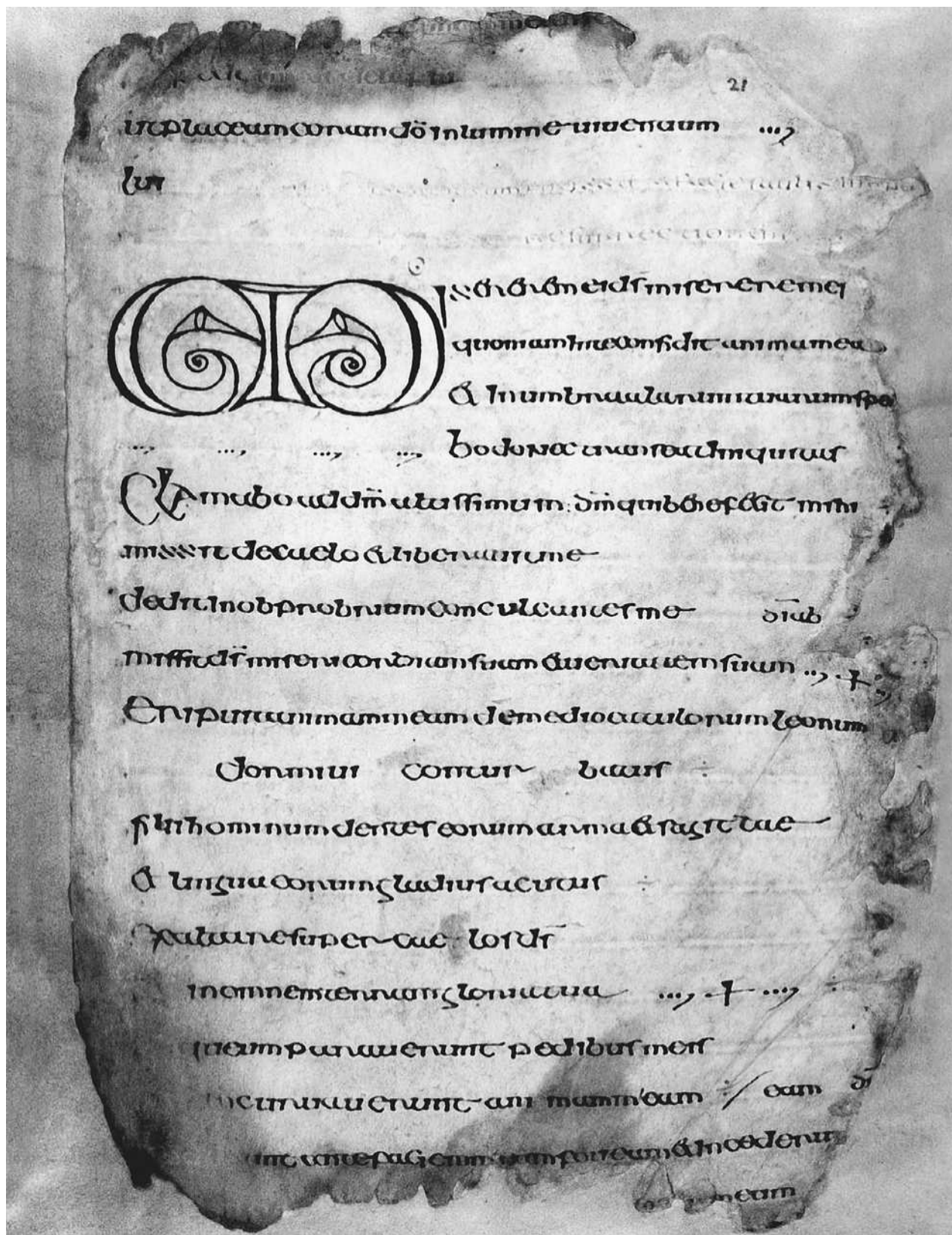
THE EARLY SAINTS

The first firm date in Irish history does not come from Irish sources but rather from the south of France in a chronicle written by Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390–463). Prosper’s *Chronicle* states that in 431 a certain Palladius was ordained bishop by Pope Celestine and sent “to the Irish believing in Christ.” Prosper made it clear that Saint Patrick was not the first Christian missionary to Ireland. In addition to Palladius, there are traditions of Christian saints and their communities in Ireland, particularly in the south and east, before Patrick’s arrival. These pre-Patrician Christians may have developed the earliest Irish writing system, known as *ogham*.

Saint Patrick may have flourished any time during the period around 432, when Irish chronicles say that he arrived in Ireland, to around 492, when they claim that he died. These dates represent a period that critics accept as being too long to accurately reflect Patrick’s career in Ireland. Most scholars state simply that Patrick flourished sometime in the mid to late fifth century. Although we do not have firm dates for Saint Patrick, we are fortunate that writings by him do survive—his *Confession* and the *Letter to (the soldiers of) Coroticus*. Both reveal much about the character and personality of the man even if they tell us little about Ireland in his time.

By the late seventh century the richness of early Irish literature becomes evident in several saints’ lives written in Latin. Irish hagiography (from the Greek words meaning “writings about holy persons”) includes early texts about the saints Patrick, Brigit, and Columba. Besides their emphasis on religious topics, we see their propaganda value as they attempt to promote certain regions and dynastic families who supported an individual saint’s cult.

Two surviving seventh-century lives of Saint Patrick reveal much about how Irish clerics of that period



A page from the Cathach, a manuscript of the psalms, attributed to St. Columba (Colum Cille) himself (c. 600 C.E.). COURTESY OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY. PHOTOGRAPH BY DECLAN CORRIGAN PHOTOGRAPHY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

viewed Patrick, but they do not add much reliable information about Patrick himself or about Ireland in his lifetime. Tírechán of Armagh compiled around 670 a collection of anecdotes about Saint Patrick (*Collectanea de Sancto Patricio*). A near contemporary of Tírechán, Muirchú maccu Machthéni, wrote a life of Saint Patrick around 690 (*Vita Sancti Patricii*) that is a more finished work of hagiography than Tírechán's. Muirchú's work relates, among other episodes, the conversion of King Lóeguire at Tara and Patrick's contests with Lóeguire's druids. Both of these seventh-century hagiographical works reveal a northern bias in their acceptance of the primacy of the see of Armagh and Patrick as patron saint of all Ireland, and both stress the role of the Uí Néill (O'Neill) dynastic family.

While the hagiography about Patrick tended to emphasize sites and families in central and northern Ireland, Leinster in the east also had its special saint. Cogitosus wrote around 680 a life of the female saint Brigit (*Vita Sanctae Brigitae*). Brigit's cult is centered in Kildare, a monastic city that became famous for its *scriptorium* and a center from which many Irish scholars departed for the continental schools in the Carolingian age. There is no firm historical evidence for Brigit, and she may be the one case of an early pagan Celtic goddess being transformed into an Irish saint. The struggle between the Uí Néill dynasts of the north and the ruling families of Leinster are reflected in the competition between Armagh and Kildare, with Armagh eventually gaining supremacy throughout Ireland but allowing Kildare and its saint Brigit to maintain their importance within Leinster.

The first firmly historical Irish saint was Saint Columba (Columba the Elder, c. 521–597; *Colum Cille* in Irish). Adomnán (+704), abbot of Iona, wrote a life of Columba (*Vita Sancti Columbae*) sometime in the last decade of the seventh century. The life of Columba follows typical hagiographical motifs rather than offering historical details and describes prophetic revelations and miracles. Columba, like Patrick, was a missionary. As the first Irish pilgrim (*peregrinus*) saint, Columba left Ireland sometime around 563 and founded the monastery of Iona on a small island off the coast of Scotland. Tradition relates that Columba went into exile as a penance for his part in the dynastic wars of his Uí Néill relatives.

Columba's self-imposed exile from Ireland reveals much about the monastic ideals of his period. It was considered a penance to leave one's homeland to reside among foreign people. But to do so for the love of God, or for Christ's sake, was a powerful act of piety. We see this ideal in Patrick's writings and actions. Patrick, who was originally from Britain, was captured by Irish raid-

ers and taken in his teens as a slave to live in Ireland. When he escaped after years of servitude, his religious faith drove him to return to Ireland to convert to Christianity those who had enslaved him rather than return to his home in Britain. *Deorad Dé* ("exile of God") was the Irish term for a person willing to undergo self-imposed pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*) or exile as an act of piety.

Many examples of Irish pilgrim exiles exist. One of the most famous is Columbanus (Columba the Younger, c. 543–615)—not to be confused with Columba the Elder—who spent roughly twenty-five years on the continent as a pilgrim and founded several monasteries in France and one in Italy. Columbanus was educated at the monastery of Bangor, Co. Down, in Northern Ireland. He composed Latin texts that include sermons, a penitential, a monastic rule, and letters, some of which were addressed to popes. His writings reveal the depth of the education that he received at the monastic school in Ireland. He left Bangor sometime around 590, at about the age of fifty, and traveled with twelve companions on the continent, particularly in what is now France, where he founded monasteries at Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines. But Columbanus was eager to move on and visit Rome. Although he never fulfilled his wish, he succeeded in founding the most important of his monasteries at Bobbio in Italy. Columbanus died around 615.

This pattern of pilgrim saints founding monasteries on the continent was repeated frequently in subsequent centuries. One of Columbanus's Irish disciples, a monk named Gall, was too ill to travel to Italy with Columbanus and stayed back, eventually founding a monastery at Saint Gallen in Switzerland. Gall died around 630. Another Irish missionary, Kilian, departed Ireland more than a century later with a group of companions and founded a monastery at Würzburg in Germany. Kilian is one of the few Irish pilgrim saints to have been martyred. He was assassinated, along with two companions, as a result of political intrigue after a trip to Rome around 687/9.

MONASTERIES

The ideals of Irish monastic life can be seen in the missionary work and training activities of Irish monasteries. During the early decades of the seventh century many Anglo-Saxon nobles were educated at Irish monasteries in northern Britain, specifically at Iona. When these Irish-educated English nobles returned to England, they invited Irish missionaries into their pagan kingdoms to evangelize. The Anglo-Saxon king Oswald invited the Irish bishop Aidan from Iona into his kingdom, and Aidan founded the monastery at Lindisfarne

on the coast of Northumberland around 635. The English historian Bede (+735) shows that Irish missionary activity in northern England was more successful at converting the pagan English than that started by Rome in 597 from Canterbury in the south of England.

Monastic schools in Ireland became centers of excellence for peoples from all over Europe, as can be seen by tracing the English who came to study and train as missionaries in them. The historian Bede and an earlier English contemporary Aldhelm (+709) report that sizeable contingents of English students trained as missionaries in Ireland, specifically at Rath Melsigi, Co. Carlow, in Leinster. These English monks trained in Ireland in order to convert their pagan Germanic relatives on the continent. Several of them had successful ecclesiastical careers after their Irish training.

Bede and Aldhelm, as clerics, emphasized religious training, but both confirm that secular subjects were also taught at Irish monastic schools. Study of the scriptures was paramount, but they both make it clear that students often traveled from site to site seeking out teachers who had specialized knowledge in secular subjects as well. Bede said that the Irish willingly welcomed the English students, gave them food, and provided them with books and instruction, without seeking any payment (Book iii, chapter 27).

Much early Irish literature is associated with monasteries, which shows that many of the learned persons of Ireland, whether secular or religious, received their educations at monastic schools. This means as well that the literature associated with these monasteries is preserved in both Latin and Irish.

The monastery of Iona, founded by Columba, encouraged literary production in both languages. For example, one of its more famous abbots, Adomnán (679–704), mentioned already as the author of the Latin “Life of Columba,” wrote a description in Latin of the significant sites in the Holy Land called “On the Holy Places” (*De Locis Sanctis*). Abbot Adomnán also wrote and promulgated a law (*Cáin Adomnáin*, 697), written in Irish, which was intended to protect women, children, and clerics from the ravages of warfare.

Columba himself, the founder of Iona, has a Latin hymn, “Exalted Creator” (*Altus Prosator*), attributed to him, although not all critics accept the attribution. Three poems in praise of Columba rank among the oldest complete poems in the Irish language. One of them, the “Eulogy for Columba” (*Amra Choluim Chille*), has been dated on linguistic grounds to around 600, which coincides well with Columba’s death date of 597. According to tradition, Dallán Forgaill, a professional poet, composed it in order to eulogize Columba on his death.

This poem is important for several reasons besides its great age. It reflects an ancient tradition of praising secular rulers, but it is unusual for praising instead a religious leader. It demonstrates how the learning of the monasteries blended native customs with Christian teachings. For example, it complies with the norms of secular eulogy by noting Columba’s aristocratic background and by providing genealogical information that can be corroborated in other sources. Columba is called a great champion, but rather than battling against his enemies and sharing largesse among his subjects, Columba excels in self-denial and Christian learning. His praiseworthy qualities are not those of a secular ruler, but of an ascetic, scholarly cleric.

The monastery at Bangor also produced learned religious texts in Latin beside a vibrant vernacular literature of Irish tales. We have already noted that Columbanus, the Bangor-educated missionary to the continent, corresponded with popes and wrote sermons, a penitential, and a monastic rule in Latin. In the late seventh century a collection of beautiful religious poems and hymns in Latin, the “Antiphony of Bangor,” was compiled there.

Important vernacular literature also came from Bangor. “The Voyage of Bran” (*Immram Brain*), perhaps the earliest example of the Irish “otherworld voyage,” was written at Bangor. It tells of Bran’s voyage across the Western Ocean and recounts the wonders that he encountered in a sinless otherworld. It employs a motif whereby characters in a pre-Patrician context prophesy the coming of Christianity and the salvation of the Irish. Tales in Irish about the early cultural hero Mongán mac Fiachnai also originated at Bangor. The tales about Mongán portray the Irish Sea as a highway between Ireland and Britain and relate episodes that involve battles against English kingdoms.

The mixture of Latin and Irish writings, like the texts produced at monasteries, is well illustrated by early Irish law tracts. Most, but not all, law texts produced for the church tend to be written in Latin. The “Irish Collection of Canons” (*Collectio canonum hibernensis*) of about 725, the primary example of Irish church law, is based on biblical and patristic sources. Penitentials and monastic rules represent the Irish tendency, evident in the vernacular law tracts, to codify and schematize social organization and behavior. A group of ecclesiastical laws in the vernacular is represented by *cána* (sg. *cáin*), of which *Cáin Adomnáin* (Adomnán’s Law, 697) has already been cited. Other examples include *Cáin Phátraic* (Patrick’s Law, 737) and *Cáin Domnaig* (Law of Sunday).

The majority of secular law tracts, written in Irish, were redacted between around 650 and around 750. A

collection of vernacular law tracts called the *Senchas Már* (the “Great Tradition”) appears to have been compiled in the northern midlands. A separate group of “poetico-legal” texts called the “*Nemed school*” probably originated in Munster. These law tracts reveal a great deal about the hierarchical nature of early Irish society and social custom. They discuss social rank and status, kinship structure, distribution of inheritance, rights to property, making and enforcing of contracts, the grading of professions, and so on. It is significant that the law tracts tended to be compiled during the same period that saw the spread of ecclesiastical literature.

KINGSHIP

The study of early Irish politics is made difficult by the proliferation of names of petty kings, none of whom ever clearly rose to prominence. The genealogies and regional king-lists preserved from early Irish sources are particularly rich when compared to other parts of medieval Western Europe. Part of the problem can be understood by recognizing that the Irish word translated as “king” (*rí*) does not designate a centralized, powerful monarch, as we might encounter on the continent, for example. Instead, it is used to describe the leader of any small local group based on blood kinship (*tuath*). These groups existed in varying hierarchical relationships to one another so that a local “king” might be a vassal to a stronger “king” in the next valley, and that neighboring “king” would in turn be subject to a regional “king” who might control, at least nominally, an entire province.

The politico-geographical divisions of Ireland have a long history, whether the divide is between north (*Leth Cuinn*) and south (*Leth Moga*) or into the provinces that exist to this day: Ulster, Connacht, Munster, and Leinster. The notion that one king could rule all of Ireland—usually called the “High King of Tara”—had developed by our period, although it remained an ideal rather than a reality. Nevertheless, this ideal implies the incipient concept of an Irish nation encompassing the entire island.

The idealized concept of kingship was circumscribed by certain inherited proscriptions. For example, a king must not be physically blemished, as this implied an imperfection in his reign. The sacral character of kingship is shown by the idea that a just, righteous king would have a peaceful, prosperous reign; his “king’s truth” (*fír flathemon*) guaranteed the land’s fertility. Sovereignty, as an abstract concept, was portrayed as a female so that a king, when he assumed the kingship, symbolically married his kingdom.

Kingship was not based on a strict father to son (or closest male relative) succession, but rather eligibility

for kingship was based on blood kinship extending over several generations. This meant that grandsons and great-grandsons might be eligible to contend for the kingship if they could muster support from relatives and political allies. This system appears on the surface to provide a democratic method of selecting the most qualified and popular candidate, but it often led to social strife and political division.

In the northern half of Ireland the Uí Néill dynasts dominated the political scene, but the Uí Néill must be understood as interrelated families who exerted the greatest political control. The Uí Néill themselves divided into northern and southern divisions, and each of these subdivided again into various branches. Each branch of the Uí Néill claimed descent from Niall of the Nine Hostages (*Niall Noígiallach*), a quasi-historical fifth-century character. The various branches of the Uí Néill, north and south, alternated as they supplied the high king of Tara, without any branch ever clearly predominating. Other dynastic families from other parts of Ireland frequently occupied the high kingship during this time as well.

The hierarchical nature of early Irish society is well illustrated in this concept of descent through prominent families. It can be seen functioning in Irish monasteries as well. For example, nearly all of the abbots at Iona from Columba (+597) to Adomnán (+709) were descended from Columba’s own family, the Cenél Conaill branch of the northern Uí Néill.

In Munster a high kingship was centered on the ecclesiastical site at Cashel, Co. Tipperary. The ruling dynastic families in Munster were known as the Éoganachta, descended from Corc of Cashel, a contemporary of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The Éoganachta of Munster, like the Uí Néill, divided into two major divisions, this time between east and west, and these two major branches had their own subdivisions. Connacht takes its name from the Connachta, a tribal group descended from Conn the Hundred-Battler (*Conn Cétchathach*), who is also an ancestor of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The Uí Briúin produced the major dynastic families of Connacht. In Leinster by the early historical period the Uí Cheinnselaig and Uí Dúnlainge were the families that dominated the region, but the major Leinster dynastic families had already passed their peak of influence.

THE VIKING PERIODS

In 795 the first recorded Norse raid took place on Ireland’s north coast. This Irish raid came soon after the first attacks in England. Iona was also attacked in 795 and again in 802. In 806 sixty-eight persons were killed

at Iona by raiders. In 807 a new monastic community was begun at Kells, Co. Meath, and was completed by 814, by which time much of the administration had been moved from Iona to Kells. It was during this period or immediately before it that the magnificent illuminated manuscript, the *Book of Kells*, was completed.

There are two great periods of Norse activity in Ireland. The first centers on the first four decades of the ninth century. During this period the incursion consisted primarily of hit-and-run raids conducted by fast-moving, seagoing Vikings. In the second half of the ninth century the Norse began establishing permanent settlements that eventually became important commercial and trade centers. These include modern port cities such as Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick. Permanent Norse settlements were more prominent in the southern half of Ireland, in part because of the success of the northern Uí Néill at resisting their incursions.

These Norse cities came to represent small kingdoms within Ireland that traded with, fought against, and in turn allied themselves with Irish kingdoms. By the early decades of the tenth century Irish kingdoms were often as not successful in their struggles against the Norse kingdoms. The Norse kingdoms tended to remain independent of each other and never presented a unified force against the Irish. The Norse in Ireland never controlled large areas the way they did in England, where vast territories came under the Danelaw. In France the entire province of Normandy memorializes the Norse kingdom that was established there and which eventually came to exert power over much of western Europe, including Ireland.

The Battle of Clontarf (1014) has often been presented as the defeat of the Viking invaders by the Irish king Brian Boru. But, in fact, the battle represents the successful dynastic wars of the Uí Briain/O'Brien descendants of Brian Boru of Munster in their rise to supremacy and reveals Norse and Irish kingdoms allied with and against each other. The Uí Briain were allied with the Norse of Limerick against the Norse of Dublin and their Irish allies from Leinster. While Brian Boru's victory (he was killed in the battle) may have marked the gradual demise of the Norse kingdom in Dublin, its real significance was the rise of the Uí Briain dynasts of Munster. With the decline of the Norse kingdoms we can recognize the outlines of modern Ireland emerging as the trading cities founded by the Norse continued to thrive.

SEE ALSO Brehon Law; Church Reform; Hagiography; Hiberno-Latin Culture; Kings and Kingdoms from

400 to 800 C.E.; Latin and Old Irish Literacy; Monasticism in the Early Middle Ages; Norse Settlement; Religion: The Coming of Christianity; **Primary Documents:** "To Mary and Her Son" (c. 750); "The Vikings" (Early Ninth Century); "Writing out of Doors" (Early Ninth Century)

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Colin A. Ireland

Economic Development, 1958

Completed in May 1958, *Economic Development* was a 250-page study of the Irish economy initiated and supervised by T. K. Whitaker, who had been appointed secretary of the Department of Finance in May 1956. The work was framed by the social and economic crises of the mid-1950s, which saw emigration from the country exceed 45,000 per annum—75 percent of the birth rate. Ireland had remained removed from the economic boom enjoyed across Western Europe and the United States, as total employment in the country fell by 12 percent between 1950 and 1958 and the volume of GNP increased by just 6.5 percent. As a further backdrop to Ireland's economic stagnation, increased acceptance of the potential of economic planning among the country's political elite, as well as the moves toward freer trade between countries evidenced by the development of the Common Market, challenged the traditional assumptions on which the Irish economy was operated. In light of these internal and external pressures, and an emerging consensus that economic change was necessary, in the early months of 1957 Whitaker assembled a team that worked in small groups finalizing sections of the study under the coordination of Charlie Murray, an official from the Taoiseach's Department. Following the release of the May 1958 draft, *Economic Development* was amended to reflect departmental and governmental contributions in the intervening months, then formed the core of the white paper titled *Programme for Economic Expansion* published in November 1958.

Intended as a blueprint for the economy from 1958 to 1963, the *Programme* again stressed that agriculture should drive the economy, mostly through increased export of cattle and beef. Although considerable insight was offered into existing policies, no formal planning methodology was applied in constructing new ones. The only policy instrument specified for agriculture was the provision of fertilizer subsidies, and the *Programme* largely avoided the recommendation in *Economic Development* that agricultural grants be redirected away from relief of rates toward increased production. Furthermore, agriculture was to receive only 14 million of the £53.4 million investment promised in the *Programme*. Ultimately, agricultural growth was exceptionally slow, and the net-output index increased by merely 1.6 percent between 1957 and 1963, despite the fact that 1957 was an extremely depressed year. Crucially, industry easily exceeded the modest goals set for it. Better access to loans and the courting of foreign investment, as well as improved grants to new industries and tax relief for manufactured exports, facilitated

major advances in the industrial sector, which were largely responsible for overall economic growth of 23 percent through the duration of the *Programme*. By 1965, 80 percent of all investment came from foreign capital, and through the 1960s, 350 new foreign companies were established in Ireland. While *Economic Development* was not quite the revolutionary document that its most enthusiastic supporters claimed, it nonetheless played a significant role in redirecting the Irish economy toward a more industrial path.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; Investment and Development Agency (IDA Ireland); **Primary Documents:** From *Economic Development* (1958)

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Paul Rouse

Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain

Ireland won its independence armed with the strong conviction that its poverty relative to Britain and its failure to develop were largely the fault of its colonial master. The common belief was that free trade with a powerful Britain meant that any emerging Irish-owned industry would be swiftly overwhelmed by the superior firepower of British industry, while integration in the U.K. fiscal system meant that Ireland paid a disproportionate share of tax relative to its meager resources. In any conflict of interest between Ireland and Britain, pre-

cedence would always be given to Britain. Some pushed the argument even further: a British government had no particular wish to see Ireland develop and compete with its own industry—a poor Ireland, supplying cheap food and plentiful labor to the cities of England, suited England just fine. Against this background it was not surprising that the new Irish government had support for proactive programs to assist domestic industry against U.K. competitors and also to build up a physical infrastructure (such as an electricity network) to complement it. The restraining factor was that Irish exports remained heavily dependent on the U.K. market: 83 percent went to Britain and 14 percent to Northern Ireland.

PROTECTION AND THE ANGLO-IRISH ECONOMIC WAR

By closing off the possibilities of emigration to the United States and the United Kingdom, the Great Depression of the late 1920s and 1930s accentuated the pressure on the Irish government to find ways of employing people at home. Export markets were becoming increasingly difficult to access, so attention focused on the domestic market. Economic policy changed toward the espousal of full-blooded protection. High, often prohibitive, import barriers were imposed across a wide range of industrial goods, accompanied by measures to restrict foreign investment so that the new import-competing industries would be the breeding ground for a new cadre of Irish entrepreneurs. Given the importance of the Irish market to Britain, the change in policy orientation had unfavorable repercussions for many British exporters. Around this time the Irish government decided to withhold payment of the land annuities due to the British government for landholdings purchased prior to independence. This action was met with retaliation in the form of duties on Irish food exports to the United Kingdom. Ireland retaliated in turn with restrictions on coal, steel, cement, and other imports from Britain. There followed a round of tit-for-tat measures that led to a severe depression in Irish agricultural prices, a fall in British exports to Ireland, and a general severe deterioration in Anglo-Irish relations.

The “Economic War” came to an end in 1938 with the signing of a trade agreement that involved considerable generosity on the part of Britain. After that, more normal economic relations were restored insofar as one can think of anything being normal during the Second World War. Reviewing this episode in Irish economic history, scholars have come to the rather surprising conclusion that the Anglo-Irish trade war might not have been such a bad thing for the economy. To be sure, some sectors of the economy suffered severe losses, but the overall economy benefited from a gain in the terms

of trade (that is, import prices fell more than Irish export prices) and from an expansion in employment.

POSTWAR DOLDRUMS

Ireland’s immediate postwar economic performance was extremely poor, and this was reflected in high emigration, unemployment, and depressed living standards. The British economy also experienced difficulties, especially in comparison with its continental neighbors. Given Ireland’s heavy export dependence on the U.K. market, there was an inevitable negative spillover effect, and a slow-growing British industry was unable to generate much investment abroad even if it had been made welcome. Britain’s determination to keep food prices down, a logical policy for a net food importer, was also bad news for a net exporter like Ireland. Thus, to some extent, Ireland’s poor growth could be attributed to its more powerful neighbor’s different priorities and different economic performance. It was tempting to revert to the old culture of blaming slow-growing Britain for Ireland’s economic woes. But Britain was only partly to blame, as a landmark report, *Economic Development* by T. K. Whitaker, then secretary of the Department of Finance, demonstrated in 1958. Ireland’s inward-looking approach to economic development, with its emphasis on isolating the domestic market from foreign competition, worked well at first but rapidly encountered diminishing returns. There was a limit to how much growth could be achieved through focusing on the domestic market. Also, as the Whitaker report implied and as subsequent experience would demonstrate, a small country can buck the trend set by even the largest economic neighbor. These considerations led to a root-and-branch reappraisal of Irish economic policy that culminated in a shift from inward-looking to outward-looking policies, the dismantling of protection, and the reversal of policy from restrictions to incentives to inward foreign investment.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY—AN ALTERNATIVE PARTNER

Membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) pointed to an eagerly grasped resolution to Ireland’s dilemma. Unlike the United Kingdom, the European Community favored agriculture with higher than world prices, and any new member could participate in the new regime. Its economy was also dynamic; German industry in particular was strong and was ready to invest in Ireland given the right conditions. The promise of guaranteed access to the European market would also, it was hoped, prove attractive to U.S. investors. Britain’s simultaneous application made the deci-

sion to apply for membership all that much easier. There were some dissenting voices, fearful of job losses in protected industries, and many believed that the Irish government's willingness to join even without Britain was overly ambitious. Perhaps fortunately for Ireland, both countries were turned down in 1963 following objections from France's president, Charles de Gaulle.

In order to maintain the momentum of trade liberalization the Irish government reduced protection unilaterally in two 10-percentage-point steps in the early 1960s and then capped this with a comprehensive trade agreement with Britain that came into effect in 1966. The Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement (AIFTA) had features similar to those of numerous agreements that fill the trade-negotiation landscape today. Trade barriers were abolished on most industrial goods over a ten-year transition period. There were exceptions for sensitive industries, and liberalization of trade in agricultural produce was tentative and took the form of individual product arrangements, most often subject to quotas. In a study of the economics of the 1966 agreement McAleese and Martin (1971) concluded that the balance of advantage was fairly evenly spread. Irish industry, the study predicted, would lose some jobs, but more would be generated in export industries, and there would be gains for the farm sector. Clearly, however, the AIFTA was a staging post on the way to a renewed application for membership in the EEC, which eventually was accepted in 1973. This was the big prize, long sought and gratefully received by the Irish voters: 83 percent of the electorate voted "yes" to membership in the national referendum in 1972.

ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS AT PRESENT

At the time of independence more than 90 percent of Ireland's trade was with Britain. By the end of the 1980s it had fallen considerably, to 37 percent, and at the turn of this century the U.K. market accounted for only 22 percent of Irish exports and 32 percent of imports. Measured by trade flows, there has been a remarkable and sustained de-linking of the two economies. Equally striking is the diminished role of U.K. investors in the Irish economy. The United States is by far the dominant investor in the manufacturing sector, and there has been a substantial influx of investment from the Continent. The link with sterling was broken in 1979, much to the relief of the Irish authorities, since sterling's role as an anchor of price stability had been undermined by high U.K. inflation rates during the 1970s (the rate reached 24 percent in 1974). The break with sterling was further sealed when the Irish government adopted the Euro, notwithstanding the United Kingdom's abstention.

However, the United Kingdom remains an important influence on Ireland's economy. U.K. subsidiaries are still highly visible in the retail sector. London continues to act as a powerful magnet and a congenial host for many Irish people in search of employment, higher education, or simply new horizons. Ireland continues to import economic-policy ideas from England. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's regime, though not warmly admired in Ireland, nonetheless had a powerful impact on the conduct of industrial relations and on attitudes to government spending. One could go further and suggest that the adoption of these policies played a large role in creating the 1990's Celtic Tiger economy.

Although Ireland joined the Euro area without Britain, it is clear that the new currency will not deliver all its potential benefits to the Irish economy as long as a trade partner of Britain's importance stays aloof. Paradoxically, after being the sick man of Europe for much of the postwar period, Britain has now become something of an economic star relative to slow-growing economies of continental Europe. Northern Ireland may also experience a resurgence as peace becomes more firmly entrenched. The long, steady trend toward greater de-linking of the two economies may be coming to an end and some reversal might even be in store.

At the turn of the twenty-first century Ireland's living standards are equal to Britain's, something few ever imagined possible, and mass emigration to British cities has come to an end. Ireland's export markets are becoming more and more diversified, and economic dependence on the United Kingdom is a thing of the past. Together and in friendship the peoples of Britain and Ireland seek to maintain economic prosperity in the context of a vastly more globalized world, where nothing is certain to last and where both of their economies seem very small indeed.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Hillsborough Agreement); Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain; Irish Pound; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; Industry since 1920; Lemass, Seán; **Primary Documents:** From *Economic Development* (1958); Speech to Ministers of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community (18 January 1962)

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Dermot McAleese



Economic Relations between North and South since 1922

The political partition of Ireland, effected by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, had a grave impact on economic life across the island of Ireland, particularly in border areas. A cold war began in 1920 between the Dublin and Belfast governments that ensured that cross-border trade was slow to develop. Partition was never meant to be economic, but it led to towns such as Derry, Enniskillen, Sligo, Clones, Dundalk, and Newry losing important sections of their economic hinterlands. Dublin's policy of a "Belfast Boycott" between 1920 and 1922 did little to help this situation, and economic partition became a reality on 1 April 1923 when the Irish Free State government imposed a customs barrier around Northern Ireland. Though the economic protectionism of successive southern governments enhanced economic partition, limited cross-border trade continued. The balance of trade between North and South remained in the South's favor from 1924, except between 1944 and 1946, when southern exports dried up during the Second World War.

While trade relations between North and South remained poor in the postwar years, economic contact in other areas developed. During and immediately after the Second World War North and South cooperated to construct a hydroelectric power station on the River Erne, though the supply went solely to the South. In the early

1950s Dublin and Belfast combined forces to prop up the ailing Great Northern Railway, which linked Dublin with Belfast and Derry. Though the joint operation agreement ended in 1958, close cooperation between transport companies on both sides of the border continued over the Dublin-to-Belfast railway. The most successful form of cross-border economic cooperation came with the 1952 establishment of the Foyle Fisheries Commission, which, following protracted legal wrangling over fishing rights in the lough situated between Derry and Donegal, put fish stocks and their development in the Lough Foyle catchment area under the control of an independent cross-border body.

In the late 1950s calls were made for North-South economic cooperation through the relaxation of cross-border tariffs. From 1954 to 1958 northern imports from the South had increased from £16.3 million to £20.4 million, and northern exports to the South increased from £2.9 million to £8.4 million (Kennedy 1997). Northern manufacturers, finding southern imports eroding their home markets, were interested in improving their exports across the border. They did not receive support from the Stormont government, which felt that supporting cross-border free trade would have dangerous political consequences. By the time that Seán Lemass became taoiseach of the Republic in June 1959, northern manufacturers had begun to lobby Dublin to develop cross-border trade. Lemass sought to remove duties on northern exports to the Republic in order to create a level playing field for exporters on both sides of the border. He had two agendas: in the shorter term he hoped that the removal of tariffs would prepare the way for the Republic's entry into the European Economic Community (EEC); in the longer term he hoped that an improvement in cross-border trade could lead to Irish unity. Dublin began to remove the tariffs on selected imports from Northern Ireland in September 1962. The Northern Ireland government refused to take part in the process, though the British government welcomed the move. Further concessions followed in 1962 and 1963. Northern Irish manufacturers traveled to Dublin in increasing numbers to seek further concessions; secretly, the Northern Ireland government supported them.

Following France's veto of Britain and Ireland's application for EEC membership in January 1963, Dublin and London began talks that would lead to an Anglo-Irish free-trade area. Northern Irish ministers were worried that these developments would swamp northern agricultural exports to Britain with southern Irish produce. Belfast followed the Anglo-Irish trade negotiations in London, always seeking to protect Northern Ireland's agricultural base, but had little influence over British negotiators.

North-South economic contact gained real meaning after the meetings in January and February 1965 between Sean Lemass and Northern Ireland Prime Minister Terence O'Neill. Further ministerial-level meetings set the agenda for a fruitful period of North-South cooperation from 1965 to the outbreak of the Troubles in 1969. In January 1966 the northern and southern Irish tourist boards joined forces to promote Ireland to Britain and North America. Following an agreement signed in 1967, a cross-border electricity interconnector came into operation in 1969, but it never lived up to its full potential in the energy-starved 1970s and was destroyed in a terrorist attack in 1975.

After the Lemass-O'Neill meetings, the trading relationship between North and South became enmeshed in the Anglo-Irish free-trade area talks. Northern Ireland was covered in a side-document to the Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement of December 1965, which allowed accelerated tariff reduction in favor of Northern Ireland goods exported to the Republic. Commentaries on the agreement predicted the gradual re-opening of markets closed in the 1920s, and it was expected that this agreement would benefit mainly Northern Ireland industries. In a remarkable turnaround by the Northern Ireland government, Brian Faulkner, the Northern Ireland minister of commerce, welcomed the agreement. By the late 1960s the volume of trade across the border had increased significantly, though it was still a small percentage of the overall international trade of both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. In 1960 the Irish Republic's imports from Northern Ireland were valued at £7.4 million, and exports were valued at £20.3 million. By 1970 the respective figures were £29.9 million and £57.2 million (Kennedy 1997). The Troubles ended much of the direct intergovernmental cooperation between North and South, but civil-service-level contacts continued. North-South tourism also declined because of the Troubles, a sign that many of the spinoff contacts arising from intergovernmental cooperation had ended.

Cross-border trade continued to develop as part of the overall increase in international trade of North and South. In 1983 annual exports from the South to the North were reaching £500 million, and imports from the North £312 million. By 1995 the relevant figures were £789 million and £645 million respectively as cross-border trade edged towards parity, but by the late 1990s they were again turning in favor of the South (Kennedy 1997). The terrorist cease-fires of the mid-1990s and the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 led to greater North-South economic contact, though fluctuations between the British sterling pound and the Irish punt were a restraining force.

The Good Friday Agreement contains cross-border implementation bodies that have a direct impact on North-South economic relations. They cover inland waterways, food safety, trade and business, special European Union programs, language promotion (Ulster Scots and Irish), and mariculture and aquaculture in a body known as the Foyle, Carlingford, and Irish Lights Commission, which includes the work of the Foyle Fisheries Commission. All-Ireland tourism is also promoted. Electricity interconnection has existed since the 1990s, and in the autumn of 2001, agreement was reached on a cross-border gas link. The climate created by the "peace process" and the Good Friday Agreement has significantly improved North-South economic relations; at the very least, they have contributed to a situation where the populations on both sides of the border come into greater contact in everyday life.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; Faulkner, Brian; Industry since 1920; Irish Pound; Lemass, Seán; Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; O'Neill, Terence; **Primary Documents:** The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (10 April 1998)

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Michael Kennedy

Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain

Before partition in 1922 the Irish economy had been fully integrated into the U.K. fiscal and monetary sys-

tem since the Act of Union in 1801. After partition, under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, Northern Ireland was governed by a local parliament at Stormont. However, policy continued effectively to be fully integrated within U.K. structures. The main change was that economic and financial legislation enacted at Westminster usually needed to be transmitted to Northern Ireland through enabling acts of its local parliament. A wide range of trade, fiscal, and monetary policies were “excepted” or “reserved” and were framed by Westminster. In all matters concerning public expenditure there was close supervision and control by the U.K. treasury (Birrell and Murie 1980).

Given the industrial strength of the Northern Ireland economy in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, it had never been envisaged that the newly devolved region would become dependent on outside subvention. Indeed, there had been an expectation that Northern Ireland would make a net financial contribution toward the cost of imperial services (Wilson 1989). That this did not occur was due mainly to the collapse of the Northern Ireland industrial sector during the 1920s and 1930s. The quality of public services in the North was initially inferior to that in Britain, and the gap was difficult to close because the North was required to be generally self-sufficient at a time when its main industrial bases—shipbuilding and linen—suffered serious decline. It was not until 1946 that there was a commitment to parity of services and taxation between Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The major pressure on public expenditure in Northern Ireland came from the growth of the U.K. welfare state. In a context where tax rates, social-insurance contributions, and social-welfare benefits were equalized within the United Kingdom, expenditure in excess of local tax revenue in Northern Ireland was driven by greater local needs. However, it was not until the mid-1960s that public expenditure per head in Northern Ireland equalled that in England, and only in the early 1980s (after the abolition of the Stormont parliament) did it exceed the level in Scotland and Wales (Wilson 1989).

The decline of Northern manufacturing from a historically high level mirrored the more general U.K. process of deindustrialization, but was exacerbated by the outbreak of civil unrest in the late 1960s and the abolition of Stormont in 1972. The imposition of direct rule led to efforts to improve social and economic conditions in the North, and the expansion of the public sector offset the decline of private-sector activity. By the mid-1990s the external subvention had reached nearly one-third of GDP (Bradley 1998).

Today there are structural weaknesses in the economy of Northern Ireland, and these problems are moving toward center stage in the aftermath of the restoration of devolved government under the Belfast Agreement of 1998 (Heath et al. 1999). There is a continued dependence on traditional sectors such as textiles, clothing, and shipbuilding, which are particularly vulnerable to low-cost competition. Insufficient education exacerbates low productivity and high structural unemployment. A dependence on public assistance has emerged as a consequence of an inability to attract foreign direct investment in sufficient quantity to offset the decline in traditional domestic industry. The problems are aggravated by the disruption of civil unrest, together with collateral problems of labor-market segmentation and discrimination.

Difficulties experienced by policymakers as they tackle these problems can be traced to the very limited degree of policy autonomy within Northern Ireland, which effectively prevents appropriate region-specific policy variations from national U.K. norms. Within the new devolved administration in Belfast, social and economic policies are still set mainly according to U.K. standards, but a discretionary pattern of public expenditure can be set within the overall block grant received from London, and this has been used in the design of generous subsidy-based industrial incentives. Nevertheless, the fact remains that policy norms in the North are designed with the wider United Kingdom in mind. While the subvention assistance can be used to design and operate beneficial policies to address Northern Ireland's structural problems, some of these problems may originate in the first place from the application of U.K.-wide policies to Northern Ireland (Dunford and Hudson 1996; NIEC 1996; Bradley 1998).

The United Kingdom is a highly centralized state and has devolved only limited powers of economic governance to its regions. The recent devolution for Northern Ireland has relaxed the degree of centralization only to a modest extent. Economic success depends increasingly on the ability to mobilize regional resources and policymaking powers to improve competitive performance. Without such devolved powers Northern Ireland is at a severe disadvantage relative to regions that have extensive devolved or federal policymaking structures and are prepared to use them creatively.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; Industry since 1920; Northern Ireland: History

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John Bradley

Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920

When Ireland was partitioned in 1921, the combined population of the two parts was 4,354,000, of which 3,096,000 were located in the South. With a total land area of 32,000 square miles, the population density was comparatively low—137 persons per square mile compared with almost 500 in Great Britain. The North was the more heavily populated part with nearly 30 percent of the island’s population but only one-fifth of its land area. The most striking fact about the Irish population in 1921, however, was that it was little more than half the level of eighty years earlier. The decline in population dated from the Great Famine of 1845, during which more than one million people died. In the course of the famine and its immediate aftermath, about two million persons emigrated, and four million more left the country in the seventy years from 1852 to 1921. The average standard of living in Ireland in the early 1920s was much lower than in Britain—approximately three-fifths of the British level—and it was about 10 percent higher in the North than in the South.

THE PERIOD 1920–1960

Prior to independence there were great hopes that political autonomy would facilitate economic development,

leading to an end to emigration. As it happened, progress in the South proved to be slow and difficult until the 1960s. In the absence of sufficient job opportunities at home, substantial emigration continued and the population of the South went on declining until 1961. Neither was there any progress in this period in closing the gap in living standards compared with the United Kingdom.

This poor rate of progress may seem surprising given that the new Irish state began with inherited advantages not possessed in the same degree at the time by many of the European countries that later outpaced it. The country was no longer overpopulated; it had no national debt and possessed substantial external capital reserves; there was an extensive rail network; the banking system was widely spread; communications were satisfactory by contemporary standards; and education levels were not inferior to those generally prevailing elsewhere.

Yet the South also suffered from certain limitations that made development difficult in the world economic climate between the two World Wars and during the Second World War. The severe fall in world agricultural prices after World War I and the subsequent long-term downward trend was bound to adversely affect the South, where agriculture employed over half the labor force and accounted for almost 90 percent of goods exports. The widespread resort to agricultural protectionism in the 1930s restricted market access almost exclusively to the United Kingdom, where the indigenous farmers were subsidized in a way that kept prices low. The South made matters worse for its own agriculture in the 1930s on the U.K. market by engaging in a trade war commonly known as the “Economic War” and based on a dispute between the two governments about land-annuity payments. Even apart from this, conditions were never for long conducive to a strong agricultural performance prior to accession to the European Community in 1973.

As regards industry, the partition of Ireland deprived the new independent state of the only region with substantial industrial development. Manufacturing in the South accounted for only 10 percent of the labor force, and of this, two-thirds were engaged in processing of food and drink. A big drive to develop industry might have been expected, especially given that the need for industrialization featured strongly in the nationalist philosophy leading up to independence. In the first decade of independence, however, the new government took the view that the overall prosperity of the economy depended on agriculture, and economic policy concentrated primarily on raising the efficiency of that sector. The use of protectionism to develop new manu-

facturing activities was limited because of the adverse impact on agricultural costs.

The change of government in 1932 brought a switch from the long-established position of free trade to a radical experiment in protectionism and economic nationalism. Indeed, pressure for change had mounted even before Eamon de Valera took office. By 1931 the worldwide Great Depression, which had begun two years earlier, had taken its toll on Irish agricultural exports. The tightening of U.S. immigration laws and reduced job opportunities abroad had led to a fall in emigration, so the need to create jobs at home was even more urgent. The government had been forced to yield to these pressures in 1931 by restricting the dumping of cheap imports on the Irish market.

The new government in 1932 made widespread use of tariffs, quotas, import licenses, and other such devices to shelter the domestic market from foreign competition, and it also extended state-sponsored bodies in industry and commerce. The high levels of protection persisted until the 1960s. This approach led to sizeable increases in manufacturing output and employment in the 1930s, but had little further momentum after the Second World War once the immediate postwar recovery ended. Although manufacturing employment had doubled by then, the initial base was so low that this increase was quite insufficient for Ireland's employment needs, and there was little further progress during the 1950s. The chief benefit of protection was that it led to the establishment of many firms that would not have existed without it. Indeed, in the troubled world economic conditions of the 1930s it is doubtful if any other approach would have achieved as much. Nevertheless, the hasty and indiscriminate application of the strategy resulted in an industrial base that was weak and vulnerable.

During the Second World War the shortage of imported supplies dispelled all notions of economic development and the paramount need was to secure basic necessities. Even as late as 1950 the degree of trade dependence on the United Kingdom had not been reduced, and nearly 90 percent of exports went to that market. Neither had the composition of exports been much altered—live animals and food still comprised more than three-quarters of the total. The 1930s and 1940s were not auspicious times for increasing the scale or diversifying the destination and composition of trade, even if Irish policy had been directed more effectively toward that goal. The growth rate of real GDP in Western Europe from 1913 to 1950 was only 1.2 percent per annum, and the total volume of merchandise exports in 1950 was less than in 1913.

In the 1950s, when the Western world moved toward restoring free trade, the limits of the protectionist strategy were gradually recognized in Ireland. A new outward-oriented strategy began to emerge, but at a pace too slow to make any impact in providing jobs for the large numbers leaving agriculture, so the 1950s became a decade of high emigration and great economic gloom about the future of the country. The slow progress in moving to an export-oriented strategy is apparent in the fact that the volume of merchandise exports did not regain the prewar peak until 1960—long after most West European countries had recovered from an even greater decline in trade during the Second World War.

Northern Ireland did not fare well either in the interval between the First and Second World Wars. The North was the only part of Ireland to have experienced an industrial revolution in the nineteenth century. When the country was partitioned, there were more manufacturing workers in the North, even though its population was less than half that of the South. Manufactured goods accounted for two-thirds of the North's exports. The major manufacturing industries of Northern Ireland—linen and shipbuilding—depended almost entirely on sales outside the area, however, and were highly exposed and vulnerable to fluctuations. Linen was also adversely affected by long-term changes in consumer tastes and habits. Its critical U.S. market was severely damaged by the Great Depression, and the industry never recovered fully again in Northern Ireland.

Shipbuilding was also badly affected by the Great Depression, which led to worldwide overcapacity in shipping, intense competition, and weak markets for new ships. A stay of execution was granted to the Belfast shipyards by the Second World War, which brought booming demand for new ships and repair work—a demand that was well maintained in the early postwar years. In fact, unlike its impact on the South, the war's effect on the economy of the North was highly beneficial. Subsequently, however, shipbuilding in Northern Ireland shared in the long-term decline of the industry in the United Kingdom. Competition from low-cost countries and unstable demand were at the root of the decline, but these forces were aided and abetted by poor management.

Agriculture in Northern Ireland enjoyed more favorable access to the British market in the 1930s when trade barriers developed, and this advantage continued until the 1960s, when the South negotiated improved access to the British market. But agriculture was much less significant to the overall economy in the North than in the South. In both areas the economy as a whole fell behind Britain in the period from 1920 up to the Second

World War—in terms of the growth of total output and output per head of population. Wartime demand in Britain for ships and other manufactured goods led to boom conditions in Northern Ireland, which gained substantially during the Second World War relative to the South and to Britain. In the postwar period up to 1960 the growth of income per capita in both areas of Ireland kept pace with that in Britain, but in the South only because of massive emigration and significant population decline. Population in the North had largely ceased to decline in the twenty years before partition, and thereafter it followed an upward trend.

THE PERIOD 1960–1990

The new outward-looking strategy developed gradually in the South during the 1950s and was most fully articulated in 1958 by the then secretary of the Department of Finance, T. K. Whitaker, in the report *Economic Development*. The strategy had three main elements. First, capital grants and tax concessions were provided to encourage export-oriented manufacturing. Second, the Industrial Development Authority was given the task of attracting foreign firms to Ireland, again aimed at exports. And third, protection was gradually dismantled in return for greater access to markets abroad, culminating in an Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement in 1965 and accession to the European Community in 1973. Great efforts were also made to improve the physical infrastructure—electricity, telephones, roads, and other transport facilities. Perhaps most important of all, even though the benefit took a long time to show up, was the emphasis placed on education in the seminal report *Investment in Education*, completed in 1965 under the chairmanship of Professor Patrick Lynch, which foreshadowed the major expansion in education.

The outward-looking strategy worked well in the buoyant world economic conditions of the 1960s. The strategy began to be questioned, however, following the first oil crisis in 1973. Although a vast increase in manufactured exports had been achieved, most of the increase had come from new foreign-owned enterprises that exported the bulk of their output. Concerns about the high and rising dependence on foreign industry were exacerbated in the 1980s when the flow of foreign investment fell and nearly 10,000 jobs were lost in foreign firms. This highlighted once more the need for indigenous industry, but the situation of the indigenous firms was even worse, owing to the combined effect of import penetration after the elimination of trade barriers and the disturbed economic conditions following the oil crises.

The 1980s were also made difficult by poor macroeconomic-policy decisions and excessive public

borrowing in the 1970s, especially by the new 1977 government. The first half of the 1980s would have been difficult anyway because of the repercussions of the second oil crisis, but the South's problems were greatly exacerbated by the struggle to restore order to the public finances—a task that was tackled with the necessary determination only by the government elected in 1987.

In every quinquennium of the period 1960 to 1990 (apart from the first half of the 1980s) the South experienced an average annual GNP growth rate of about 4 percent, but this proved insufficient to make any significant impact on the central problems of surplus labor and relatively low living standards. Population decline had been arrested in 1961, and over the years 1961 to 1986 a significant increase had been achieved, amounting to 25 percent during this period. With the depressed conditions in the 1980s, however, and a renewed surge in emigration in the second half of that decade, population began to fall once again. In 1993 total employment was only just back to the 1980 level after the large fall in the first half of the 1980s, and the 1993 level was still 7 percent below that of the 1920s—an altogether unique experience in contemporary Europe. In terms of living standards, the South had begun to narrow the gap vis-à-vis the United Kingdom, but the record of the United Kingdom was a poor one in comparison with continental West European countries. Accordingly, with the average level of GNP per capita in the South remaining throughout the period 1960 to 1990 in the range of 60 to 65 percent of the average for the European Union, there was no convergence toward European living standards.

In Northern Ireland the government was accorded increased powers to develop industry in the postwar period and took advantage of them to attract external investment in particular. These efforts enjoyed some success until the outbreak of conflict in 1969 hampered efforts to attract investment. On top of the unstable political situation came a series of adverse shocks—the two oil crises, the weakening of U.K. regional policy, and the strengthening of sterling following the exploitation of North Sea oil. Northern Ireland suffered a catastrophic fall in manufacturing employment up to the mid-1980s, followed by an essentially static level. The North is a classic example of an area specialized in a narrow range of activities vulnerable to world market forces. In such a setting industrial survival depends on adapting to higher-value products based on new technologies. Northern Ireland essentially failed to adapt, so it has suffered massive deindustrialization. Its overall growth in GDP per capita in the postwar period up to 1990 just about kept pace with that of the United King-



The giant Intel plant at Leixlip, Co. Kildare. Ireland's success in attracting high-tech firms, such as Intel, has been the key to its recent economic success. COURTESY OF INTEL IRELAND LTD.

dom, so the South, which had been catching up on it since 1960, surpassed the Northern level by the early 1990s. There was never significant economic interdependence between the two parts of Ireland, and a further impediment was introduced in 1979 when the South broke the long-standing link with sterling and joined the European Monetary System.

THE CELTIC TIGER

The extraordinary transformation in the economy of the South in the 1990s has been commonly designated as the "Celtic Tiger." In this phase the South experienced a wholly novel phenomenon of rapid and sustained growth in employment. The rate of employment growth from 1993 to 2000—averaging 4.75 percent per annum—was without precedent in Irish history. As a result, the unemployment rate fell from 16 percent to below 4 percent—close to full employment and less than half the average rate of the European Union nations. Significant net immigration also developed, comprising both returning Irish and inflows of refugees and other foreign immigrants attracted by the buoyant

labor market. The focus of attention in labor-market policy swung from labor surplus to labor scarcity.

The remarkable growth in employment was made possible by a substantial acceleration in the growth rate of the total volume of output to an average of almost 9 percent per annum. The employment boom led to a big increase in the ratio of employment to population, with important consequences for the standard of living. Hitherto, a low employment rate had been a major factor in depressing Irish living standards in comparison with other European countries. That low employment rate stemmed from three historically unfavorable factors: a relatively high proportion of the population in the dependent age groups, a low rate of participation in the labor force (especially by married women), and a high rate of unemployment. Now all three factors moved in a favorable direction. As a result, whereas in 1993 every ten workers had to support, on average, twenty-one dependents (all those not in gainful employment), by 2000 the average number of dependents had been reduced to fourteen for every ten workers.

The acceleration in the growth of output and employment in the Celtic Tiger economy was fueled by an

enormous growth in exports. The volume of Irish goods exports rose at the phenomenal rate of 17 percent per annum from 1993 to 2000—a rate that would lead to a doubling of exports every four and one-half years, and more than twice the average rate achieved in the preceding thirty years. Tourist earnings also rose rapidly. By 2000 the South had reached the remarkable situation where its exports of goods and services were nearly as large as its total GDP.

Ireland's success in attracting an increasing and disproportionately large share of U.S. manufacturing investment in Europe, particularly in the area of electronics, was a major factor in boosting exports and output. As a member of the European Union, Ireland had free access to the markets of other member countries following the initiation of the Single European Market in 1992. This, combined with the generous tax incentives available to foreign investors, the sound macroeconomic policies pursued by the government since 1987, and the plentiful supply of well-educated English-speaking labor, made the South an exceptionally attractive and profitable location for U.S. multinationals. The foresight of the Industrial Development Authority in the 1980s in targeting the new high-tech enterprises and its dynamism in marketing Ireland's competitive advantages proved to be important elements. Profitability was enhanced by the social-partnership agreements entered into approximately every three years since 1987 by the government, trade unions, and employer organizations, which helped to secure pay restraint in return for income-tax cuts and to maintain industrial peace.

It would be wrong to think that foreign investment was the only motor driving the Celtic Tiger. Indigenous enterprise also flourished. Indeed, the most striking indicator of the globalization of the South's economy has been the emergence of substantial Irish multinational enterprises. By the end of the 1990s Irish multinationals employed nearly 65,000 persons in the United States. While this figure falls well short of the 100,000 employed in Ireland by U.S. firms, it nevertheless represents a remarkable growth from a negligible level in the mid-1980s.

No Celtic Tiger appeared in Northern Ireland in the 1990s. Nevertheless, the economy performed reasonably satisfactorily. Basically, it kept pace with the U.K. economy, which was doing well at this time relative to mainland European countries. There was a significant increase in employment, and the unemployment rate fell from nearly 14 percent in 1993 to less than 7 percent in 2000. There was no convergence with the United Kingdom in terms of living standards, however—the level of GDP per capita in Northern Ireland remained at about four-fifths of the British level. The South had al-

ready converged with the U.K. level of GDP per capita by 1997 and was about 15 percent above it in 2000. It is important to note, however, that GDP per capita overstates average living standards in the South, chiefly because of the large and increasing outflow of profits in multinational enterprises, which do not add to domestic living standards. A better measure is GNP per capita, which excludes net international capital flows, and on this measure the South was at about the same level as the United Kingdom in 2000, which would put it about 25 percent above the corresponding level in the North. A further qualification must be made in comparing living standards of the North with those of the South. Northern Ireland, as a poorer part of a larger and richer country, benefits from net fiscal transfers from the U.K. exchequer. Because incomes are lower, the North pays relatively lower taxes, while it still enjoys much the same level of social benefits as the United Kingdom generally. Using a measure that takes account of the impact of net fiscal transfers, disposable household income per capita, the North is less than 15 percent below the corresponding U.K. level. This still leaves Northern living standards in 2000 a little behind those in the South, though not as far below as the more commonly used figures for GDP/GNP per capita suggest.

While the South has gained on the North in the long run, the North scored better than the South in one significant respect: In 1995 its population had finally regained the immediate pre-famine level, whereas the population in the South is still little more than half that of 1841.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement of 1965; Celtic Tiger; *Economic Development*, 1958; Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain; Industry since 1920; Irish Pound; Marshall Aid; Overseas Investment; Tourism; Trade Unions; **Primary Documents:** From *Economic Development* (1958)

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Kieran A. Kennedy

Economy and Society from 1500 to 1690

At the beginning of the sixteenth century there existed in Ireland separate Gaelic and English political and cultural communities that, taken together, formed something approaching the modern notion of a collective economy and society in Ireland. Though the latter community claimed lordship over the entire island, its political power by 1500 was concentrated in the fertile eastern region between Dublin and Dundalk (known as the English Pale), east Munster, some fifty scattered port and market towns and their hinterlands, and several isolated outposts in Connacht and Ulster. The remainder of Ireland was dominated by scores of thinly populated independent Gaelic lordships unified by a common language, legal system, and social structures, but devoid of any political or administrative cohesion capable of surmounting traditional regional differences. The largest and most powerful of these lordships were those furthest removed from English areas, such as the O'Neill or O'Brien lordships in Ulster and west Munster respectively. The native Gaelic elite looked upon the English community as *Gaill*, or foreigners, with varying degrees of hostility, while English administrators contemptuously referred to the Gaelic clans living outside the "civility" of the Tudor state as "wild Irish" or the

Crown's "Irish enemies." The sixteenth century witnessed the struggle between these two societies for dominance in Ireland.

SEPARATE BUT DEPENDENT ECONOMIES IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND

Markedly different forms of economic organization reinforced Ireland's inherent political and cultural divisions. The Gaelic economy was primarily pastoral in nature, with milk-related products, such as butter and sour curds, forming the staple diet of the population; pigs and especially sheep were raised for additional food. Cultivation of oats and wheat existed in most lordships as a dietary supplement, and corn was regularly harvested in several lordships, but the extent of these practices varied greatly and was dictated by the quality and location of the land. The pattern of earlier English settlement in Ireland meant that Gaelic lordships tended to be located in terrain un conducive to widespread cultivation. Gaelic wealth was more often manifested in cattle (moveable property) than fields, and chiefs amassed vast numbers of four-footed chattel. Cattle, usually small and black, were well-suited to this environment, and the migration of communities from winter grazing lands to summer pasture, referred to as "booleying," was common in the purely Gaelic areas of Connacht and Ulster. This, coupled with a natural aversion to nucleated settlement, lent an impermanence or transience to Gaelic society that was often mistaken for nomadism by outside observers. Commercial activity was limited by the absence of a widely circulated native coinage, and with few Gaelic urban centers or sizeable port towns available to export surpluses, trade remained generally localized. Gaelic society, moreover, did not produce an identifiable merchant class, and the responsibility for trade was left to chiefs who rarely built their own ships and relied instead on the English infrastructure to carry their goods over long distances.

By contrast, the English economy at the same time was founded on a system of extensive tillage in which the town was the principal economic outlet for agrarian surpluses, mainly wheat and barley, produced in its hinterland. English areas of Ireland normally employed a three-crop rotation system: two fields in use in the growing season and the third left fallow. All towns held annual fairs with the purpose of selling their goods and attracting commerce, but it was the older quasi-autonomous, walled port towns, of which Dublin and Waterford were the largest, that fostered regular trading links abroad. Although Dublin was Ireland's most prosperous trading town, earning mainly through its trade with England about £80,000 annually, commercial traffic was distributed among over a half-dozen of

these port towns. The southern and western ports—Waterford, Cork, and Galway—exported fish, beef, tallow, and animal hides to the Iberian peninsula and France, where wine, iron, salt, and other luxury goods were purchased to be sold in Bristol. Commerce, both internal and external, was further facilitated by the ready availability of specie: a mint in Dublin produced native coins in the king's name until its closure in about 1506; afterward, the English community imported its coinage from England. Barter was not uncommon, especially in areas removed from urban centers. Taken together, the independent economies of the counties and towns underpinned English society and government in Ireland. But the settled conditions implicit in this decentralized economic organization also forced English areas to adopt a defensive posture against neighboring Gaelic clans, whose tendency to prey upon the wealth of English settlements was long established. Thus the different forms of economic organization contributed to the development of a siege mentality among the English, who regularly erected physical barriers—castles, towers, and ditches—in an effort to protect their property from their Gaelic neighbors.

Yet these ostensibly separate economies were in fact linked. Neither Gaelic resentment of the upstart *Gaill*, nor repeated English legal measures prohibiting Englishmen from interacting with the Gaelic population, entirely succeeded in keeping these neighboring societies apart. Economic forces in sixteenth-century Ireland made commercial as well as cultural interaction unavoidable and led to a symbiotic relationship. The declining English population during the fifteenth century created a labor shortage on farmlands, and a greater proportion of Gaelic peasants were thus attracted to English areas to replace English tenants. This inroad into the lower levels of English agrarian society strengthened Gaelic customs and language in areas hitherto dominated by English culture, while concurrently introducing English agricultural methods to the Gaelic population. Overseas demand for animal products (such as skins, hides, and wool) and the lucrative taxes they yielded, united the English government, the port towns, and the Gaelic hinterland in a common economic interest. Similarly, demand for timber and other raw materials in English areas formed an important internal export from Gaelic areas. To meet this demand Gaelic chiefs traded in English coinage (they became quite adept at discerning the precious metal content of various coins following the Tudor debasement after 1534), and they routinely chartered English ships to carry their goods through English port towns. In areas where the Gaelic economy was inherently weak—urban and maritime trade or the production of coinage, for instance—the

Gaelic population appropriated English economic channels in order to rise above traditional restrictions.

But Gaelic reliance on the English infrastructure adversely affected the development of independent growth within the Gaelic economy. There was no internal redistribution of these profits, and for many Gaelic lordships adjacent English settlements represented an irresistible and limitless source of goods and money from which they might exact tribute (known colloquially as “black rents”) through the threat of depredation. More often, however, Gaelic clans would simply take by raiding what they did not produce. The Tudor administration, together with the local English gentry, responded by launching sporadic punitive expeditions into what they believed to be predatory or recalcitrant Gaelic lordships. This destructive aspect of Gaelic-English interaction bred unsettled conditions that limited the potential of the English economy in Ireland, while stunting economic growth in most Gaelic areas. The English population looked to the Crown to intercede on its behalf and repeatedly pointed to the economic benefits that would flow to England if the Crown's “Irish enemies” were fully subjugated.

THE TUDOR CONQUEST: THE CATALYST FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

By the mid-sixteenth century conciliatory efforts to integrate the Gaelic polity, both politically and economically, into the Tudor state had met with only limited success. The resort to coercive methods committed the Tudors to an unprecedented level of military expenditure, reducing the opportunities for capital investment or commercial development. Instead, the Tudors grudgingly financed an increasingly large standing army and a number of expensive military garrisons to protect and further English interests. Subventions from the English exchequer to support the army in Ireland had risen from negligible amounts prior to the Kildare rebellion in 1534 to £196,000 per annum by 1599. Gaelic lordships responded in kind and organized their economies to sustain a state of perpetual war. In the 1560s it was reported that Shane O'Neill had broken with Gaelic convention and armed the peasantry within his lordship. O'Neill's repeated confrontations with the Crown reveal also the strong economic and social links between Gaelic Scotland and Ulster, and the proclivity of chiefs in the latter to import large numbers of Scots mercenaries. In these unsettled conditions normal economic development was almost everywhere eclipsed by military necessity. The Tudor administration in Dublin recognized this and at the 1569–1571 Irish parliament enacted legislation encouraging the manufacture of processed commercial goods for export. Henry Sidney, as lord deputy, even at-

tracted a group of Flemish tanners to relocate to Swords in north County Dublin in the 1570s. In the main, however, English attempts to diversify the economy at the local level were hampered by the predominance of soldiers and soldier-settlers over skilled craftsmen and artisans. In a society subject to bouts of political instability this was perhaps unavoidable; yet seen in a wider context, the Irish economy was displaying signs of improvement in the later sixteenth century.

Imports from England grew steadily, indicating greater domestic wealth and demand in Ireland, and the government's tax receipts also reveal an increase in profits from exports. This can be attributed to the fact that the walled port towns—the engines of the English economy in Ireland—were insulated from much of the political instability that plagued inland areas. And as inflation soared in England, Irish prices remained comparatively low, thus allowing Ireland a competitive advantage over its principal trading partner. For the Gaelic polity the increasingly militarized political environment, coupled with deteriorating relations with the Tudor state, brought about closer contact with continental powers and continental economies. Importation of supplies and ultimately arms and munitions from abroad, however, at once bolstered the economic strength of the English port towns and contributed to Irish resistance.

The suppression of broad-based Gaelic opposition in 1603, and the resulting extension of royal authority throughout Ireland in subsequent years, enabled the new Stuart monarchy to begin a gradual process of demilitarizing Irish society. Tudor observers had long agreed that the destruction of what they believed to be the tyrannical Gaelic noble class would liberate the allegedly tractable and hard-working Gaelic “churl,” or peasant, allowing him to assimilate more fully to English culture. But the arrival of a mainly Protestant New English settler class, originally intended to serve as a model for its Gaelic neighbors, proved provocative instead. By 1600 significant amounts of land formerly held of Gaelic lordships had been transferred or mortgaged to English settlers, and as the threat of Gaelic rebellion seemed to recede, this trend accelerated.

The Ulster plantation, begun in 1607, followed the example of earlier, less extensive Tudor plantations in the midlands and in Munster, but reflected English dominance in this once purely Gaelic district. The aim of plantation was to effect swift economic and social change in Gaelic areas. The extension of a standardized English system of landholding and property rights ran concurrently with the transfer of land, and English cultural norms like primogeniture replaced the Gaelic custom of partible inheritance. In some respects the trans-

fer of land from native to newcomer was more apparent than real, for many Gaelic lords in the late sixteenth century had voluntarily adopted the English system of landholding and stayed on as landowners. In other cases, English landowners were absentees, and the native population continued to live and work on their traditional lands without interruption. As Irish society was demilitarized after 1603, the English economy became dominant, destroying the remnants of an independent Gaelic economy and many of its social foundations.

THE UNIFICATION AND GROWTH OF THE IRISH ECONOMY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The early seventeenth century was characterized by steady population growth and substantial economic expansion. The population of Dublin alone grew from less than 10,000 people in the late sixteenth century to nearly 50,000 in 1690. The southern and western port towns underwent similar, though less dramatic, expansion. A large labor supply allowed exports of hides, yarn, and particularly unfinished wool to increase significantly. In the late 1580s Ireland exported between 1,400 and 2,800 pounds of wool a year; in 1639, more than 93,000 pounds of wool were exported. Local merchants established commercial fishing centers in Munster to begin harnessing this lucrative natural resource that had long been dominated by foreign interests. Increasingly, large numbers of trees were felled for export in Ireland in dwindling forested areas in Wicklow, south Derry, and parts of Munster. It was, however, the export of cattle and other livestock that became the dominant feature of the Irish economy in the early seventeenth century. More than 15,000 animals were being exported annually to Chester alone by the 1630s. Compared with the negligible amount of livestock exported in the sixteenth century, and taken together with marked increases in population and exports, the Irish economy appears to have undergone a substantial transformation. But the economy was not so much transformed as unfettered from the political instability and economic divisions that had limited its potential in the previous century. The extension of royal authority and the integration of the Gaelic economy had allowed for more efficient exploitation of Ireland's existing resources, while the continued absence of an Irish mint ensured that trade outstripped the production of money. This created a deflationary and, in effect, competitive economy.

The outbreak of war in 1641, however, revealed that the ethnic and religious differences thought to have been permanently resolved by military conquest in 1603 were still capable of causing serious political un-

rest and vast economic damage. The rebellion, originally conceived in Ulster as an armed protest over property rights and religious freedom, resulted in the sectarian massacre of several thousand settlers there before spreading slowly throughout Ireland. In the half-century following the destruction of the Gaelic hierarchy, with its emphasis on armed personal followings and communal landed possessions, individual ownership of land within the English legal system had become the primary measure and source of wealth. Rumors of a future confiscation of lands by the increasingly anti-Catholic English parliament pushed the predominantly Catholic Gaelic and Old English populations toward making common cause with royalist supporters in the English civil war. The following decade (1641–1655) brought war-induced plague, famine, and depopulation; trade was brought to a near-standstill, and the Irish economy was devastated. Such political and economic instability provoked the subsequent Commonwealth government to undertake an even more extensive land redistribution scheme in 1652–1655 than any witnessed hitherto. It has been estimated that in 1641, 61 percent of profitable land was in the hands of Catholic landowners, but that by 1688 the figure had fallen to a mere 27 percent. A major turnover in population, however, did not occur, for it was difficult to attract large numbers of English settlers to a war-torn and dangerous Ireland. Many Gaelic inhabitants either remained on their lands or drifted back to them after a few years. Yet the significance of the transfer of land from Catholic landowners to mostly English Protestants should not be underestimated. The land settlement utterly transformed landownership and laid the foundation for the estate system that survived intact until the late nineteenth century. On another level the concentration of Ireland's landed interests in a class closely affiliated with the Protestant administration in England caused Ireland to become more fully integrated into the English economy after 1653, allowing for a speedy economic recovery in the decades that followed.

The dependence of the Irish economy on the English market in the 1650s and 1660s was clearly reflected in exports: in 1665, 75 percent of Irish exports were directed toward England. Cattle remained the principal export, but English cattle-breeders, disadvantaged by the favorable trade conditions extended to Irish imports, successfully lobbied Parliament to place restrictions on the number of cattle and sheep imported from Ireland. The resulting Cattle Acts, passed in 1663 and 1667, hastened a trend already underway toward the development of more diversified exports such as barrelled beef, wool, and butter. The English parliament's willingness to support these restrictions, however, highlights the subordination of the Irish economy to the English poli-

ty. Irish merchants and landlords, many of whom were English-born Protestants, had little choice but to practice economic diversification in the face of restrictions on livestock. The diversification of Irish exports, and the regional specialization that was required to furnish the market with more labor-intensive products such as butter or wool, prompted a reorganization of the economy as merchants relied more heavily on inland market towns to direct their goods for export from expanding urban centers like Dublin, Cork, and Belfast. Diversification was also evident in the destination of Irish exports after 1667. A flourishing trans-Atlantic trade developed to the West Indies and the American colonies. Ireland exported barrelled beef and livestock and imported large quantities of tobacco. In 1665 Ireland imported 1,818,000 pounds of tobacco; and by the mid-1680s an average of 2,850,000 pounds were arriving annually. The continental market was also developed, and France in particular imported large amounts of Irish butter. By 1683 only 30 percent of Irish exports were directed toward England. Thus by the 1680s the Irish economy had sufficiently reorganized itself both internally and externally to meet a changed economic relationship with England and was showing signs of unprecedented prosperity. Though the outbreak of the Williamite wars in 1689 served as a reminder of Ireland's continued political subordination to England, physical destruction and depopulation were not extensive, and the Irish economy emerged largely unscathed.

In the two centuries after 1500 the economy and society of Ireland underwent an important transformation. The Tudor conquest ended centuries of political uncertainty and paved the way for the integration of the Gaelic economy and society into a developing British state that stretched to the New World. The Irish economy responded positively to the more settled political conditions ushered in by the extension of English rule. Merchants, both Gaelic and English, could now draw upon Ireland's once separate economies and channel their resources toward a single commercial goal. After 1641, however, it was clear that the conquered Gaelic society, and to a lesser extent the Catholic Old English community, had become marginalized in an increasingly commercialized Irish economy that revolved around the possession of land dominated by British Protestants. As Aidan Clarke has noted, the economic gains of the seventeenth century "accrued to individuals, while the social cost was borne by the conquered community" (p. 186). This calls into question the extent to which economic and social change penetrated Irish society. In the 1680s the Irish economy continued to be almost exclusively pastoral in nature, with 80 percent of outgoing trade emanating from livestock. Where once an Irish farmer sold his cattle to be fattened on English pasture,

now he simply slaughtered them to sell as barrelled beef at home. Similarly, dairy products and wool were wholly dependent on livestock. In 1683, a good harvest year, grain and other crops contributed less than 4 percent to Ireland's total export trade. Sharp differences between English and Gaelic society also continued to be apparent into the 1680s. It was more likely for people of British descent to occupy the more fertile districts, to participate in local government, and to own land. The native Irish, moreover, were still dismissed by British society as a barbarous people lacking civility. Thus in some respects the Irish economy and society in 1690 bore a striking resemblance to conditions in the early sixteenth century. This qualification, however, should not overshadow the profound changes that had occurred during this crucial period when Ireland became fully integrated into a developing British state.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1500 to 1690; Protestant Immigrants; Urban Life, Crafts, and Industry from 1500 to 1690

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Christopher Maginn

Ecumenism and Interchurch Relations

Religious division and political conflict have played a formative role in Irish society. The reality that Protestantism and Catholicism often serve as badges of ethnopolitical identity continues to impede interchurch relations both in the Republic of Ireland with its 91.7 percent Catholic majority, and in Northern Ireland where the 53 percent Protestant-unionist majority often views itself as under siege. Stormont Castle in Belfast, described by one former unionist leader Lord Craigavon as "a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people," provided (in the words of another unionist leader, David Trimble) "a cold house for Catholics." Following the historic Good Friday Agreement (1998), a power-sharing legislative assembly was established in Belfast, but relationships within it have been embattled and its capacity to survive has been under constant threat.

Throughout much of the past century, sociopolitical division was intensified by religious separation: segregated schools, an effective Catholic-Church ban (until 1970) on Catholics attending Trinity College, discrimination against Catholics in jobs and housing allocation (especially in the North), and bitter memories of church-supported proselytizing and even boycotts. In such conditions ecumenism could not flourish. The Catholic Church, under its *Ne Temere* decree regulating "mixed marriages" between Catholics and Protestants (1911, somewhat modified in 1970), had stringently exacted that both partners in a marriage raise their children as Catholics. Until the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), ecumenism for Roman Catholicism implied a "return to the fold." Protestant churches kept themselves aloof as the best protection against absorption and cultivated inter-Protestant solidarity. Encouraged by international ecumenical involvement, Protestant churches addressed themselves sporadically to the possibilities of "Protestant reunion" alongside bipartite and later tripartite conversations (Presbyterian-Methodist-Anglican). Although interest in reunion faded, the century's end saw a de facto mutual recognition of clerical ministries, nudged forward by interconnecting agreements with various European churches. Anglican-Methodist conversations resumed in 1989, culminating in the signing of a Covenant (2002) "to share a common life and mission" and "to grow together so that unity may be visibly realized." For Irish Catholicism, interchurch relationships were problematic not only because of Protestant alignment with unionism but also theologically. Independently sponsored ec-

umenical encounters in the 1940s and 1950s inspired neither Protestant confidence nor the approval of Rome, but certain Dominican, Jesuit, and Maynooth theologians steadfastly continued to pave the way.

THE TURN TO ECUMENISM AND THE START OF THE TROUBLES

Vatican II was the needed catalyst. Its movement of renewal enlivened a static Catholic ecclesiology, retrieving such concepts as the “pilgrim people of God” and modifying the offensive claim that the Roman Catholic Church is the one true church by avowing instead that the church of Christ “subsists in” the Catholic Church. The bishops supplied ecumenical directives for Catholic involvement (updated in 1976 and 1983). Kevin MacNamara—later archbishop of Dublin—envisioned the Catholic Church’s future as “profoundly linked to the progress of ecumenism [and as] a test of its fidelity to the will of Christ” (1966, p. 152).

Seasoned and fledgling ecumenists rallied. In 1970 the Irish Council of Churches (ICC), an all-Protestant council of churches and religious communities (e.g., the Quakers and the Salvation Army, which were not strictly churches) formed with the Catholic Church a “Joint Group on Social Problems” to advise the Catholic hierarchy and ICC on social issues such as poverty, unemployment, and alcohol abuse. There was initial reluctance to tackle concerns such as civil rights or the causes of political conflict. That the ecumenical thrust coincided with the outbreak of the “Troubles” in Northern Ireland was painfully ironic. Violence and terror lent desperate urgency to ecumenical relations, but politicized religion crippled their effectiveness. By ministering restrictedly to their respective communities, churches, although they condemned violence, urged restraint, or acted as mediators, were accused of being “chaplains to their tribes” and were themselves vulnerable to sectarianism.

SUCCESSSES AND SHORTCOMINGS OF INTERCHURCH RELATIONS: BALLYMASCANLON AND BEYOND

Nevertheless, formal ecumenical associations were crafted, most decisively the Irish Inter-Church Meeting (1973). Ballymascanlon, close to the border between North and South, was chosen as a neutral venue, and the “Ballymascanlon conferences” that took place there became a mainstay of official relationships, facilitating debate (not always progressive enough for some) on the ecumenical demands of unity-in-diversity. Papers were prepared on neuralgic areas (e.g., human rights), and a

standing committee wrestled with the pastoral challenge of “mixed marriages.” Through virtually annual meetings, sustained and sustaining relationships took root among participants, engendering trust, forthrightness, and tact in the face of differing cultural identities, political reservations, and theological traditions. Initiatives on youth ministry and peace education emerged, but no bold venture on interchurch education. Two commissioned reports are noteworthy: the incisive *Violence in Ireland* (1976), which was received more enthusiastically in political groups than in church circles, and *Sectarianism: A Discussion Document* (1993), which examined churches’ collusion in sectarianism.

For the most part, churches support the peace process. Though they have been powerless to prevent nearly 4,000 deaths, the churches’ foremost ecumenical challenge now is to give witness to the gospel pattern of boundary-crossing and healing. An inclusive ecumenical structure is one necessary factor in this. The fact that the ICC (minus Catholic representation) and the more inclusive Irish Inter-Church Meeting (Ballymascanlon) operate in parallel has militated against concerted action, but protracted discussions have failed to achieve an integrating structure. In addition, the Catholic Church remains outside ICC; its joining would present untenable difficulties for the Presbyterian Church, which alone of the main Protestant denominations stands outside the World Council of Churches (having resigned in 1980 over funding of resistance groups in Africa). Most Irish churches are variously associated with the “Churches Together in Britain and Ireland” body, but there is unmistakable discomfort with any movement toward full union.

It is often asserted that the churches have lacked a prophetic stature, failing to make needed gestures of “institutional self-sacrifice,” proffering “a palliative rather than a cure.” Their contribution to the reconciliation of histories—with undoubted exceptions—has been lackluster. The vision of interchurch unity has not found strong resonance in the congregational mainstream. Yet, incontrovertibly, a network of relationships once unimaginable now exists: shared worship, pulpit exchange, joint hospital and university chaplaincies, and local interchurch forums, along with meetings, appearances, and appeals of “the four church leaders,” are now routine. Ecumenism is alive on the ground too, with projects abounding. The Corrymeela Community, founded by the Presbyterian minister Ray Davey (1967), promotes peace between communities. The Irish School of Ecumenics, founded by Michael Hurley, S. J. (1970), remains a powerhouse of research and learning, collaborating with churches and community groups across civil society. Innumerable indepen-

dent bodies contribute to this ecumenical world through partnerships or through groups dedicated to study, writing, and action for reconciliation. By opening spaces for ecumenical worship and hospitality to interested Christians, conferences like those at Greenhills or Glenstal Abbey are, since the 1960s, annual highlights, together with events focusing on the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity and the Women's World Day of Prayer.

Whether official or informal, interchurch relationships have sustained perseverance, ensuring that neither internal conflicts nor embarrassing actions lead to rupture, but rather compel the rebuilding of trust. Recent challenges to reconciliation include Catholic unease with the association of Protestant churches with the Drumcree "right to march"; the new "obstacle" for official Catholic ecumenism as Protestant churches break with ancient tradition by ordaining women; the irritation of Catholics when perceived as not "Christian"; the consternation of Protestants at the Vatican's "downgrading" of Anglican and Reformed Churches in its *Dominus Iesus* declaration and accompanying "Note" (2000), which, when taken with the episcopal document *One Bread, One Body* (1998), appears to run counter to Vatican II and to Pope John Paul II's encyclical letter on commitment to ecumenism (1995). Although doctrine remains important, since the search for truth is inherent in the quest for unity, it is often historical prejudice and other nondoctrinal factors that constitute the stumbling blocks. Some expostulations following President Mary McAleese's partaking in Anglican holy communion (1997) exposed a lamentable ignorance of changing historic patterns in eucharistic theology, and of the degree of Anglican-Roman Catholic agreement already achieved.

Mícheál Mac Gréil's now classic 1977 survey *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ireland* revealed a majority perception that the churches contributed to divisions and that Christian unity was desirable. Yet, a 1998 inquiry intimated that Irish churches were still "imprisoned within structures." In a globalized world churches are called to overcome violence and to make peace. On an increasingly pluralist island where Christians may turn out to be Eastern Orthodox as well as Catholic or Protestant, and where people of many faiths now seek a home, churches are charged "to widen the space of their tent."

SEE ALSO McQuaid, John Charles; Protestant Community in Southern Ireland since 1922; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

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Geraldine Smyth

Education

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PRIMARY PRIVATE EDUCATION— "HEDGE SCHOOLS" AND OTHER SCHOOLS	IRENE WHELAN
PRIMARY PUBLIC EDUCATION— NATIONAL SCHOOLS FROM 1831	THOMAS MCGRATH
NONDENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLING	ÁINE HYLAND
SECONDARY EDUCATION, FEMALE	MARY PECKHAM MAGRAY
SECONDARY EDUCATION, MALE	LAWRENCE W. MCBRIDE
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	SENIA PAŠETA
WOMEN'S EDUCATION	SENIA PAŠETA

1500 TO 1690

The official policy of the colonial government in late medieval Ireland dictated that there should be strict segregation of the Gaelic and English educational systems, but in practice there were points of overlap. In Gaelic Ireland the caste of literati, including judges, medics,

and poets, operated a system of apprenticeship through the “bardic schools” which ensured the hereditary nature of traditional learning. In some of the towns, particularly in the south and the west, the populations that were mainly of English origin appear to have had access to these schools. As elsewhere, the church (which was also divided into English and Gaelic zones) exerted a powerful influence over education through monastic and parish schools. Cathedral schools functioned in, for example, the Dublin foundations of Christ Church and Saint Patrick’s.

A salient feature of pre-Reformation education was the expanding role of lay institutions and individuals in the provision of schooling. Through their power of appointment of chantry chaplains (priests employed to sing or say mass in endowed chapels) supernumerary to the diocesan clergy, lay people ensured the availability of priests who could be expected to teach as well as to celebrate mass for deceased benefactors. Besides endowing large religious guilds with many chantry priests, wealthy families established colleges, which, while not formal academies of learning, nevertheless supported a number of chaplains to instruct youths, even if only in singing and choral techniques. Aristocratic and gentry patronage of these and other forms of schooling was evident in the late medieval period, while in the boroughs such as Dublin, the civic corporations began to establish municipal schools. In the towns there also was training through the apprenticeship system, which was organized by the trade and craft guilds.

As part of a burgeoning humanistic movement for social and cultural reform, an act for “the English order, habit and language” was passed in the Dublin parliament in 1537, the first state measure for education in Ireland. In the context of King Henry VIII’s assertion of royal sovereignty in church and state, its purpose was to foster English civility throughout as much of the country as could be made responsive to governmental authority. The key educational provision was for the setting up of primary schools in every parish for the teaching of English language and culture, and also “Christ’s religion” (which meant the pristine religious practice of the early Christian church, or, more simply, real Christianity). Although there was little or no success in implementing the legislation in Gaelic Ireland, the response was positive in some areas of the Englishry, but lack of resources and the impropriation (or lay possession) of many parishes mitigated the effects. Because the act coincided with the coming of the ecclesiastical Reformation to Ireland under Henry, the impulse toward educational reform that underpinned it tended to be confused with the campaign for religious change. A small minority of leaders in church and state who

were charged with implementing Protestantism beginning in about 1549 were enthusiastic about a pedagogical initiative through the medium of the Irish language, possibly with the aid of the printing press. The strong majority view in the Church of Ireland, however, was that the principles of the reformed religion should be inculcated as part of a program of anglicization. Thus the 1537 act came to be invoked in the succeeding decades to justify the teaching and preaching of the gospel exclusively in English.

INITIATIVES IN SECOND- AND THIRD-LEVEL EDUCATION

The failure of the Protestant Reformation to embrace the world of Gaelic learning alienated the older Irish population, but reformers with Old English backgrounds pinned their hopes for social and religious advancement on a proper system of state-sponsored second- and third-level education. The impetus for the act for the erection of diocesan grammar schools in 1570 came mainly from this sector of society, since its members were influenced by the Erasmianism or moderate Christian humanism of the mid-sixteenth century. Already the extralegal activity of Catholic schoolteachers in some of the southwestern boroughs (including members of the Society of Jesus, who also aspired to the foundation of a Catholic university) was eliciting a popular response. The challenge to the state authorities was to devise an educational structure and curriculum that would counteract the agents of the Roman church while retaining the loyalty of the Old English. The measure that emerged from Parliament was for secondary schools jointly regulated by church and state to be founded in each Irish diocese. The measure’s supporters argued that the new schools would eventually provide a student body for a university in Ireland that would in turn be a seminary for a Protestant ministry.

This scheme proved to be problematic for a number of reasons. Few diocesan schools emerged as a result of the legislation before the seventeenth century. The bishops, in whose interest it was to promote academic reform as well as evangelization, were reluctant to pledge their scarce revenues to the establishment of schools. The conservative Old English elites in town and country became alienated from the Anglican Church by the 1570s and 1580s, identifying it with the newly arrived English agents of radical constitutional and social change. This lay leadership that might have been expected to be supportive of state educational initiatives possessed extensive ecclesiastical revenues and property rights, and began to channel these resources into an alternative Catholic system of religious practice and schooling. Nor could agreement be reached on the site

and nature of a university for Ireland that might have canalized all the reforming impulses, social, cultural, and religious. By the time that internal Protestant divisions were resolved to allow for the foundation of Trinity College in 1592, there was already a vibrant system of second-level Catholic schools and an emergent network of seminaries on the continent.

PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

By the late seventeenth century there were two educational systems operating in Ireland, reflecting the polarized nature of politico-religious ideology. On one side was the official Anglican educational sphere, radiating out from Trinity College and incorporating municipal schools, diocesan schools, and the newly established royal schools in the plantation settlements in Ulster. On the other was the unofficial but ubiquitous Catholic nexus, transcending diocesan and county boundaries, and molding itself to the contours of urban and county society. This system of schooling was for much of the century not clandestine—teachers and their patrons made arrangements quite openly for the tuition of pupils. There was even a short-lived Jesuit-run Catholic university in Back Lane in Dublin in the 1620s that was closed by agents of the state government in 1629. Some mixing of the religious groups did occur within the educational sphere, however. For example, the Dublin municipal school was under Protestant control in the early seventeenth century, but of its 122 pupils in 1622, 43 did not attend Church of Ireland services. Since 1610, 100 of its graduates had gone to Trinity College, but 160 went overseas, several returning as Catholic priests. And in the 1610s the graduates of Isaac Lally's school in the diocese of Tuam were going on to both the Protestant Trinity College and to the Catholic Irish college at Salamanca.

Salamanca and other continental colleges provided pedagogues who returned to Ireland to supplement the catechesis of the burgeoning Counter-Reformation. Though technically outside the law, this unofficial schooling played a powerful part in securing the majority of the population for the Catholic cause, in part at least because it enshrined the use of the Irish language in its secular and religious curricula. The dominance of the Catholic educational system thus restricted the influence of the Protestant one to a mostly New English minority community during the Stuart period.

SEE ALSO *Annals of the Four Masters*; Irish Colleges Abroad until the French Revolution; Smith, Erasmus; Trinity College

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Colm Lennon

PRIMARY PRIVATE EDUCATION—"HEDGE SCHOOLS" AND OTHER SCHOOLS

Until the late eighteenth century the availability of primary education reflected the realities of political and religious life in Ireland. Ever since the Reformation, Protestant schools (known variously as "parish," "diocesan," and "royal" schools) had received state support. These schools were English in orientation and catered for the children of the nobility and the middle classes. They complemented concurrent efforts to suppress the native culture and the Catholic religion. As a result of penal laws Catholics were forbidden to establish or endow schools for much of the eighteenth century. Such education as Catholics received was necessarily clandestine, though from the middle of the eighteenth century Catholic teaching orders in the larger towns were openly running schools for the children of those who could afford to pay. In the countryside the clandestine system provided the foundation for the celebrated "hedge schools," an informal system in which itinerant schoolmasters supported by the community taught basic numeracy and literacy. Following the relaxation of the penal laws affecting education in 1782, both the hedge-school system and the schools of the religious teaching orders spread with remarkable speed. This development prompted the foundation of new teaching orders (such as the Christian Brothers) and drew the attention of the political establishment to the dangers posed by the hedge-school system and to the need for state involvement in the education of Catholics.

The only attempt at state involvement in the education of Catholics in the eighteenth century was the establishment of the Charter Schools beginning in 1733.

Influenced by Enlightenment rationalism, the founders of the Charter Schools hoped that the schools would serve as a means through which poor Catholic children would be trained to earn their living in trade and industry. The system was never a success and developed a scandalous reputation because of its abuse of resources and the neglect and exploitation of the children in Charter Schools.

The educational initiatives the early nineteenth century were an immediate result of the fears inspired by the events of the 1790s. The spread of revolutionary republicanism was seen as intimately linked to the growth of mass literacy, and it was clear that hedge-school masters had played a key role in disseminating widely the radical ideas that had led to the rebellion. The first two decades of the nineteenth century were therefore a period of great debate on popular education, which increasingly came to be seen as fundamental for future political and social stability and for economic progress. The early nineteenth century was also an age of experimentation in both the public and private spheres. The reformers who were inspired by the ideals of the evangelical revival hoped that education would be the vehicle through which the rising generation of Irish children would be converted to the Protestant faith—a happy outcome, as they saw it, that would ensure loyalty, industrious behavior, and obedience to the law. A variety of voluntary agencies, such as the London Hibernian Society and the Association for Discountenancing Vice, appealed with great success to landlords to support the agencies' educational initiatives. Schools funded by these agencies (often employing the newest educational methodology developed by theorists, such as Heinrich Pestalozzi in Switzerland and Bell and Lancaster in Britain) soon began to appear on the estates of improving landlords concerned with disseminating a Bible-based morality.

Simultaneously, a government commission was established (it sat from 1806 to 1812) and reported on the condition of education at the national level. In its last and most influential report it recommended that government funds be made available to launch a national, nondenominational educational venture. The organization that came closest to meeting these conditions was the Kildare Place Society—the product of a Quaker initiative committed to the provision of nondenominational education for the poor. Formally established in 1811, the Kildare Place schools had spread across the country by the early 1820s and were educating Catholic children in large numbers. A powerful evangelical lobby on the Kildare Place board of trustees, however, led Catholics to suspect that the society was working in tandem with other, more overtly proselytizing bodies like the London

Hibernian Society. Strident criticism from the Rev. John MacHale and Daniel O'Connell led to a general attack on the system, and the wholesale withdrawal of Catholic children from Kildare Place schools after 1824 effectively destroyed the society.

The attack on the Kildare Place Society precipitated yet another government commission that sat from 1824 to 1827 and issued as many as nine reports. In the most detailed and exhaustive of these reports, which appeared in 1825, it was revealed that the majority of Catholic children (between 300,000 and 400,000) were continuing to be educated in the hedge-school system. Catholic representatives interviewed by the commissioners also made clear that Catholic clergymen were unlikely ever to agree to the attendance of Catholic children at schools in which the Protestant Bible was used for educational purposes. The immediate outcome of the commission was the recommendation by Chief Secretary Edward Stanley that a National Board of Education be set up to oversee a national system of primary education in which the religious-education requirements of the different denominations would be accommodated.

The National Board, which was duly established in 1831, was to be run by a body of commissioners who would entrust particular schools to a patron; this patron would then appoint a manager who would be responsible for hiring the teaching staff. Although the term *undenominational* was applied to the system as envisaged by Stanley, in the decades following the setup of the board the denominational interests who participated in the system modified the rules such that religious education was provided in accordance with the wishes of the patron and manager. As the system evolved, the patron was generally the bishop of the diocese and the manager was normally the local priest or clergyman. This meant that national schools in Catholic areas were exclusively Catholic and taught religious doctrine accordingly. The same held true in the Presbyterian areas of the north where the national system was also embraced. Because the rules of the National Board did not satisfy the demands of the Church of Ireland, a separate Church Education Society was founded in 1839 to cater to the more stringently religious demands of Irish Anglican leaders.

The schools of the National Board quickly became institutionalized at all levels of Irish society. By the 1840s they had replaced not only the hedge schools but also the schools of the Kildare Place Society and the evangelical agencies. In many instances these older schools were formally incorporated into the national system and their management and curricula were adjusted accordingly. By 1849 almost half a million chil-

dren were receiving an education in the schools of the National Board, and provisions were in place for an inspectorate, a system of teacher training, and a curriculum whose materials were so advanced that they were used as models in Britain.

The success of the national system meant that the children of the poor were receiving the education they craved. It also endowed Ireland with a progressive and sophisticated system of primary education at least a generation before most countries in Europe, including Britain. On the debit side, the manner in which the religious and administrative issues were settled meant that the clergy of the different denominations managed and controlled the schools—a result that was the complete antithesis of the original promoters' vision. What evolved was a system rigidly denominational in character and practically akin to a form of religious apartheid among children of school-going age. The foundation was also established for a society in which the clergy, through their role as school managers, would come to wield an extraordinary degree of control in Irish society. On the credit side, the national schools laid the basis for mass literacy in English, which was undoubtedly a major advantage—in terms of skill, confidence, and general awareness—for the millions of Irish who emigrated to find work in English-speaking countries.

SEE ALSO Chapbooks and Popular Literature; Education: Nondenominational Schooling; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Kildare Place Society; Literacy and Popular Culture; Religion: Since 1690; Rice, Edmund; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891

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Irene Whelan

PRIMARY PUBLIC EDUCATION— NATIONAL SCHOOLS FROM 1831

The national system of education established by the state in 1831 was the outstanding educational innovation in nineteenth-century Ireland. In the 1820s education at the elementary level was a major battleground

between Protestant evangelicals and the Catholic Church. The foundation of the national school system came about because of Catholic opposition, led by Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, to the voluntary (though state-funded) Kildare Place Society, which operated on Protestant principles, as well as to other educational societies which had proselytizing aims.

Educational modernizers and the government hoped that the new national schools would replace the widespread “hedge schools” which were deemed to be unsatisfactory because of their primitive physical conditions, the poor quality of their teachers, and the antiquated curriculum that they taught. The new, well-built schools were to demonstrate best practice in education. Lancasterian methods were implemented, a system of inspection was established, and a teacher-training college was set up.

The new national education board, which administered the system, comprised seven members: three Anglicans, two Presbyterians, and two Catholics. Remarkably, the Catholic and Protestant archbishops of Dublin sat on the board. However, the representative composition of the board, inconsistent as it was with respect to the country's religious demography, would later become an issue.

The guiding principle of the system was outlined in 1831 by Chief Secretary Edward Stanley in his letter to the president of the new board, the duke of Leinster. It was to be “a system of education from which should be banished even the suspicion of proselytism, and which, admitting children of all religious persuasions, should not interfere with the peculiar tenets of any.”

Combined literary and moral instruction was to be given on four or five days of the week. It could not be doctrinal or dogmatic. Separate religious instruction was to be given on the other days of the week or before or after the school day.

A sum of 30,000 pounds in public funds was withdrawn from the Kildare Place Society and put at the disposal of the Irish lord lieutenant for the board. Two-thirds of the money required to build new national schools was available from the board, provided that one-third was raised locally. The board sought joint applications for aid to build schools from Catholic and Protestant ministers or from any combination of Catholics and Protestants.

The hope that clergy of all denominations would cooperate in managing local national schools was thwarted. Out of a total of 4,795 schools in 1852, only 175 were under joint management. The Anglican Church generally opposed the new system as an interference with its traditional prerogatives in elementary



The system of national schools established in 1831 was a major agent in the process of anglicization, even though the decline of the Irish language had begun decades earlier. These primary schools were also responsible for striking improvements in literacy levels over the next two generations. In this pre-1914 photograph girls and boys play outside a country school in County Monaghan. © SEAN SEXTON COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

education. It was opposed to the rule that the Bible could not be used in national schools at any time during any day. Anglican opposition led to the formation of the Church Education Society in 1839.

Presbyterian opposition was based on similar grounds but was, if anything, more deeply felt, and resulted in attacks on and the destruction of some new national schools in Ulster in the mid-1830s. By 1840, however, the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster had secured modifications acceptable to it and had entered the system.

Changes made to suit Presbyterian objections led the Catholic archbishop of Tuam, John MacHale, to attack the system as no better than the proselytizing educational societies of the 1820s, even though his fellow archbishop, Daniel Murray of Dublin, sat on the board. A majority of bishops supported Murray. This dispute ended in 1841 when Rome decreed that each bishop in his own diocese should decide on the merits of the system.

Usually, where schools were mixed in the religious allegiance of students, the denominational numbers

were very lopsided. In 1862, the first year for which this information is available, 53.6 percent of all national schools were mixed. This statistic hides the reality that normally there was an overwhelming majority of Catholics and only a few Protestants in mixed schools.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Catholic Church sought to make what was already a de facto denominational education denominational in theory as well; this was achieved by 1900. Under the leadership of Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin, the Catholic Church in 1863 boycotted the twenty-six regional “model schools” that had been established for teacher-training purposes. Catholic children and student-teachers were ordered out of the model schools. One result of this was that the percentage of untrained teachers in Ireland was very high. The total number of trained teachers in 1874 was 3,842; the number untrained was 6,118. Sixty-six percent of teachers had not received formal training; only 27 percent of Catholics were trained, compared with 52 percent of Protestants. As a result of church pressure, denominational teacher-training colleges were sanctioned in 1883.

While there had been fears that the hedge schools had been academies of sedition, no such criticism was made of the national schools, where inculcation of loyalty to the established order and respect for authority were taught. Irish cultural identity was not on the agenda of the national schools. Irish language, history, heritage, and games did not find a place in the curriculum. The culture of the schools was more British than Irish. The textbooks produced by the national board were so successful that they were the best-selling books to elementary schools in England.

The number of schools and pupils went up from 789 with 107,000 children in 1833 to 4,321 schools with 481,000 children in 1849. By 1870 the number of schools had increased to 6,806 with 998,999 pupils. In 1871 there were still 2,661 schools with 125,000 children outside the national-school system. More than 1,100 of these were Church Education Society schools, though that body was in rapid decline because of financial pressure.

A majority of children remained in school only until they had attained functional literacy. To learn to read was the fundamental objective of schooling; writing was a secondary concern. Voluntary attendance had long been poor. In 1871 it averaged only 37 percent. In 1892, for the first time, education was made compulsory for children between ages six and fourteen, but the legislation was full of loopholes. Daily attendance was only 62 percent in 1900.

The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education, or Powis Commission, reported in 1870 and followed English and Scottish commissions in recommending payment by results in order to improve standards in the national schools. The payment-by-results policy was introduced in 1872, but it was heavily criticized and abolished in 1899, also following the English and Scottish pattern.

The Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction, or Belmore Commission, reported in 1898. It was appointed to bring Ireland into line with educational thinking on the European continent. It concentrated on practical and child-centered education rather than the mere rote learning of the three Rs. Resident Commissioner William Starkie implemented the recommendations in the revised program for national schools in 1900.

The removal of illiteracy in English was a major achievement of the national-school system in the nineteenth century. In 1851, 47 percent of people 5 years old and older could neither read nor write in English; in 1871 the corresponding figure was 33 percent, and in 1901 it was 14 percent. From 1879 it became possible to teach Irish in national schools, though only outside school hours. Irish was not taught in national schools during school hours until 1900. In 1904, Irish, for the first time, became the main medium of instruction in national schools in Irish-speaking areas. Many within the Gaelic League (founded in 1893) believed that Irish had been lost because of an anglicizing policy in nineteenth-century national schools, and that it could be revived through a gaelicization policy in twentieth-century national schools. In the Irish Free State the argument that Irish had been lost in the national schools was used to attempt the restoration of the Irish language by placing the burden of learning it on primary-school pupils. Arguably, greater damage had been done to Irish in the hedge schools, which were primarily concerned with learning to read in English, in the century before 1831.

SEE ALSO Chapbooks and Popular Literature; Education: Primary Private Education—“Hedge Schools” and Other Schools; Education: Secondary Education, Female; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Language and Literacy: Decline of Irish Language; Kildare Place Society; Literacy and Popular Culture; Presbyterianism; Religion: Since 1690; Rice, Edmund; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

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Thomas McGrath

NONDENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLING

The system of education in Ireland, north and south, developed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a denominational system under the control and management of the main Christian churches. This occurred despite the fact that when the national (elementary) school system was set up in Ireland in 1831, its main objective “was to unite in one system children of different creeds.” While some of the schools that were funded by the Commissioners of National Education in the early years were jointly managed, the main Christian churches put pressure on the government to allow aid to be given to schools under the management of individual churches. This pressure was so effective that by the mid-nineteenth century, 96 percent of schools funded by the government were under the control of one or other of the main Christian churches and remained so. In this respect, the Irish system of education is fundamentally different from systems of education in other parts of the Western world. In most western countries “parallel” systems have evolved; that is, denominational schools exist side by side with publicly controlled schools.

After independence was granted to the twenty-six counties of the Irish Free State in 1921 to 1922, very little change occurred in the control and management of the school system in the south. Three-quarters of a century were to pass before comprehensive legislation in the form of the 1998 Education Act became law. In the north, the education system was immediately restructured after partition to bring it into line with the system in England and Wales, and the 1923 Education Act set up democratic local authority structures to run primary education in the north. However, because the Roman Catholic Church insisted on maintaining the autonomy and separateness of its schools, the education systems in both the north and south remained religiously divided. On both sides of the border virtually all schools, primary and secondary, catered separately to either Catholic or Protestant pupils.

It was not until the 1960s that the system of control and management of schooling began to be questioned. During the 1960s and 1970s there was a grow-

ing interest in education in Ireland. Vatican II had encouraged involvement of the Roman Catholic laity in what had traditionally been a clerically dominated church. Some Roman Catholics argued that a strong case could be made from the reading of the documents of Vatican II for the introduction of integrated schools. The troubles in Northern Ireland had erupted afresh, and after 1969 many Irish people were anxious to break down barriers between Protestant and Catholic on the island of Ireland. They felt that the introduction of multidenominational or integrated education could contribute to breaking down these barriers.

In the south the Dalkey School Project (DSP) was set up in 1975 with the aim of opening a school that would be multidenominational, co-educational, and under a democratic management structure, and which would have a child-centered approach to education. The task confronting the project was formidable. The national school system had been undisturbed for over 100 years. There was an established equilibrium between the Department of Education, the churches, and the Irish National Teachers’ Organisation, the only teacher union representing primary teachers in the Republic of Ireland. There was a price for the churches’ control of education: They provided sites for schools and they paid the local contribution toward the capital and running costs of their schools. The state paid the teachers’ salaries, the larger share of the capital costs (averaging 85 percent), and an annual capitation grant towards maintenance costs. The DSP realized that the entry fee for any new partner into the network would be high and that it would have to raise funds on a very large scale if it was to succeed in setting up a school.

Four years of lobbying, fund-raising, and preparation were to pass before the first multidenominational primary school—the DSP National School, with about eighty pupils on its roll—was recognized by the southern government in 1978. Politicians of all political parties supported the concept, but there were also powerful antagonists, within and outside government, opposed to such a development. Some bureaucrats at both local and central levels had difficulty in accepting that a multidenominational school could be a valid part of the Irish education system. The DSP National School functioned in temporary premises for six years, and in 1984, when the school moved to a purpose-built school, it had over 300 pupils on the rolls and employed ten teachers.

In 1984 Educate Together was set up as a national coordinating body for schools and groups interested in setting up multidenominational schools. Since then, the number of schools has grown to twenty-eight, catering to more than 4,000 pupils (about 1 percent of all primary school pupils) and employing 200 teachers. These

schools aim to meet a growing need in Irish society for schools that recognize the developing diversity of Irish life and the modern need for democratic management structures. Educate Together guarantees children and parents of all faiths and none equal respect in the operation and governing of education. It is facing unprecedented demand for places in its schools and for increased services to schools, and it is under pressure to open new schools in new areas. It is also being urged to promote its philosophy in the wider context of secondary education and pre-school provision. This growing demand can be attributed to various factors in modern Irish life such as the rapid diversification of society, economic growth, increasing population, globalization of the economy, and improved communications. It can also be attributed to the increasing demand of Irish parents to participate as partners in the educational process and to see their children grow up at ease with social, religious, and cultural difference.

In the mid-1970s, when the Dalkey School Project was struggling to obtain state sanction, some parents in Northern Ireland were also actively engaged in trying to convince the Northern Ireland government to provide support for what they referred to as an “integrated” school. Integrated education is described as the bringing together in one school of pupils, staff, and governors in roughly equal numbers from both Protestant and Catholic traditions. It is about cultivating the individual’s self-respect and therefore respect for other people and other cultures. Integrated education means bringing children up to live as adults in a pluralist society, recognizing what they hold in common as well as what separates them, and accepting both.

The first integrated school, Lagan College, was established in Belfast in 1981 by the campaigning parent group All Children Together (ACT). In 1985 three more integrated schools opened in Belfast, offering parents in the city an alternative choice to the existing segregated schools. In 2003 there were forty-six integrated schools in Northern Ireland, comprising seventeen integrated second level colleges and twenty-nine integrated primary schools. In addition there were thirteen integrated nursery schools, most of which were linked to primary schools. Like Educate Together schools in the south, integrated schools in Northern Ireland were oversubscribed: in the academic year 2000 to 2001 some 1,140 applicants for places in integrated education had to be turned away due to lack of places. (The coordinating body for integrated education in Northern Ireland is NICIE—the Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education.)

Over the years multid denominational education in the south and integrated education in the north have at-

tracted both supporters and detractors, and the growth of the sector has not come without opposition. Opinion polls, however, continue to show widespread support for the concept of multid denominational and integrated education.

SEE ALSO Education: Primary Private Education—“Hedge Schools” and Other Schools; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831

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Áine Hyland

SECONDARY EDUCATION, FEMALE

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed what has been called a revolution in the education of Irish women. Though Irish girls were beneficiaries of the comprehensive, publicly funded, national elementary school system established earlier in the century (with the passage of Stanley’s Education Act in 1831), their access to secondary and university education was a much later development, and its accomplishment was fraught with controversy.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Whereas female secondary education was not unheard of before the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the availability of advanced instruction was rare, the quality of that instruction variable, and the distinction between elementary and secondary or higher education unclear. Census returns from 1871 show four national schools providing secondary education to Protestant and Catholic girls (though they numbered a mere twenty-four pupils). There were also some Catholic convent boarding schools (run by the Ursuline, Dominican, Loreto, Brigidine, and Saint Louis Sisters) that offered what was called “superior” education, distinguished by a curriculum that included foreign languages. For girls from families lacking the resources to pay the £40 annual fee required at such institutions, the Mercy and Presentation sisters (founded originally to work with the poor) developed the pension day school during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Located in the

larger towns throughout the country, the schools offered both elementary and more advanced education to Catholic girls for one-tenth of the cost of a boarding school.

Despite the existence of schools offering what might be called secondary instruction to a limited number of Irish girls, both lack of access as well as the inferior quality of educational content drew criticism during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Protestant educational reformers objected to curricula that emphasized the teaching of so-called accomplishments (singing, drawing, music, and needlework) at the expense of academic or technical subjects (languages and literature, higher mathematics, and physical sciences) that would better prepare women for employment or afford them the opportunity to know intellectual achievement.

In demanding female access to technical, classical, and professional education on the same terms as males, these women were players in larger social and cultural dramas. As elsewhere in the industrializing world, growing numbers of middle-class women in Ireland needed paid employment but could not secure it. Educational reformers like the Quaker Anne Jellicoe lobbied for female access to improved secondary and university education as a way for women to gain better, life-sustaining employment. Some proponents of expanded educational access, like the feminist Isabella Tod (again, part of a larger feminist movement that was organizing throughout the nineteenth-century industrializing world), called for expanded female educational access not only as a necessity but also, quite simply, as a right.

Consequently, in the late 1850s Protestant women began opening a series of new educational institutions for young women, providing both secondary and higher education. Margaret Byers (Ladies' Collegiate School, later Victoria College, 1859, Belfast), Anne Jellicoe (Queen's Institute, 1861; Alexandra College, 1866; and Alexandra School, 1873, all in Dublin), and Isabella Tod (Ladies' Institute, 1867, Belfast) were among the most prominent founders of more than seventy Protestant female secondary schools begun by the end of the nineteenth century. Run by a Protestant committee of both lay and clerical leaders (usually male), these schools prepared young women between the ages of fourteen and eighteen for jobs as governesses and teachers and eventually for university degrees and civil-service positions.

Although liberal Protestant reformers may have been critical of the traditional forms of female education, Catholic educational leaders, both men and women, were not. Their wealth, prominence, and nationalist aspirations flourishing at this time, Irish Catholics clung to their Catholicism and its traditions for

reasons of both religious loyalty and political and cultural resistance. Liberal Protestant social critiques, in this case of female education, did not resonate with them. In their eyes female education was as it should be, training up religiously and morally upright women whose societal role was, and ought to be, centered on family life.

This is exactly what convent superior boarding schools did their best to accomplish. Curricula included not only English, French, Italian, history, geography, writing, and arithmetic, but also needlework, drawing, deportment, and conduct. End-of-term competitions meant prizes and marks for those girls deemed to be most refined in the art of politeness. Employment needs or aspirations, let alone intellectual pursuits, were believed to be not only frivolous but dangerous as well. Domestic accomplishments—be they those required by the wealthy, the middle ranks, or the lower classes—were the proper courses of study for Irish girls and women. Yet regardless of whether convent superiors approved of the new demands for female educational reform, change was on its way.

STATE SUPPORT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

After a decade of lobbying efforts by several reform movements aimed at winning publicly funded secondary education, the British government passed the Intermediate Education Act in 1878. The law provided limited state support for schools offering education beyond the primary level, and it included female secondary institutions. This act was followed by the creation of the Royal University of Ireland in 1879, which opened university exams to women (though they were still barred from attending classes or taking degrees at the country's universities). Taken together, these two pieces of legislation accelerated the reform of female education and helped to lay the groundwork for eventual access to full educational rights in the early twentieth century.

Beginning in the summer of 1879, schools throughout Ireland were invited to present advanced students for public examinations. Topics for the exams were set by a national examining board (consisting of both Protestants and Catholics), and students deemed by the examiners to have passed or excelled in the various subjects tested were given monetary awards and honors. In addition, schools received results fees that were determined by the success of their students. The system of public exams and prizes that was used to distribute state money—customary practice in Irish schools—was believed to be an effective means of raising educational standards. The major subject areas stressed were Latin, Greek, and English language, histo-

ry, and literature; higher mathematics (algebra, geometry, trigonometry); Irish (though Irish history was included later than was the Irish language) and French; and to a lesser extent, the sciences (botany and zoology). Schools did not have to present students in all subject areas but could compete in fields of their choosing. Convent schools, for example, competed regularly in English and French, but were slower than Protestant schools to begin teaching girls Latin.

Exams were held in forty cities and towns throughout the country at the end of the summer term and lasted for nearly two weeks. Though the system was criticized for encouraging a rigid educational curriculum (undermining intellectual pursuit and excellence in areas outside those tested) and also for leading to a “cramming” culture within the schools, those Protestant women who had led the push for expanded female education believed that the intermediate act had produced nothing short of a revolution in education for women in Ireland.

Catholic educators were not so impressed. Though some among the Catholic elite did desire a more academically challenging educational experience for their daughters, mother superiors were slow to back the secondary education system. They complained of the travel and long stays away from school necessitated by the examination system. They worried about their pupils being exposed to a range of influences not to their liking and outside their control. They questioned the long-term effects of an education that seemed to be of no great purpose and to devalue women’s central domestic role.

Yet they faced a dilemma on several levels. Though they did not like the system of examinations or the curriculum being developed, still, they did not like turning away state money that could be put to good use. Also, convents possessed a competitive spirit—especially when the competition was with the Protestant community. It is no surprise, then, that convent superiors were loath to see Protestant girls’ schools take top prizes year after year. Finally, growing numbers of young Catholic women themselves wanted secondary and university educations; the best among them began to attend the Protestant-managed Alexandra School and College in Dublin, which admitted students of all denominations. It was not until 1893, after Archbishop William Walsh of Dublin approved the foundation of Saint Mary’s University College in response to this very issue that convents throughout the country felt free to take up the challenge. In 1892 twenty convent schools competed for prizes and results fees. In 1893 twenty-nine did so; and by 1898, forty-five convent schools (60 percent of Catholic girl’s secondary schools) were among those on

the results list. In 1899 the Saint Louis convent in Monaghan was the first Catholic school to place second in the country, and in 1901, the Eccles Street Dominican School in Dublin placed first. With the support of the Catholic hierarchy and their initial reservations now behind them, mother superiors never looked back. In the twentieth century they won accolades (from both the British and Irish governments and the church hierarchy) for their able, effective, and successful administration of female secondary education.

SEE ALSO Duffy, James; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Education: Women’s Education; Literacy and Popular Culture; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

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SECONDARY EDUCATION, MALE

Defining the state’s role in education and establishing an appropriate curriculum for middle-class Irish adolescents complicated the question of how best to provide a system of secondary education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Attempts to address these issues were affected by the Catholic bishops’ determination to manage their local schools and thereby shield their students from proselytization, and by debates over the value of including subjects with Irish cultural and historical content in the curriculum.

After 1831 the national schools provided primary education to an expanding number of children, but in 1870 less than 5 percent of the pupils, or some 25,000 students, advanced to the secondary level. Secondary schools were managed either privately, or by dioceses, or by Catholic religious teaching orders. They varied widely in endowment, enrollment, quality of facilities, and skill of the teaching staff. There were few religiously mixed schools, and boys and girls attended separate schools. Only forty-seven secondary schools were under Catholic management, and the hierarchy, among others with an interest in education, looked for a way to provide further education for middle-class youths with scholastic ability.

Proponents of educational reform collaborated in 1878 with the Conservative government to secure passage of the Intermediate Education Act (Ireland). The act maintained the principle that Ireland would have publicly funded and locally managed denominational education—the defining characteristic of the Irish national schools. The legislation established the Intermediate Board of Education; additional parliamentary activity in 1900, 1913, and 1914, several official inquiries, and annual reports provided information for subsequent administrative adjustments. Prominent Irishmen were selected to represent Catholic or Protestant interests on the seven-member board, which was responsible for a system that encompassed, on the eve of partition, 356 schools and 27,250 students, 16,093 male and 11,157 female, aged fourteen to eighteen. The annual interest on a grant of one million pounds, made available from the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, was designated for intermediate education; later, a percentage of customs and excise taxes supplemented the budget. No provision was made for building, equipping, or maintaining new schools, and no provision was made for the training of secondary teachers. The Irish Christian Brothers operated the only training college for secondary teachers. Lay teachers, who were outnumbered by teaching members of religious orders, were chronically underpaid and enjoyed no security of tenure. The salaries of women teachers (forty-eight pounds in 1905) was about half the amount earned by male teachers; both earned less than the better-trained national-school teachers. For good or ill, secondary teachers, unlike their national-school counterparts, were not subjected to the periodic visits from school inspectors until 1908, when officials were appointed for the principal subjects.

The curriculum for preparatory, junior, middle, and senior grades was conceived along classical lines: A liberal education was considered by policymakers to be the best preparation, particularly for males who hoped

to enter the professions. Subjects included Latin and Greek (important to Catholic leaders, who saw intermediate schools as fruitful recruiting grounds for the priesthood), English, German, Italian, French (favored by girls), drawing and music, history and historical geography, the natural sciences, algebra and arithmetic, and bookkeeping.

A dominant feature of secondary pedagogy was the payment-by-results policy. At the beginning of the academic year the board issued a program of study that effectively determined the amount of instructional time that teachers devoted to various subjects. At the end of the year students presented themselves for public examinations in which their demonstrated ability was recognized by prizes, exhibitions, medals, and certificates. The board awarded teachers extra fees according to their pupils' achievements. This policy prompted teachers to encourage students to cram into their heads as much detail as possible in order to roll up points on a given examination. In the early 1880s, about four times as many boys as girls presented themselves for examination, but that gap was closing by 1920. Boys, however, generally maintained a slightly higher overall pass rate: 52 percent to 48 percent was a typical margin.

The payment-by-results policy seems stultifying, but contemporaries believed that preparation of the memory was appropriate for postsecondary students, who would encounter similar examinations for the civil service, for clerkships in businesses, and for admission to universities. Catholic schools found the policy especially lucrative. They quickly surpassed Protestant schools in the production of prizewinning students; by the end of the century Catholic students were regularly sweeping up over three-fourths of the exhibitions. Catholic secondary schools also competed with their rivals—one teaching order versus another—to boast of the highest number of awards. The negative effect of the emphasis on testing was the psychological toll on those students, about half, who were deemed insufficiently prepared to take the examinations, and on those who failed the examinations, thereby hurting their schools' financial and competitive positions.

In time the Christian Brothers' secondary schools in Dublin and Cork, which attracted male students largely from the lower socioeconomic strata, were winning nearly 50 percent of the fees payable after the annual examinations. Renowned for their teaching ability at the primary level, the Brothers' success at the secondary level was remarkable because their schools enrolled only about 3,000 students, less than 10 percent of the total receiving a secondary education. Moreover, their curriculum did not coincide with the standard intermediate program, as the Brothers placed heavy emphasis on

Irish subjects and did not offer much Latin or Greek, subjects that the Intermediate Board favored with some 25 percent of prizes awarded. The Brothers' success strained their relationship with both the elite Catholic boarding schools and the Intermediate Board: The former complained that the Brothers had overstepped their bounds by presenting lower-class boys for examination; the latter would not heed the Brothers' requests to implement curricular reforms in Irish history and the Irish language that would further increase their students' opportunities on the examinations.

The Brothers were not alone in criticizing the curriculum. Various advocates complained that the classical curriculum was inappropriate for Irish needs and that it ought to be revised to prepare students for specific careers, including agriculture. The most persistent critics, however, were cultural nationalists who demanded curricular reform to promote the development of the students' knowledge and understanding of their nationality and heritage. Cultural nationalists, sparked by the ideas of Young Ireland writers of the 1840s and following the lead of the Gaelic Athletic Association and Gaelic League in the 1880s and 1890s, fostered widespread interest in Irish history and culture, particularly the language and its literature. Cultural-revival enthusiasts protested rightly that courses in these subjects were relegated to minor positions in the curriculum, and pointed out that the thousands of students who studied them were discriminated against in the awarding of points on the annual examinations. The board would not bow to this pressure and was consequently branded an antinational institution that aimed to transform Irish youths into anglicized West Britons. This criticism became a crucial part of the revolutionary rhetoric that advanced nationalists in the Sinn Féin movement levelled against Dublin Castle rule. Many significant Sinn Féin leaders and supporters of the movement for Irish independence were Christian Brothers' boys.

The administration of the intermediate system was divided when the country was partitioned in 1921. The new government in Northern Ireland did not disrupt local control of Catholic secondary schools, and the existing curriculum remained largely in place. The Provisional Government in Dublin, however, abolished the Intermediate Board in 1922 and instituted a dramatically revised curriculum designed along cultural nationalist lines.

SEE ALSO Duffy, James; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Education: Secondary Education, Female; Literacy and Popular

Culture; Religion: Since 1690; Religious Orders: Men; Rice, Edmund; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

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Lawrence W. McBride

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Commonly known as “the university question,” the attempt to establish a university system that offered accessible and good quality education without offending the religious sensibilities of Irish Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Presbyterians was one of the most difficult tasks faced by all late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British governments. Before 1845 only Trinity College provided laymen with third-level education in Ireland. A lay college at Maynooth functioned only from 1795 until 1817, when the institution turned exclusively to training priests. Trinity College was perceived to be the university of the Protestant Ascendancy, and Catholics were encouraged by their bishops to shun the college. Both the expansion of a Catholic professional and mercantile middle class and a perception that Catholics were discriminated against in the realm of university education encouraged demands for the establishment of a university that was suitable for Catholics.

In 1845 Sir Robert Peel's government created the Queen's Colleges. Established at Belfast, Cork, and Galway and linked to form the Queen's University in 1850, the colleges offered low fees, good scholarships, and a vocational ethos. They were secular institutions, but provision was made for the pastoral care and religious instruction of students of various denominations. The colleges were an expensive attempt both to undermine the demand for repeal and to provide institutions in which Irish students of different religious backgrounds could be educated together. This attempt to institute “mixed education” met with fierce resistance from many quarters, but was welcomed by such political progressives as Young Ireland.

The Catholic hierarchy condemned the colleges, which were denounced as “godless.” By 1850 ecclesiastics were forbidden to have any dealings with the new



Before 1960 university education in Ireland was reserved for the privileged few. Of the meager total of 3,200 university students in 1901, about 1,000 attended Trinity College (pictured here in 1918). Trinity's connections with Anglicanism were still very strong, though non-Anglicans had been admitted to fellowships and scholarships in 1873. Irish Catholics generally went elsewhere in Ireland when they attended university at all. © HULTON ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

colleges, priests were barred from accepting college offices, and the laity were instructed to shun them at all costs. Some Catholics did attend them, but the Cork and Galway colleges attracted fewer students than the Belfast college, which drew a steady flow of Presbyterian students. In response to this initiative, in 1854 the Catholic bishops founded the Catholic University under the rectorship of the famed English convert John Henry Newman. This institution labored under almost constant financial difficulty. Its medical school in Cecilia Street earned a good reputation, but as the institution received neither a charter nor an endowment, it failed to live up to the expectations of its clerical founders. W. E. Gladstone's proposal in 1873 for a single Irish university consisting of the Belfast and Cork colleges, Trinity, the Presbyterian Magee College, and the Catholic University led to the fall of his government and was met with almost universal rejection in Ireland.

One of the most important nineteenth-century initiatives in the realm of higher education was the introduction in 1879 of the University Education (Ireland) Act, which made way for the dissolution of the Queen's University and the establishment of the Royal University of Ireland. The Royal University was an examining body only. It had the power to grant degrees to anybody who passed its examinations; where or by whom students were educated made no difference, except in the case of medical students, who were required to attend approved medical schools. In 1882 the Catholic University was restructured to consist of a number of affiliated Catholic educational institutions whose students could register at the Royal University. The old Catholic University became one of these and was renamed University College, Dublin; the Jesuit fathers undertook the running of the college in 1883. The teaching of medicine continued at Cecilia Street under the title of the Catholic

University Medical School. The Board of the Royal University distributed thirty-two university fellowships to approved colleges throughout Ireland; the main recipients were the old Queen's Colleges, which continued to exist but had no special role or privileges in the new university, and University College, Dublin, which was regularly awarded half of the Royal University's fellowships. In this way indirect funding was given for denominational education.

In some respects the Royal University was remarkably progressive. University prizes and scholarships were open to male and female students of all denominations, and the numbers of students presenting themselves for examinations grew rapidly. But the Royal University was largely viewed as merely temporary. The system encouraged intense rivalry and competition as results were published and widely dissected, while students in unendowed private colleges were under heavy pressure to win cash prizes. But the main objection was the lack of a collegiate life that could compare with Trinity's. In the absence of an acceptable Catholic teaching university or university college, various secondary schools and newly established colleges became de facto university colleges that were deemed unsatisfactory by lay and clerical Catholics. By 1901 the majority of students sitting Royal University examinations were educated privately or at miscellaneous schools. Calls for the abolition or major reorganization of the Royal University continued.

In the early twentieth century numerous schemes were suggested, including the establishment of a second college, Catholic in atmosphere and administration, alongside Trinity in the University of Dublin. This proposal met with fierce rejection from the Trinity authorities, as did another plan to incorporate Trinity, the old Queen's Colleges, and a new Dublin college into a federal structure. Royal Commissions on University Education in 1902 to 1903 and on Trinity College in 1906 to 1907 failed to reach agreement on the issue, which continued to provoke debate in Ireland and in Britain. Despite a number of near settlements, commissions, and debates, it was only when the Catholic hierarchy finally conceded that a Catholic University would not be endowed by governments hostile to denominational education, and that Trinity would not be interfered with, that a settlement seemed likely. Augustine Birrell's National University scheme of 1908 finally placated most interested parties, but it was hardly greeted with enthusiasm. The Irish Universities Bill of 1908 allowed for the establishment of two new universities: the National University of Ireland, a federal institution that encompassed the old Queen's Colleges in Galway and Cork, and a transformed and endowed University College, Dublin, and

Queen's College, Belfast, which became the Queen's University. Trinity College was left untouched.

The colleges were formally nondenominational, but the university senates and governing bodies of each of the institutions were to reflect the religious affiliation of most college members; the Belfast institution would cater mainly to Presbyterians, while University College, Dublin—which retained many of its professors—catered primarily to Catholics. The Catholic Medical School was merged with the new National University, and Maynooth became a recognized college in 1913. The Gaelic League demanded that Irish be included as a compulsory matriculation subject in the new university. This provoked fierce debate, but the requirement was formalized for all native-born Irish candidates in 1913.

SEE ALSO Education: Women's Education; Maynooth; Presbyterianism; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Trinity College

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Senia Pašeta

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Before 1878 the secondary education of female students was largely undertaken by private tutors or in fee-paying schools that usually reflected the religious and class backgrounds of students. Provision of postprimary education for working-class girls was virtually nonexistent. The first attempts to improve women's higher education were made by bourgeois Protestant campaigners who established a number of women's colleges, including the Ladies' Collegiate School (later Victoria College) in 1859, the Queen's Institute in 1861, and Alexandra College in 1866. In 1882 they founded

the Central Association of Schoolmistresses and Other Ladies Interested in Education to lobby for the extension of women's access to higher education. Middle-class Catholic women were mostly taught by nuns, especially the Ursuline and Loreto orders which brought a strong French tradition to Irish Catholic schools—particularly boarding schools—by emphasizing literary subjects, refinement, order, and discipline.

Women's access to higher education was revolutionized by the introduction of intermediate education in 1878. This system of secondary education was open to all Irish students, male and female, and was administered by the Intermediate Education Board, which examined students annually and paid fees to the schools that produced the highest-scoring students in junior, middle, and senior grade examinations. A number of girls' secondary colleges entered their students for these examinations, and although fewer women than men presented themselves for examinations, by the turn of the twentieth century women were outperforming men in almost all subjects.

The establishment of several women's colleges in the 1880s and 1890s that aimed to prepare women for intermediate examinations raised the standard of women's education enormously. Many of these colleges were adapted to prepare women for entrance to the Royal University, which was established in 1879. Based on the University of London, this university was an examining body only, whose annual examinations, prizes, and scholarships were available to male and female students. It allocated a number of fellowships to teachers at approved institutions, but the preparation of students was left almost entirely to individual schools and private tutors. Since women's colleges received none of the Royal University's fellowships, inadequate teaching in classical languages and mathematics made the task of penetrating such traditionally male subjects as medicine and philosophy nearly impossible. Despite this, Protestant schools once again took the lead with several colleges, including Alexandra College, establishing departments that prepared women for Royal University examinations. Fearful that ambitious Catholic women would go to Protestant schools, Catholic schools followed suit by similarly introducing university classes for women. This began in 1883 with the Dominican convent school in Eccles Street, Dublin. Its women's university classes were taken over in 1893 by Saint Mary's University College, Dublin, which was soon joined by Loreto College, Saint Stephen's Green, and Saint Angela's in Cork. In addition, the old Queen's Colleges began gradually to admit women to classes that prepared them for Royal University examinations: Belfast in 1882, Cork in 1886, and Galway in 1888 (de-

spite fierce opposition from the local Catholic bishop). The Cecilia Street Medical School—a remnant of the old Catholic University—admitted women in 1896. In total, fourteen educational institutions opened their doors to female students of the Royal University between 1879 and 1889.

Despite these improvements, teaching provisions at most women's colleges were so poor that many women were forced to resort to expensive private tuition in order to pass their examinations. Very fortunate women's colleges occasionally managed to engage a Royal University fellow for an hour or two, but the vast majority of female students had no contact with fellows, which were the only teaching provisions offered by the Royal University. The absolute refusal by University College, Dublin, to allow women to attend the lectures given by university fellows—of which University College, Dublin, was usually awarded half—placed women at a severe disadvantage.

By 1902 Catholic and Protestant women together formed the Irish Association of Women Graduates and Candidate Graduates, which presented evidence about the position of women in higher education to the Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland in 1902. The majority of the association's members were graduates of the Royal University, but others had studied at medical schools and other tertiary institutions. University College, Dublin, became the focus of a prolonged feminist campaign. Women were determined to gain admission to it as it was the only institution in Dublin that boasted any sort of collegiate life. Some sympathetic Royal University senators took up the women's cause and offered the use of university rooms to University College fellows who agreed to repeat their lectures to women. This unsatisfactory arrangement lasted only a few years because many fellows refused to repeat lectures, and others charged fees well beyond the means of women students. Finally in 1901, under enormous pressure, college authorities were forced to admit women to lectures in University College. Only second- and third-year arts students, mainly drawn from Catholic colleges, were allowed into lecture halls. First-year students were excluded and women were still barred from becoming full members of the college community. All these restrictions were lifted in 1908 with the establishment of the National University of Ireland. University College, Dublin, and the Queen's Colleges in Cork and Galway became constituent colleges of the new university, while the Belfast Queen's College became Queen's University. Women were awarded full equality in these institutions in the areas of teaching, degrees, and staff appointments.

Every university in the United Kingdom with the exception of Durham had admitted women (without giving them degrees) by 1892, and even Oxford and Cambridge had allowed women to attend lectures and to be placed on examination lists. Female activists reminded the authorities that the Irish universities and university colleges lagged behind the rest of the United Kingdom. Beginning in the 1880s, Trinity College was inundated by petitions and memorials from advocates of women's education. Although some university fellows supported women's demands, the university board made only meager concessions, such as the decision in 1896 to allow women only very limited access to certain examinations, but not to teaching facilities. Under considerable pressure from campaigners, Trinity College finally admitted women in 1904.

Although the degrees of all Irish universities were open to women by 1908, objections to mixed-sex education remained. Alexandra College supported the admission of women to the degrees of Trinity College but argued that their education should be arranged separately from men's. Alexandra's college department sought affiliation with Trinity College, but its bid was unsuccessful. The first women who attended Trinity College did so under highly restrictive conditions, but the provision of a lady registrar, a women's hostel, and the growth of social activities for women ensured that their active involvement in university life increased year by year. Victoria College made a similar application for affiliation to the Queen's University in Belfast, but that too was turned down and women were integrated into the new university alongside men. The education of nuns presented another problem, as the Catholic authorities were reluctant to allow them to mix freely with male students in the colleges of the National University. Several Catholic women's colleges applied for affiliation with the National University, but their bids were unsuccessful, and nuns began to attend college lectures on a regular basis beginning in the mid-1920s. Although fewer women than men completed secondary school and entered university for much of the first half of the twentieth century, this pattern was largely reversed by the 1980s. Female participation and performance statistics in secondary education are now equal to or better than male rates, and women make up just over half of all undergraduate and postgraduate students in Irish universities. In addition, women's participation in the traditionally male fields of medicine, law, and accountancy have now reached or exceeded 50 percent.

SEE ALSO Education: Secondary Education, Female; Education: University Education; Religious Orders:

Women; Trinity College; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century; **Primary Documents:** From the *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women* (1972)

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Senia Pašeta

Edwardian Reform

The death of Henry VIII and the accession of his sickly nine-year-old son as Edward VI in 1547 led to a dramatic change in religious policy in England. The new king and his advisors were firmly Protestant and ensured that the break from Rome became closely linked to a commitment to the reformed religion. The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, led the way with two new prayer books in 1549 and 1552, the latter containing a clearly Protestant communion service, and he was working on a new confession of faith, the Forty-Three Articles, in 1553 when religious reform was brought to a sudden halt by the death of Edward and the succession of his Roman Catholic half-sister Mary in 1553.

The rapid progress of the Edwardian Reformation was a reflection not just of the power of the centralized English state, but also of the commitment of Cranmer and many others to the new religious ideas. But the speed of change aroused opposition among conservative clergy and much of the population. In Ireland, where Protestants were much fewer and the power of the government far weaker than in England, religious resistance was more formidable. Such limited success as had been achieved in the reign of Henry VIII was focused upon securing compliance with the jurisdictional change from the pope to the new "supreme head," the monarch. But Edwardian Protestantism led to important changes in personnel, theology, and liturgy, and marked a dramatic new departure in Irish religious policy.

Lord Deputy Bellingham, with the reluctant cooperation of Archbishop Brown of Dublin, issued injunctions against Catholic practices and imposed the new Protestant communion service. In 1551 the first English *Book of Common Prayer* was introduced to Ireland and used in many churches there. Bishop Staples of Meath set out to preach Protestant doctrine, scandalizing his more conservative clergy and laity by attacking prayer to the saints and the sacrifice of the mass. The archbishop of Armagh, George Dowdall, resolutely refused to countenance such innovations, and in 1551 he fled Ireland rather than conform to the new faith. In his place the new lord deputy, Sir James Croft, in 1552 secured the service of two English Protestants: John Bale, who was appointed bishop of Ossory, and Hugh Goodacre, who succeeded Dowdall at Armagh but died soon after. This marked an important shift in English religious policy away from slow reform relying upon local clergy toward a much more rapid process necessarily relying upon clergy imported from England.

Bishop Bale's uncompromisingly Protestant religious principles came as something of a shock for the Church of Ireland. At his consecration in Dublin on 2 February 1553 he refused to let Archbishop Browne use the old ordinal, insisting on the new English one. As bishop in Ossory, he preached on Protestant doctrine regularly to the congregation in Kilkenny Cathedral, attacked Catholic idolatry, and used the new 1552 prayer book. Bale, however, was unusual in the vigor of his commitment to the new religion. More typical was Archbishop Browne, who went along with the reforms, but without much commitment. Not surprisingly, after the death of Edward in July 1553, Ireland swiftly returned to the papal fold.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Marian Restoration; Protestant Reformation in the Early Sixteenth Century; Religion: 1500 to 1690

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Alan Ford

Eighteenth-Century Politics

1690 TO 1714— REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT	JAMES MCGUIRE
1714 TO 1778— INTEREST POLITICS	JAMES KELLY
1778 TO 1795— PARLIAMENTARY AND POPULAR POLITICS	JAMES KELLY
1795 TO 1800— REPRESSION, REBELLION, AND UNION	RUAN O'DONNELL

1690 TO 1714—REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

To many Protestants the Articles of Limerick (3 October 1691) conceded too much and left open the possibility of future Catholic, indeed Jacobite, resurgence. The initial determination of William III's government to honor what had been agreed at Limerick saw Protestant anxiety turn into political resentment. The all-Protestant parliament that met in Dublin in October 1692 was implacable, assertive and short-lived. Although the government did not seek parliamentary ratification of the Articles of Limerick, it met opposition at every turn, most significantly on the key issue of financial supply. When the commons claimed a "sole right" to determine how taxes could be raised and to initiate the heads of money bills, the lord lieutenant (Viscount Sydney) somewhat disingenuously chose to regard these claims as a breach of Poynings' Law and brought the session to an end in early November. This parliament never met again.

The breakdown in relations between the political nation and the administration posed the questions: How was Ireland to be governed? Could another parliament be summoned? The solution came from Sir Henry Capel, a lord justice from 1693 and later lord deputy (1695–1696), who advised that a parliament might safely meet if a *modus vivendi* were established with the Protestant political nation. The strategy he devised involved compromise on money bills (the sole right was not accepted in principle, though the House of Commons' control of draft money bills was largely conceded), a legislative program designed to meet the perceived insecurities of the Protestant elite (including penal or "popery" laws, as contemporaries called them), and a



View of the Battle of the Boyne, 1 July 1690 (old style), etching by Romeyn de Hooghe. The critical battle in which the forces of James II were defeated by those of William of Orange, enabling him to occupy Dublin. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 11655. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

skillful use of patronage that allowed for parliamentary management (significantly lacking under Sydney in 1692). Capel's handiwork in 1695 became the template for government-parliament relations into the later decades of the eighteenth century, occasionally breaking down but never irretrievably.

The 1695 parliament outlasted Capel, who died in office in 1696. By the time of its dissolution in 1699 it had enacted a substantial number of statutes, including four penal laws, restraining foreign education (1695), disarming papists (1695), banishing Catholic bishops and members of religious orders (1697), and preventing Catholics from being solicitors (1699). An act ratifying the Articles of Limerick also passed (1697), but its terms were restrictive and honored the letter rather than the spirit of what had been agreed in 1691. Further penal measures were passed in subsequent Irish parliaments, especially in the 1703 to 1711 parliament during Queen Anne's reign. The most far-reaching was the "act to prevent the further growth of popery" (1704), which denied Catholics the right either to buy land or to lease property for more than thirty-one years and altered the law of succession (primogeniture replaced by gavelkind) so that on the death of a landowner the property could not be willed to the eldest son but must be divided among all sons, unless the eldest son conformed to the Protestant Established Church. The penal laws of the 1690s and early 1700s were never intended as a coherent code. It is clear nonetheless that they were meant, in different ways and by attacking differing targets, to buttress Protestant security and to ensure that the former Catholic political and social elite would never again

challenge, as they had in the later 1680s, the Protestant hegemony that had been established in the mid-seventeenth century.

Protestants who refused to conform to the established church were also the subject of legislative discrimination. Hopes of a limited toleration for Protestant dissent, along the lines of the English Toleration Act of 1689, were not realized until 1719. Indeed, the 1703 popery act had included a sacramental-test clause that effectively excluded Protestant Dissenters from civil office and borough politics. Dissenters, especially Ulster Presbyterians, had few supporters in the Irish parliament, and they faced implacable opposition from senior Church of Ireland clergy, who strongly objected to legal toleration. The contrast in the treatment of Protestant dissent in England and Ireland can be explained by the proportionately greater threat that Dissenters posed to the established church in Ireland, seen in the concentration in parts of Ulster of a Presbyterian population overwhelmingly Scots in character and sympathy. Occasionally, government in Dublin Castle and Whitehall might seek toleration for Dissent, and the *regium donum*, a modest stipend for Presbyterian ministers, was paid by Whig and Tory administrations, but the Protestant elite remained obdurately opposed to concession.

The *modus vivendi* achieved in the government-parliament relationship in the mid-1690s did not remove the potential for resentment at the unequal constitutional relationship with England. Such resentment usually arose when the English (British from 1707) parliament legislated on matters touching Irish trade or land. This occurred twice in William III's reign, first

with the passing in 1699 at Westminster of an act to prohibit the export of Irish woollens to overseas markets, and again in 1700 with the act of resumption that nullified William III's grants of forfeited Jacobite estates. Since the latter had either been sold or leased to Protestant proprietors, their resumption by the English parliament was deeply destabilizing for a landed elite which had so recently come out of the Jacobite crisis. Even for those with no economic interest in the woollen trade or the forfeited estates, this sort of legislation suggested that Ireland's status as a kingdom was purely nominal, and that its relationship with England was more that of a colony to the imperial power. William Molyneux had seen the implications of such legislation in 1698, when a draft woollen bill was being considered at Westminster, and the terms in which his *Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated* had been condemned in the English House of Commons served to underline the subordinate status of King William's loyal Protestant subjects in Ireland even before the offending acts had reached the statute book. Under the circumstances it was hardly surprising that in the first parliamentary session of Queen Anne's reign the Irish House of Commons should petition the queen for union. Even Molyneux had referred to union as a "happiness we can hardly hope for" (Simms 1982, p. 106). The advantage of union was that it would remove the possibilities for legislative discrimination and provide instead the benefits of representation and consent. But pleas from Ireland for union evoked neither interest nor sympathy at Whitehall or Westminster, where the wider English interest was seen as better served by Ireland remaining both separate and subordinate. There was also an inconsistency, even selectivity, in the expression of Protestant Ireland's resentment at English legislative supremacy. It was after all an act passed at Westminster in 1691 which prevented Roman Catholics from sitting in any future Irish parliament, and Protestant Ireland was happy to accept the English Act of Settlement (1701), which paved the way for the Hanoverian succession.

SEE ALSO Catholic Merchants and Gentry from 1690 to 1800; Derry, Siege of; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Government from 1690 to 1800; Jacobites and the Williamite Wars; Military Forces from 1690 to 1800; Molyneux, William; Penal Laws; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; Trade and Trade Policy from 1691 to 1800; **Primary**

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James McGuire

1714 TO 1778—INTEREST POLITICS

The inauguration of the Hanoverian succession with the coming of George I to the throne in 1714 put a sudden and immediate end to the politics of party in Ireland. Deprived of their primary rationale, Tories across the kingdom either stepped hastily into the political wilderness or embarked on a campaign of political reinvention, whereas the now dominant Whigs availed of the opportunity to consolidate their command over the levers of power. Locally, this usually resulted in the exclusion of Tory activists from boroughs and corporations, as a result in some instances of specific acts of the Irish parliament. At the national level the imputation of disloyalty was sufficient to ensure that Toryism dissolved as a political force.

New and familiar cleavages based on court and country, personality, and simple ambition soon moved to take the place of party allegiances. The decline in the likelihood of a French invasion facilitated greater tolerance, though the introduction of a formal prohibition in 1727 on voting by Catholics reflected a commitment to uphold the penal laws. Meanwhile, successive lords lieutenant, unwilling to reside permanently in Ireland, were dependent on the guidance that they received from the leaders of the major (Protestant) political interests in their management of the Irish parliament. This in effect obliged them to decide during George I's reign (1714–1727) between the skillful and influential William Connolly and the ambitious and less predictable Alan Brodrick. Most opted for Connolly, though even he might dissent from such unpopular policies as the controversial attempt between 1724 and 1725 to introduce low-denomination copper coin—Wood's halfpence. This and other constitutional and fiscal crises energized a

“patriot” sensibility in the kingdom. Perceiving that British politicians regarded Ireland as a dependent kingdom—an impression underlined by the Declaratory Act (1720), by which the Westminster legislature assumed the power to make law for Ireland—Irish Protestants welcomed the vigorous restatement of their legislative rights provided by Jonathan Swift’s *Drapier’s Letters* (1725). Swift’s commentaries on the famine conditions that gripped the kingdom in the late 1720s also served as an important stimulus to economic patriotism.

In the wake of the dispute about Wood’s halfpence, lords lieutenant expanded the role of selected Irish politicians (“undertakers”) who “undertook” to manage the government’s legislative program. The undertaker system was at its most effective under the direction and guidance of Henry Boyle, who performed that role for over twenty years from 1733. By ensuring that the key financial legislation was enacted at every biennial session, and by neutralizing such threats to political stability as emerged from the Dublin radical Charles Lucas, Boyle ensured that Irish politics remained on an even keel. By the early 1750s, however, a coalition of Irish politicians eager to assume his influence and officials resentful of his power sought to diminish his authority. The resulting crisis—the Money Bill dispute (1753–1756)—did not put an end to the undertaker system, but it did serve to introduce a degree of instability into the political process and controversy into public discourse. Stimulated to promote a political program that blended traditional Whig principles with civic virtue, a loose connection of Patriot politicians had emerged as a force to be reckoned with in the House of Commons by the late 1760s. Officials and ministers in London concluded that something needed to be done to affirm the authority of the crown in Ireland. A number of options were canvassed, but the one that found most favor was that of requiring lord lieutenants to reside in Ireland for the duration of their appointment. Because they did not much like the undertaker system, the Patriots might have been expected to support George, Lord Townshend (lord lieutenant, 1767–1772), when he challenged that system by residing in Ireland. But their conviction that his real object was to promote an aristocratic reaction, such as they perceived was also being promoted in England and America, prompted them to take the opposite course. Nevertheless, Townshend put an end to undertaking, thus prompting popular hopes for a more principled era. Increasingly vigorous demonstrations of support for parliamentary reform in the early 1770s had little impact on the House of Commons until the outbreak of hostilities between the Crown and the American colonies changed the context utterly.

SEE ALSO Burke, Edmund; Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Catholic Merchants and Gentry from 1690 to 1800; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Flood, Henry; Government from 1690 to 1800; Grattan, Henry; Military Forces from 1690 to 1800; O’Conor, Charles, of Balenagare; Penal Laws; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; Trade and Trade Policy from 1691 to 1800

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James Kelly

1778 TO 1795—PARLIAMENTARY AND POPULAR POLITICS

Although the allocation of four thousand Irish troops to fight against the Americans in their war for independence and the imposition of an embargo on trade were the subject of heated debate in the Irish parliament, the full implications of the war on Irish domestic politics were not manifest until 1778. The entry of the French into the war on the side of the Americans generated alarm that the French might attempt to use Ireland as a back door to attack Britain, reinforced fears about the loyalties of the Catholic population, and prompted thousands of Protestants to band together in civilian Volunteer corps in order to supplement the depleted military. To encourage Catholic goodwill while the war was in progress, the Irish parliament was persuaded to ratify a bill that removed a number of burdensome restrictions on the rights of Catholics to lease land. Meanwhile, the Westminster legislature refused to implement a proposal in the summer of 1778 to allow Irish merchants to trade on the same terms as their British counterparts. A number of radical activists, with James Napper Tandy to the fore, responded with a campaign for nonimportation and nonconsumption of British goods in 1778 to 1779. Animated by Volunteer support, Henry Grattan and other Patriot leaders brought

sufficient pressure upon ministers of the Crown that agreement was reached to concede Ireland free trade in the winter of 1779 to 1780.

The successful achievement of free trade inevitably prompted demands for constitutional reform, though there was less unanimity within the Patriot coalition on this issue. Some, such as the duke of Leinster objected in principle to the involvement of a paramilitary body like the Volunteers. Others were not convinced that the repeal of the Declaratory Act (1720) and the modification of Poyning's Law in a manner that deprived the British and Irish privy councils of the right to initiate, amend, and lay aside Irish legislation was in the best interest of a secure Anglo-Irish nexus. When the Irish parliament reconvened in the autumn of 1781, the Patriots made little headway until the Ulster Volunteers took up the cause. Their public pronouncement in support of legislative independence at a delegate meeting at Dungannon in February 1782 galvanized the faltering campaign and provided the Patriot leadership of Henry Grattan and Lord Charlemont with the authority, following a change of government in England, to secure the desired concessions at Westminster and College Green in the summer of 1782.

The ratification of legislative independence, which brought about what is conventionally but misleadingly known as "Grattan's parliament," increased the powers of the Irish parliament to make law. But it did not address the relationship of the Irish parliament to the Irish executive based at the Dublin Castle. The ratification, also in 1782, of a further measure of Catholic relief seemed to mark a new dawn politically, but the Patriots were increasingly weakened by internal differences. Grattan and Henry Flood disagreed over the advisability of requiring the British parliament formally to renounce its right to make law for Ireland. Flood enjoyed the support of most rank-and-file Volunteers, and when the Ulster Volunteers took up the issue of parliamentary reform in 1783, his readiness to support a plan that did not include the enfranchisement of Catholics was received with little enthusiasm by many erstwhile advocates of free trade and legislative independence. Encouraged by evidence of the fragmentation of the once powerful Patriot coalition, Prime Minister William Pitt boldly proposed a commercial union between Britain and Ireland. Irish suspicion of the proposal as a surreptitious attack on legislative independence prevented it from reaching the statute book—an outcome that left the Anglo-Irish connection dangerously unregulated in British eyes.

The political mood changed in the late 1780s, and the initiative in domestic Irish affairs shifted from the Patriots, with whom it had largely rested since 1779.

Indeed, the emergence of a more ideologically conservative viewpoint, encouraged by the fears generated by the agrarian movement, the Rightboys, acted as a disincentive to reform for a number of years. The Anglo-Irish relationship briefly returned to the political agenda in the winter of 1788 to 1789 with the incapacitation of George III, but of greater consequence was the formation (from the ranks of the Irish opposition) of the Whig Club and the radicalizing effects of the French Revolution. The failure of the parliamentary opposition to achieve significant further reform disillusioned radicals, who were attracted to the newly formed United Irish Society from the early winter of 1791. In practice, the radical strategy, which was to recreate the conditions that had wrought reform in the early 1780s, wanted for originality, and in the absence of overwhelming public support it never seemed likely to prevail. Catholic enfranchisement was approved in 1793, but it was in response to the independent activity of the Catholic Committee. Indeed, though some steps were taken to respond to the Whigs' eagerness to curb the pensions list, the formal replacement of the Volunteers with a state-controlled militia, the proscription of representative conventions, and the rejection of bills for parliamentary reform in 1793 and 1794 signaled that the political initiative remained firmly with the administration and its largely conservative supporters in the Irish parliament. This was underlined by the arrest and prosecution of the leadership of the Dublin United Irish Society, which caused several key figures in the movement either to withdraw from radical politics or to go into exile. The unexpected appointment of the liberal Whig, 2d Earl Fitzwilliam, as lord lieutenant in 1794 provided the proponents of reform with one more opportunity to reverse the tide. Guided by Grattan and his Whig colleagues, Fitzwilliam seemed intent on governing in accord with moderate reform principles. But by his sweeping changes of personnel and his promotion of Catholic emancipation, he exceeded his instructions. His recall not only destroyed the prospects of reform but also facilitated the adoption of a revolutionary strategy by those who had lost confidence in parliamentary government.

SEE ALSO Burke, Edmund; Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Catholic Merchants and Gentry from 1690 to 1800; Defenderism; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Fitzgerald, Lord Edward; Flood, Henry; Government from 1690 to 1800; Grattan, Henry; Keogh, John; Military Forces

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1795 TO 1800—REPRESSION, REBELLION, AND UNION

The basic strategy of the United Irish leadership remained unchanged between 1795 and 1803. The vigilance of the Irish administration following the declaration of war on France in 1793 and security contingencies adopted to combat the Catholic insurgents known as the Defenders ensured that the republican organization could hope to triumph only with the assistance of foreign allies. The raising of the Irish militia in 1793 and the civilian yeomanry in late 1796 represented major accretions of the state's garrison strength. The recall of the liberal Viceroy Lord Fitzwilliam in 1795 at the behest of Irish ultraconservatives had closed with finality the option of peaceful reform of Parliament and set the stage for armed conflict on Irish soil. Lord Camden, Fitzwilliam's hard-line successor, actively fostered Protestant sectarianism and loyalist supremacy by permitting state agents to assist the newly formed Orange Order. Orangemen frustrated United Irish efforts to infiltrate the yeomanry and militia, and the gradual spread of their lodges exacerbated popular fears of loyalist atrocities.

The French government was expected to provide the men and material necessary to render the United Irishmen effective auxiliaries who, from 10 May 1795, re-coalesced as an oath-bound revolutionary body. New dynamism was injected by Theobald Wolfe Tone's successful negotiation of the French fleet, which moored in Bantry Bay, Cork, under General Lazare Hoche in late December 1796. The French forces were prevented from disembarking by severe weather conditions, but the scare strengthened the hand of republican militants. This reprieve spurred Camden into a sustained crackdown on the Ulster United Irishmen in the spring of 1797. The "dragooning of Ulster," characterized by house burning, mass deportation of suspects, and murderous rampages, was followed by the extension of martial law into midland and southeastern counties. The key issue between March 1797 and May 1798 was whether the United Irishmen could retain sufficient cohesion to offer support to the French. Executions, such as that of Antrim's William Orr, proved counterproductive, but the shooting of militia infiltrators probably reduced the prospect of mass defections. Camden's cultivation of the ultraconservatives introduced the unpredictable element of loyalist extremism into Irish politics, while the concurrent isolation of liberal magistrates exacerbated grievances in counties in which martial law was either threatened or enforced.

REBELLION OF 1798

The United Irish leadership, contrary to popular belief, was never penetrated by agents of Dublin Castle, although an intelligence breakthrough led to the arrest of senior activists in Leinster on 12 March 1798 and left the organization in the hands of a coterie headed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Samuel Neilson. Capturing Dublin was the primary focus of the Fitzgerald/Neilson faction, which with great reluctance decided to rise without the French, whom, it was assumed, would quickly rally to the United Irishmen. The dispatch of Napoleon's army to Egypt in mid-May 1798 greatly lessened this prospect. United Irishmen reasoned that a surprise revolt in the capital, aided by rebels from adjacent counties, would disrupt military communications long enough for their members to overcome local garrisons. Disaster struck when Fitzgerald was detained on 19 May, a blow seconded by the loss of Neilson on 23 May, the day set for the rebellion. While the turnout of city rebels that night was much more significant than once believed, a last-minute warning enabled Dublin Castle to occupy the chosen mobilization sites with government forces. Skirmishes ensued in the northern and western suburbs of Dublin, and by daylight much of Kildare was in rebel hands.

The manner in which the rebellion commenced ensured that the effort was a disjointed series of minor actions rather than a massive blow to government interests. The first news available from the censored press was of numerous rebel defeats attended by heavy casualties. The situation was actually more fluid, with a degree of rebel ascendancy achieved in parts of Kildare, Wicklow, and Meath on 23–24 May, but the military gradually contained the situation once reinforcements from north Munster and east Ulster arrived. The inactivity of United Irishmen in the provinces therefore facilitated critical government victories in Leinster by 31 May. A massacre of surrendering rebels in Kildare, however, steeled their comrades into greater militancy and tied down troops urgently needed to stabilize the situation in north Wexford and south Wicklow. Successes at Oulart Hill and Enniscorthy on 27–28 May yielded the Wexfordians the ability to win battles of more strategic consequence. They were slow to press their advantage prior to 1 June, by which time the government had massed on their borders. While the Castle counterattack met with failure at Tubberneering on 4 June, heavy rebel reverses at Newtownbarry, New Ross, and Arklow between 1 and 9 June cost thousands of lives and the tactical initiative.

The rebellion spread belatedly after 6 June to Ulster, where a split in the provincial leadership hindered the turnout in Antrim and Down. Success at Antrim town, Saintfield, and elsewhere promised greater achievement, but the struggle for Ballynahinch on 12–13 June ended in failure for Henry Joy McCracken and Henry Munro and presaged the collapse of the Ulster effort. The landing of over 10,000 reinforcements from Scotland, England, and Wales decisively tipped the balance against the United Irishmen. On 21 June the rebels were driven from their central camp at Vinegar Hill (Enniscorthy) and divided into two major bodies. Father John Murphy's column pressed into Kilkenny and Queen's County in search of support that was not available and was largely dispersed on the long march home. The second body, under Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark and Garret Byrne of Ballymanus, had greater success in mountainous districts of Wicklow and north Wexford until early July, when it too began to disintegrate. A desperate foray from Wicklow into Kildare, Meath, and north County Dublin proved a costly failure and emphasized the futility of further resistance. All but the hard core spurned the generous amnesty offered by the new administration of Lord Cornwallis and waged a destructive guerrilla war in the Wicklow mountains under Joseph Holt into November.

The appearance of 1,100 French veterans near Killybegs, Co. Mayo, on 22 August 1798 had raised United



A United Irishman captured by crown forces at Ballynahinch, Co. Down, on 13 June 1798, the decisive battle in the northern phase of the rebellion. Detail of Thomas Robinson, Battle of Ballynahinch (1798). REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC WORKS, DUBLIN. PAINTING IN THE COLLECTION OF ARAS AN UACHTARAIN. PHOTO COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND.

Irish spirits and spurred offensives in Sligo, Longford, Westmeath, and Leitrim. Franco-Irish forces under General Jean-Joseph Humbert won a signal victory at Castlebar on 27 August but were diverted from their path into Ulster on 5 September at Collooney. When confronted by an overwhelmingly superior army at Ballinamuck, Co. Longford, on 8 September, the invasion quickly faltered. Efforts to disembark Tone and French soldiers on the northwest coast of Ulster on 12 October, moreover, were prevented by the Royal Navy. It seemed that in the absence of effective French inter-

vention the military was equal to the challenge posed by ill-coordinated insurgent campaigns.

PASSAGE OF THE ACT OF UNION

Ireland remained highly disturbed into 1799, and the United Irishmen continued to petition the French. Robert Emmet and Malachy Delaney went to the Continent to negotiate with Napoleon and Tallyrand in mid-1800 and argued that the imposition of the Act of Union had not lessened popular determination to found an independent Irish Republic. The bill had a difficult passage through the Irish Commons during 1799 and 1800, and, after its initial rejection, officials relied in the final analysis on considerable bribery to secure its implementation on 1 January 1801. An important part of the union agenda was to provide for effective security of the islands of Britain and Ireland, which the United Irishmen had shown to be weak during time of war. The operation of the union made virtually no difference to the vast majority of Irish people owing to the nondemocratic nature of both pre- and post-union parliaments and the failure of London to grant the mooted concession of Catholic emancipation. Emmet's machinations, however, created a major security crisis in Dublin and London in July 1803, which obliged Westminster to garrison Ireland as it would a vulnerable colony.

SEE ALSO Act of Union; Burke, Edmund; Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Catholic Merchants and Gentry from 1690 to 1800; Defenderism; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Fitzgerald, Lord Edward; Flood, Henry; Government from 1690 to 1800; Grattan, Henry; Keogh, John; Military Forces from 1690 to 1800; Neilson, Samuel; Orange Order: Origins, 1784 to 1800; Penal Laws; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; Tandy, James Napper; Tone, Theobald Wolfe; Trade and Trade Policy from 1691 to 1800; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803; **Primary Documents:** United Irish Parliamentary Reform Plan (March 1794); Grievances of the United Irishmen of Ballynahinch, Co. Down (1795); Speech Delivered at a United Irish Meeting in Ballyclare, Co. Antrim (1795); The Insurrection Act (1796); The United Irish Organization (1797); Statement of Three Imprisoned United Irish Leaders (4 August 1798); Account of the Wexford Rising (1832)

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Ruan O'Donnell



Eiscir Riata

The Eiscir Riata is a system of eskers (glacial ridges) that runs across the midlands of Ireland from east to west, dividing the island into two parts of roughly equal size. The esker system formed at the end of the Midlandian glaciation during the dissolution of its ice sheets at around 15,000 B.C.E. Meltwater from the glacier, often transporting massive quantities of sediment during deglaciation, formed tunnels beneath the ice. Changes in the amount of flowing water could lead to an increase in the deposition of sediment, choking a section of tunnel. When the ice melted, a ridge of sand and gravel from the tunnel would emerge as an esker, which can run across the countryside over several kilometers.

In protohistory the Eiscir Riata was used to divide the island between the kings Conn Céadchathach and Mógħ Nuadhat in the wake of the battle of Magh Léna, an event attributed to the early second century C.E. Conn ruled the northern territory (Leath Cuinn), and Mógħ was given the southern lands (Leath Mógħa). Apart from this possible use as a territorial division, the well-drained glacial ridge was also employed as a routeway for travelers across the boggy land of central Ireland. Starting in the east near Dublin and extending to Clarinbridge in County Galway, the Slighe Mhór (the Great Road) ran along the Eiscir Riata as one of ancient Ireland's five great roadways.

The importance of the Eiscir Riata to travellers is further emphasized by the establishment of a number of early Christian ecclesiastical sites along its length, including Durrow and Clonmacnoise, both in County Offaly. These monasteries needed easy access to good communication networks; Clonmacnoise, for example, was particularly well sited because it was located at a point where the river Shannon cut through the Eiscir Riata. The monastery thus stood at a major crossroads in the middle of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Landscape and Settlement

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Eileen M. Murphy

Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921

During the period of the union the character of Irish elections changed considerably, not only in the types of constituencies and the number of electors but also in the political and social backgrounds of the MPs. Normally, Irish electoral politics were very local in nature, and it was only at times of unusual political agitation that national issues became dominant.

Under the Act of Union Ireland returned 100 MPs to the U.K. parliament at Westminster. The number increased to 105 in 1832, fell to 103 after two boroughs were disfranchised in 1870, and rose again to 105 in 1918. From 1800 to 1885 each of the thirty-two counties of Ireland returned two MPs, thirty-three towns or cities returned either one or two MPs, and Dublin University returned two MPs. From 1885 onwards seats were allocated on a roughly equal population basis, which resulted in eighty-five single-seat county constituencies, fourteen single-seat borough constituencies (with one double-seater), and two university seats. Redistribution in 1918 led to the creation of eighty single-seat county constituencies, twenty-one single-seat borough constituencies, and three university constituencies (returning four MPs).

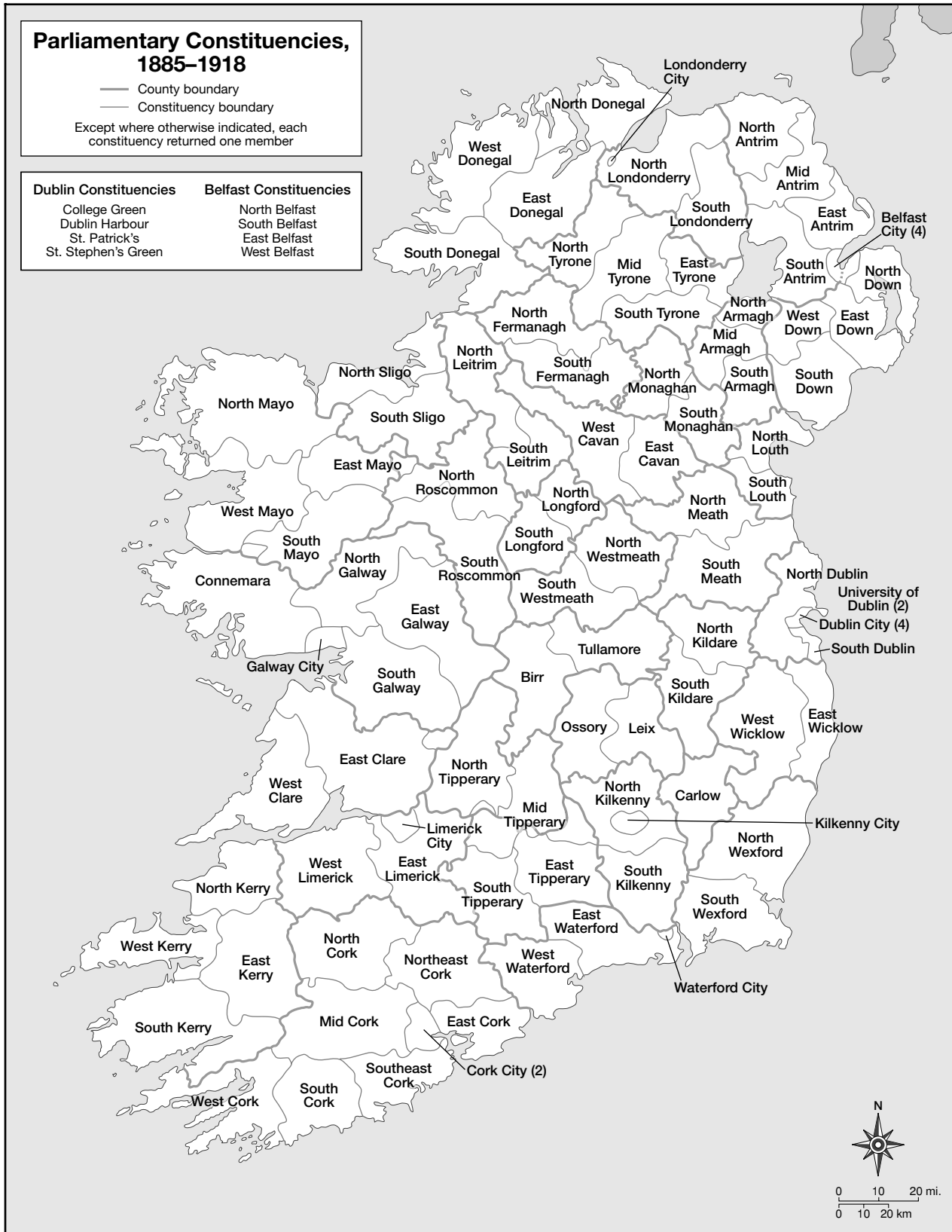
For most of the period from 1800 to 1921 the right to vote was connected to some form of property ownership. It was restricted to males until 1918. At the beginning of this period the franchise was based mainly on the 40-shilling freeholder, but in 1829 (following Catholic Emancipation) it was limited to the 10-pound free-

holder, a change that dramatically reduced the size of the Irish electorate. In 1832 the vote was extended to 10-pound householders in the boroughs, in parallel with the new urban franchise introduced in England and Wales by the Great Reform Bill of that year. In 1850 the vote was further broadened to include occupiers of property valued at 12 pounds or more for county electors and 8 pounds or more for borough electors; the borough qualification was reduced to 4 pounds in 1868. Far more important than these modest extensions, however, was the legislation of 1884 that tripled the size of the Irish electorate by granting the vote to all adult male householders. In 1918 the vote was granted to all adult males and to all females over thirty years old.

In the political system created by the Act of Union there was no religious bar to voting, but only after Catholic Emancipation in 1829 were Catholics allowed to become MPs. Until the 1880s the majority of MPs were drawn from the leading landowning families, and they were mainly members of the Church of Ireland. Beginning with the arrival of Daniel O'Connell in Parliament in 1829 there was a rise in the number of Catholic MPs, but it was not until 1874 that Catholics constituted a majority of Irish MPs. for the first time. The social status of members of the Irish contingent at Westminster was also changing as the Home Rule movement gathered momentum in the 1870s and 1880s. From the general election of 1880 onwards most Irish MPs were no longer from a landowning family.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century relatively few elections proceeded to a poll, though even without a contest an Irish election could still provoke considerable political excitement. The MPs returned to Parliament were usually identified by whether they supported or opposed the government of the day. With the rise in importance of the question of Catholic Emancipation and with the formation of the Irish Parliamentary Party led by Daniel O'Connell, national political issues became more salient and party labels started to emerge. In 1832 O'Connell's party, which sought to repeal the Act of Union, won thirty-nine seats while the Conservatives took thirty and the Whigs and Liberals captured thirty-six in total. The Conservatives wanted to protect the Anglican Church and to preserve the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland in general, whereas the Whigs and Liberals were ready to reduce Anglican privileges and to weaken the Protestant Ascendancy in various ways. From 1835 to 1841, while the Whigs were in office, the O'Connellites in Parliament supported them in return for concessions in the matters of political appointments, tithes, and municipal government. But the alliance with the Whigs hurt the O'Connellites' elec-







toral popularity in Ireland, and after the Tories returned to office in 1841, O'Connell briefly restored the political standing of his party by leading an immense but unsuccessful popular movement for Repeal.

From O'Connell's death in 1847 until 1874 electoral politics were mostly dominated by the Liberals and Conservatives. The majority of elections went uncontested and politicians were concerned primarily with local issues. Beginning in the early 1870s, however, national issues came back into prominence. In 1874 Isaac Butt's Home Rule Party captured sixty seats, and Home Rule became the main issue at elections. Under Butt the loosely organized and not particularly zealous Home Rule MPs made little impression at Westminster, but after Charles Stewart Parnell took over the leadership of the party in 1880, he and his colleagues brought Home Rule to the center of the political stage in Britain. In the election of 1885 the nationalists under Parnell won eighty-five seats (plus one more in Liverpool), and the Conservatives and unionists (based largely in the north of Ireland) captured only eighteen seats. The Liberal leader William Gladstone embraced Home Rule early in 1886, and thus there commenced an alliance between the Liberals and Irish nationalists that was to last for three decades.

The general elections of 1885 and 1886 marked a number of important changes in the nature of Irish elections. The vast extension of the electorate in 1884, embracing many small farmers and agricultural laborers, was an enormous electoral boon to the nationalists, and their new constituency structures, based on local branches of the National League and the active support of the Catholic clergy, introduced a level of dynamic, centralized party organization that had not been seen previously at Westminster elections. The unionists also created strong local electoral organizations, in their case with close links to the Orange Order. At previous elections there had always been a certain amount of voting across denominational boundaries (for example, in support of Liberal candidates in the previous two decades), but by 1886 voters were polarized along religious lines, with Protestants supporting unionist candidates and Catholics backing nationalist ones—overwhelmingly in both cases.

Over the next three and a half decades until 1921 there was little alteration in the comparative strength of unionists and nationalists at elections, which were often uncontested, with local issues again assuming special importance. On a number of occasions, however, considerable political activity was generated at election time within the major parties. Parnell's overthrow as party leader in 1890 led to bitter rivalry among nationalist factions at the general elections of 1892 and 1895. Early

in the new century the unionists witnessed heated intraparty quarrels at elections over land and labor issues.

Although the nationalist party was reunited in 1900, the failure of the Liberals in Britain to deliver Home Rule either before or during World War I helped to undermine the nationalist party, and its electoral chances were further weakened by the political blunders of the British government over the Easter Rising of 1916 and the threat of military conscription at a late stage of the war. In the general election of December 1918 the Home Rule nationalists were virtually eliminated (the number of seats they held plummeted from sixty-eight to only six). A relatively new party, Sinn Féin, which stood for independence from Britain and for abstention from Westminster, swept to victory, capturing seventy-three seats that they did not take up. Instead, Sinn Féin's successful candidates (or at least those who were not imprisoned by the British) established a revolutionary Irish parliament in Dublin (Dáil Éireann) in January 1919. Between then and the end of the union in 1921, the unionists, who had won twenty-six seats in the 1918 election, were the only representatives from Ireland sitting in the Westminster parliament, aside from the tiny remnant of Home Rule MPs who carried on for a few years after their debacle in December 1918.

SEE ALSO Catholic Emancipation Campaign; Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Great War; Griffith, Arthur; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Independent Irish Party; Local Government since 1800; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Redmond, John; Repeal Movement; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation; **Primary Documents:** The Irish Parliamentary Party Pledge (30 June 1892)

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Brian Walker

Elizabethan Conquest

See Nine Years War; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Sidney, Henry; Desmond Rebellions.



Emain Macha (Navan Fort)

Emain Macha, the traditional seat of the kings of Ulster and the capital of the Ulstermen (*Ulaid*) depicted in the Ulster Cycle of tales, has been identified as the present Navan Fort, an enclosure approximately two miles west of the city of Armagh. This monument, measuring 236 meters across, is situated on a small hill and is surrounded by several other prehistoric sites, most notably Loughnashade, a natural lake that has yielded evidence of Iron Age depositions; Haughey's Fort, a late Bronze Age hillfort; and the King's Stables, an artificial pond created circa 1000 B.C.E. Navan was excavated between 1961 and 1971.

Emain has been variously identified with two sites in Ptolemy's second-century C.E. geographic dictionary of Ireland: *Isamnum*, whose linguistically reconstructed form (**Isamonis* or **Isamnis*) might be the antecedent of **Emnae Emain*; or the northern *Regia* ("royal site"). In early Irish tradition the name of the site was fancifully derived either from the *eo-muin* (neck-brooch) that Queen Macha, the eponymous founder of Emain Macha and euhemerized Celtic deity, employed to draw out the shape of the enclosure, or from the *emain* (twin[s]) that the semidivine Macha Sanreth gave birth to at the site after defeating the royal chariot team in a race. Early Irish pseudohistorical or traditional genealogies and king-lists indicate that Emain served as the capital of the Ulstermen from the seventh (or fourth) century B.C.E. until the last Ulaid king at Emain was killed in 324 or 332 C.E., when "rulership of the Ulaid departed from Emain" (O'Brien 1962, p. 325).

The site was initially occupied in the Neolithic period, circa 3500 B.C.E., and then again during the Bronze Age, circa 1000 B.C.E. At this time the occupants constructed on top of the hill a small enclosure formed by a wide but shallow ditch and an internal row of timber uprights—perhaps a ritual precinct. The interior of the enclosure was subsequently occupied by a figure-eight structure that was renewed on a number of occasions; the skull of a Barbary ape, imported from North Africa, was found in one of the wall-slots. A larger figure-eight enclosure (with rings 30 meters and 20 meters across) was then erected nearly adjacent to the first set of rings;

this structure appears to have been burnt. By 95 B.C.E. the initial area of building had been cleared, and a circular forty-meter structure was erected, with a massive central post and five concentric rings of 280 oak posts. This building (there is debate as to whether it was roofed or not) was then filled with limestone cobbles, timber around the perimeter was fired, and the entire edifice was covered with sods to produce an earthen mound. At about the same time the hill was enclosed by an earthen bank and an inner ditch.

Emain Macha has been traditionally interpreted as a royal site along with Tara, Knockaulin, and Rathcroghan, the first two having figure-eight ritual structures similar to Emain's. The medieval literature that describes royal activities on these sites may be anachronistic reconstructions, but the archaeological evidence suggests that all of these sites were major ritual centers during the Iron Age.

SEE ALSO Dún Ailinne; Cú Chulainn; Myth and Saga; Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland; *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; Tara

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J. P. Mallory



Emmet, Robert

A United Irishman and the leader of a failed rebellion in 1803, Robert Emmet (1778–1803) was the younger brother of Thomas Addis Emmet, a prominent United Irishman of 1798. Robert joined the United Irishmen in December 1796 and led the society at Trinity College, Dublin, but fled the country in April 1798 and was in France during the rebellion of that summer. In the autumn of 1798 he became involved in a movement to revive the United Irishmen and initiate a second rebellion. He was back in Ireland by the spring of 1799 and worked actively toward this goal. He left Ireland again in August 1800 and traveled around much of Europe over the next two years, arranging for support from United Irish exiles and foreign governments. Emmet

returned to Ireland for the final time in October 1802 and, in cooperation with James Hope, William Putnam McCabe, and Thomas Russell, created a formidable revolutionary network embracing as many as nineteen counties. His immediate strategy was based on the idea of a quick seizure of Dublin, followed by rebellion in outlying counties, all coinciding with a French landing. An accidental explosion in one of several arms depots he had established in Dublin, in addition to the work of spies, led both to the government's discovery of Emmet's plot and to his hurried decision to initiate the rebellion on 23 July 1803 rather than in August (when he mistakenly expected a French landing). After a brief struggle in Dublin the rebel mobilization disintegrated and Emmet and more than two dozen other leaders fled, but they were rounded up within a few weeks. Emmet was tried and found guilty. Before his execution in October, he made one of the most famous of all Irish patriotic speeches from the dock. For this reason as well as because he was among the first to conceive of the Irish separatist struggle as one that must be based primarily on Irish efforts rather than foreign assistance (despite his own intense efforts to secure such assistance), he occupies an important place in the story of Irish nationalism.

SEE ALSO United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803; **Primary Documents:** Speech from the Dock (19 September 1803)

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Daniel Gahan

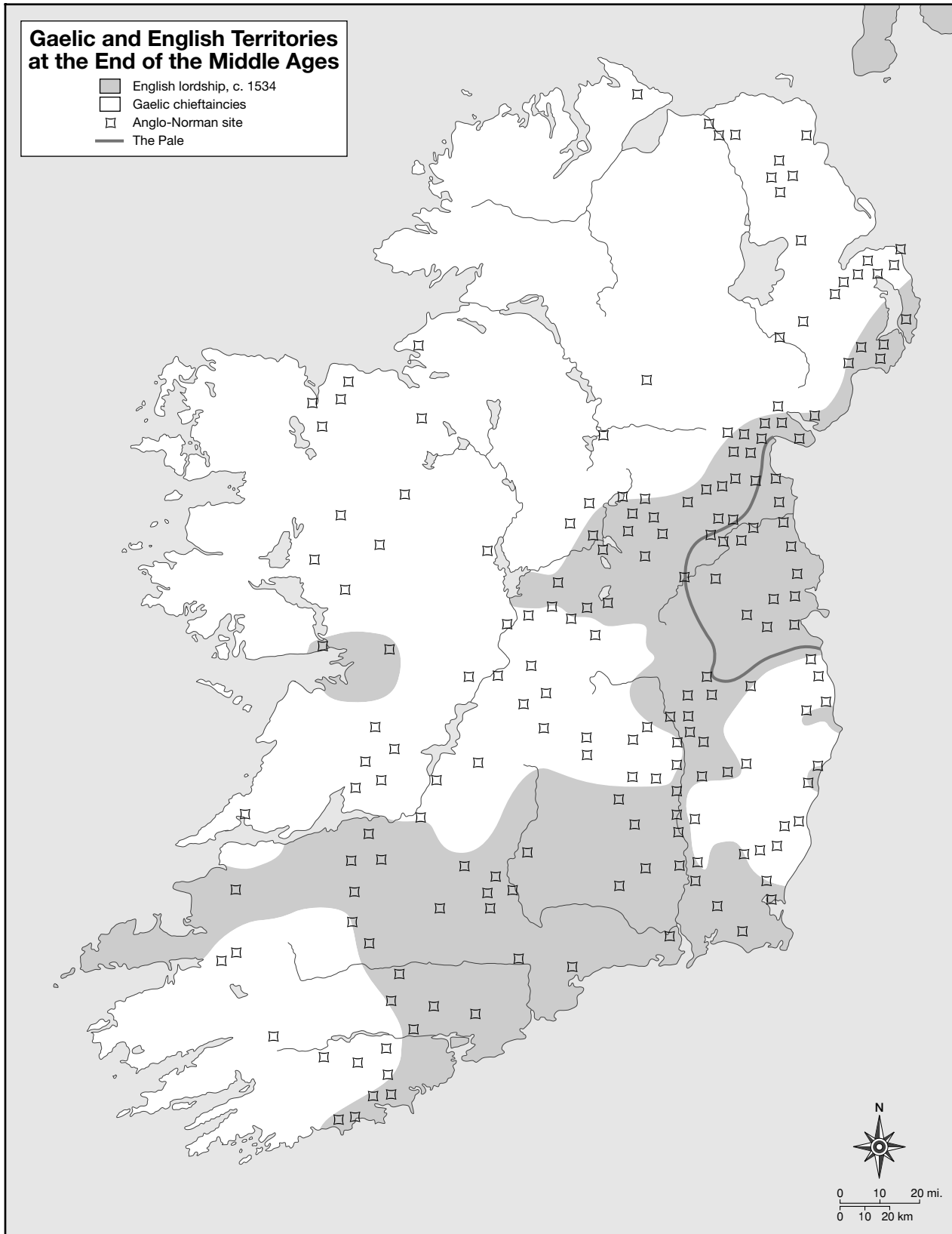
English Government in Medieval Ireland

The Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland from 1167 onwards had little official involvement until King Henry II decided to intervene in person in October 1171. From then on, Ireland was an English colony and had to be governed as its new lord, the king of England, thought

appropriate. Henry stayed less than a year and can have made little headway in instituting a system of government in a territory that was still a volatile frontier. At an organizational level his biggest achievement was to assemble a church synod at Cashel, which issued decrees for ecclesiastical reform, specifying that the Irish church should henceforth be modeled on that of England. As it was vital that the invasion be a stimulus to commerce, Henry also, having taken the towns into his own hands (Dublin implicitly being made the capital), issued charters of privileges allowing them access to a de facto free-trade zone within his territories in Britain and France. He legalized the status of invaders who claimed territory in Ireland by granting charters specifying the extent of their lands and the terms under which they held them. Finally, he appointed as his deputy the new lord of Meath, Hugh de Lacy, whose role as chief governor was similar to that of the justiciar of England in the king's absence.

From the start, and expressly by order of King John (1199–1216), the law of the new colony was the common law of England, Irish Brehon law being regarded as barbaric. The native Irish had no direct access to the law, and although a few exceptions were made and an individual grant of access could be bought, by and large they remained the enemy in the eyes of the law, and without legal remedy throughout the Middle Ages. Legislation passed in England tended to apply also in Ireland, a copy of Magna Carta, for instance, being sent to Ireland in 1217. It was only in the fifteenth century that the Anglo-Irish began to question the mandatory application to Ireland of legislation enacted in England, and the subject was one of great controversy thereafter.

Although Irish cases were sometimes heard in the courts of England, by the reign of Henry III (1216–1272) a system of itinerant justices was in place in Ireland, holding courts in various towns throughout the colony. Dublin was also home to a resident court of common pleas dealing with civil cases. But as his name suggests, the justiciar governing in the king's name had his own court, over which he presided in dispensing justice as he traveled about. He was also head of the civil administration and chief military officer; he had his own armed retinue and summoned the king's tenants to perform military service; for example, campaigning against Irish rebels. The justiciar (later known as the lieutenant) was advised by a council of ministers and by the great magnates of the land, an informal body that gradually gained a fixed structure during the thirteenth century. Parliament was an extended version of this council and existed in Ireland by at least the 1260s, but it was closer to the end of the century before it had matured into a formal judicial and legislative assembly





Albrecht Dürer, *Irish Warriors and Peasants Armed for War*, engraving from 1521. This image depicts heavily armed Scottish gallowglasses with claymores and lighter-armed Irish kerns. Note the characteristic Irish glibs (forelocks) as well as the large Irish mantle. © BILDARCHIV PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ/ART RESOURCE, NY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

composed of both individuals and representatives of communities.

Since the courts levied fines and the king was entitled to rents and (with Parliament's approval) taxes, the oldest department of state was the exchequer where these were accounted for. It was based in Dublin and had the treasurer as its chief clerk. The latter, second in importance to the justiciar in the early years, was subsequently superseded by the chancellor, who ran the chancery, the letter-writing office of government. Because the chancellor had possession of the great seal that authenticated government documents, he traveled around the colony with the justiciar. They dealt with the local agent of government, the sheriff, who collected revenues and debts due to the Crown from the localities (for which he accounted at the exchequer), had the task of arraigning persons charged to appear before the justiciar's court, had custody of prisoners, and also adminis-

tered the county court. The county or shire was the system of local government inherited from England, Dublin being the first to make an appearance, followed gradually by Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Tipperary, Louth, Kerry, Connacht (or rather part thereof), Roscommon, Kildare, Carlow, and part of Meath. Some of these subsequently became liberties, like Ulster (the only earldom in the colony until 1316), Wexford, and the rest of Meath. Although not entirely exempt from central control, liberties were free on a day-to-day basis from government interference and had similar, if smaller, structures as the central government. At any one time about half of the colony was held as liberties, and the division of the country into counties was never completed in the Middle Ages.

The ecclesiastical equivalent of the shire was the diocese, the system established before the invasion remaining largely intact thereafter, although diocesan

sees were sometimes relocated to more heavily colonized centers, and a rather half-hearted attempt to give primacy to Dublin over Armagh was solved by awarding the archbishop of the former the title “primate of Ireland” and the latter “primate of all Ireland.” Senior clerics, particularly the archbishop of Dublin, were frequently royal nominees, and as such they were government ministers and instruments of English royal policy in Ireland: it was useful to be certain of their loyalty. Armagh, on the other hand, was in hostile Irish territory, so that its incumbent rarely visited the primatial see itself and resided in safety in one of his manors in County Louth.

Louth was one of the most heavily anglicized areas where the government’s writ ran efficiently except in troubled times, but the Irish revival that began in the late thirteenth century eroded the authority of government in regions where it had previously functioned well. The consequence was that local settler communities were less subject to government control and all the safeguards that it brought in terms of protection of life and limb and access to legal redress. The corollary was that they could literally get away with murder, and we find that the lords of the great liberties, especially after the creation of the three new earldoms of Kildare, Desmond, and Ormond in the early fourteenth century, were not amenable to external authority and ruled their lordships with impunity, having their own private armies, meting out their own justice, and adopting from Gaelic society the onerous exactions claimed by lords in terms of the abuse of hospitality and the billeting of troops on local communities.

Central government abandoned its responsibilities in outlying areas out of sheer financial exigency. Annual revenue that amounted to about £6,000 at the start of Edward I’s reign in 1272 had dropped, because of constant warfare and agricultural decline, to less than a third of that a century later under his grandson, Edward III, after which point an annual subsidy was habitually provided by the English exchequer. Government had to concentrate its limited resources on the area where they could be most effectively employed, the four “obedient” counties at its core—Dublin, Louth, Meath, and Kildare—and by the mid-fifteenth century these were known as the Pale, and were literally protected from beyond by a ditch that ran intermittently from the vicinity of Dundalk to Dalkey. Of this area alone, by the end of the Middle Ages, one could say that English government in Ireland operated effectively.

SEE ALSO Bruce Invasion; Legal Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; Magnates, Gaelic

and Anglo-Irish; Monarchy; Norman Conquest and Colonization; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence; Richard II in Ireland; **Primary Documents:** The Treaty of Windsor (1175); Grant of Prince John to Theobald Walter of Lands in Ireland (1185); Grant of Civic Liberties to Dublin by Prince John (1192); Magna Carta Hiberniæ (The Great Charter of Ireland) (12 November 1216); The Statutes of Kilkenny (1366); King Richard II in Ireland (1395); Declaration of Independence of the Irish Parliament (1460); Poyning’s Law (1494)

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Seán Duffy

English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690)

The political and religious reforms implemented in Ireland after the defeat of the Kildare rebellion of 1534 and 1535 reflected Henry VIII’s anxiety over imposing a unitary sovereignty in church and state. Under the aegis of the policy, managed by Thomas Cromwell, a new English coterie was established in a Dublin administration more directly answerable to London. No major initiative with respect to Gaelic Ireland was envisaged. With the fall of Cromwell in 1540 and the arrival of Sir Anthony Saint Leger as chief governor in 1541, however, a radical new constitutional framework was put in place, within which the island’s older English and Gaelic communities would share on a basis of equality of citizenship and privilege. Within the overarching design of

a newly declared kingdom of Ireland, a series of agreements was to be concluded by peaceful means with the hitherto alienated Gaelic and gaelicized lordships to bring them into full communion with the monarchy. The English objectives were to introduce political and social stability by extirpating systematic taking and billeting such as coign and livery, to promote succession of the eldest son, and also to foster English economic and cultural norms through agrarian changes and religious and educational reform.

The indigenous populations responded positively to the early phase of reform. The session of Parliament that proclaimed Henry's kingship of Ireland in 1541 necessitated the unprecedented translation of the proceedings into the Irish language. The Old English anticipated that they would have a central role to play in the implementation of the reforms through civil and judicial administration in the provinces; they were further conciliated by Saint Leger by land grants of dissolved monastic property in Leinster and Munster. For the dozens of Gaelic lords who were likewise assimilated within Saint Leger's system and rewarded with monastic grants, the compacts were acceptable—their lands were assured in return for their recognition of the king's sovereignty. This was the policy of "surrender and regret" whereby the principal Gaelic and gaelicized lords surrendered their lands and titles to the Crown and received new grants of those lands and titles to be held directly from the Crown. Leading chiefs were given such titles as earl of Thomond (O'Brien), earl of Tyrone (O'Neill), and baron of Upper Ossory (Macgillpatrick). Little real social, political, or cultural change was required of them, though all were agreeable to the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. Under Saint Leger's governorship, political relations were generally harmonious, and the painful effects of the religious reformation were significantly mitigated.

During the reigns of King Edward VI (1547–1553) and Queen Mary (1553–1558) there were many ominous signs that the consensus built in the early to mid-1540s was unlikely to persist. Radical religious doctrinal changes under Edward were introduced without the sanction of an Irish parliament or consultation with the Old English political leadership. The innovations proved to be unpopular in the dioceses and parishes where they were implemented. Although as yet unaffected by this Protestant Reformation, Gaelic Ireland was not to be treated as a special case in linguistic and cultural terms, for the emphasis was to be heavily on evangelization through the English language. Under Queen Mary there was an overwhelmingly popular response in the towns and countryside of the Englishry to the restoration of Roman Catholicism. During the mid-Tudor period a

succession of viceroys with differing priorities came and went. The Old English community felt the weight of increased military expenditure as Sir Edward Bellingham and Sir James Croft campaigned vigorously in the Gaelic midlands and elsewhere, mainly targeting the O'Connor and O'More clans, who were regarded as having breached their "surrender and regrant" agreements. The ensuing rebellions in the region, as well as continuing succession disputes elsewhere, gave rise to questions about the efficacy of the compacts made in the 1540s. When a plantation scheme was undertaken for the newly shired King's County (Offaly) and Queen's County (Leix) in the mid-1550s, discontinuity in government policy was more manifest than ever: Although some of the compliant Gaelic clans retained land in the planted zone, as did a few selected Old English, the bulk of the new settlers were military personnel from England who were expected to do double duty as soldiers and farmers.

The advent of the earl of Sussex to the governorship in 1556 initiated a new, systematic approach to reform of the Tudor realm of Ireland. Carefully costed, preselected objectives were to be met within an agreed time frame. This programmatic style of governance drew a variety of responses from the more established communities, ranging from full acceptance to outright rejection. In the first phase, until about 1571, the continuing emphasis on assimilation and persuasion of target populations elicited native support. In respect to the religious changes introduced in the Reformation parliament in 1560, for example, a policy of leniency ensured that matters of conscience were not publicly contentious. The Old English, among whom the reformed religion was expected to take root first, remained aloof from the Anglican Church of Ireland, but their dissent was not an issue at this stage. What did rile their political leadership in the early Elizabethan period was the mounting burden of the cess (a range of government impositions, including levies on goods and services) and a burgeoning campaign of constitutional opposition in Parliament and at court began to take shape. The regimes of Sussex (1556–1563) and Sir Henry Sidney (1565–1571) persevered with the policy of surrender and regrant, and were able to win over some Gaelic lords in Leinster, Munster, and Connacht. The inclusion of some of the compliant Leinster chiefs such as O'Dempsey and Macgillpatrick in the plantation of Leix and Offaly proved the government's intent to proceed with moderation in the process of social and political engineering. Major problems arose, however, because the government failed to engage all levels of the Gaelic political system, so although sitting chieftains and their immediate families were content with the changes, those who might reasonably have expected to

succeed to the chieftaincy through the Gaelic mode of election were to be disappointed. Also, if the attempted demilitarization of the Gaelic lordships were to succeed, the class of armed retainers would be left without a raison d'être.

Perhaps the most serious case of the failure of surrender and regrant occurred in Ulster, where Shane O'Neill, the successor by clan election to Conn, first earl of Tyrone, was not accommodated in the original agreement. O'Neill's bellicosity in central Ulster disturbed the arrangements already made with the lesser lords such as O'Reilly and O'Rourke. For a number of years until his untimely death in 1567, O'Neill rampaged in much of the north of Ireland, rejecting the legitimacy of his half-brother's succession and demanding royal acknowledgment of his claims to rule in Ulster. While Sussex's regime foundered because of the failure to contain O'Neill, Sidney claimed credit for Shane's killing by the MacDonalds, but into the vacuum entered another formidable O'Neill, Turlough Luinech, who dominated the region for more than two decades.

The arrival of new settlers in the territories of Old English and Gaelic families led to revolts in Leinster and Munster in the later 1560s. Besides the ongoing attacks by the O'Mores and O'Connors on the plantation of Leix and Offaly, an armed rebellion was staged in 1569 by leading members of the Butler family against the claim of an Englishman, Sir Peter Carew, to some of their land in Carlow. In the southern province a more serious outbreak was sparked by James Fitzmaurice, a leading member of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, in response to the presence of newcomers in his territory in County Cork. His campaign was also affected by his Catholic militancy, for which he sought aid from Spain and Rome. The revolts of the Butlers and Fitzmaurice (both members of old Norman houses) were supported by disgruntled Gaelic leaders, and though both were put down by rigorous state military actions, the implications of these alliances for the whole reform program were extremely worrying.

The pace of governmental reform speeded up in the mid-Elizabethan period until 1585, with extreme reactions from the native communities. None of the viceroys—Sir William Fitzwilliam (1571–1575), Sidney again (1575–1578), Lord Grey (1580–1582) or Sir John Perrot (1584–1588)—set out to make the religious reforms central to their programs of government, but the issue became highly charged during the major rebellions of the 1570s and 1580s. Most of the Old English preferred a quietist type of recusancy that was, for the most part, tolerated in private. Their main concern at this point was the agitation against the cess, which took on the dimensions of a constitutional struggle for the

preservation of traditional customary rights (including liberty of conscience) in the face of the assertion of royal prerogative. At the parliament of 1585 to 1586, the Old English leadership successfully forged a coherent opposition to government designs. On the positive side, in conjunction with the establishment of a presidency system in Munster and Connacht, a more refined type of surrender and regrant was devised under Sidney that provided for the commuting of dues and levies payable by all levels of political leadership into annual rental payments to the president. This system, known as composition, barely worked in the southern province, but it provided the foundation for an elaborate and successful framework of agreements in Connacht. There, many of the leading magnates agreed to drop all demands on lesser lords in return for the protection of the presidency, which would in turn be funded by the contributions of all. In the south of the province the earls of Clanricard and Thomond, of Norman and Gaelic backgrounds respectively, became fully assimilated in Connacht.

Elsewhere the program of monarchical expansion into the provinces provoked violent reactions. In Leinster grievances caused by the overbearing actions of local English seneschals (mayors), the burden of supporting growing numbers of troops, and the curtailment of religious freedom all combined to bring together a coalition of insurgency in 1580 headed by the Old English gentleman, James Eustace, Viscount Balinglass, and the Gaelic leader Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne. The spirit of the Counter-Reformation animated Balinglass, and after his defeat and flight in 1581, the execution of many of his supporters helped to crystallize a growing sense of Catholic identity among Old English people.

These events were mirrored in the renewal of the revolt of James Fitzmaurice in Munster in 1579 in the form of a Catholic crusade with continental backing that drew the earl of Desmond into military opposition to the regime. The attempts to win Desmond and his cohorts to the new presidency system had broken down irrevocably, but upon his defeat and death in 1583, the vast Desmond estates in Munster were forfeited to the Crown. A highly centralized scheme of plantation was then organized under which English undertakers took over large estates with the duty of establishing socio-economic institutions drawn from their homeland. Many of the existing occupiers claimed to be blameless in the recent uprising and made strenuous efforts to establish their rights through the courts. Meanwhile, two private colonial enterprises in Ulster—by the earl of Essex in Antrim and Sir Thomas Smith in the Ards—failed disastrously, but not before the region was badly

affected by instability and agitation by the leaders of the threatened lordships and their neighbors. As elsewhere, the massacre of civilians, in this case on Rathlin Island, left a legacy of bitterness and mistrust.

The unrest spilled over in the climactic period before the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. The government pushed ahead with its policies of shiring territory in Connacht and Ulster and of reorganizing Gaelic lordships with redistributions of land and power, sparking a major conflict known as the Nine Years War (1593–1603) that eventually affected most of Ireland. For the Old English, events of the era provoked a tension between their ingrained loyalty to the monarchy and their allegiance to the Roman church, the official restoration of which came to be championed by Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone. Although many of their offspring had migrated to Catholic continental centers for university training, the Old English for the most part eschewed the politico-religious cause espoused by the Spanish monarchy. Thus, while their commitment to Catholicism deepened during the 1590s, they argued the tenability of their dual loyalty in church and state, and many became active in the government's campaign against the northern Irish confederates. Apart from preventing the Old English from siding with the insurgents, the government had few policy successes through the later 1590s. The earldoms of Thomond and Clanricard in Connacht remained bastions of loyalty right throughout the Nine Years War, providing a bulwark in the west between Ulster and Munster. And the containment of the struggle in the north until the later 1590s provided breathing space for the hard-pressed military planners in Dublin Castle. But eventually discontents in all provinces confronted the state with the very real prospect of the complete overthrow of English authority in Ireland.

The shipwrecking of Spanish sailors and troops from the ill-fated Armada on the north and west coasts of Ireland in 1588 unsettled many of the lordships there. While some of the local rulers were unsympathetic to the stranded Spaniards, others such as Brian O'Rourke provided hospitality (a deed for which he was executed in 1591). The ruthless methods of the president of Connacht, Sir Richard Bingham, compounded the disaffection of the leaders of the northern part of the province who were susceptible to the influence of Hugh O'Donnell of Tir Conaill (Donegal). In the southern Ulster lordships, including west Breifne (Leitrim) and Fermanagh, there was resistance to government plans to reorganize the lands and redistribute power within an English county framework, along the lines of the Monaghan settlement of 1590. In Monaghan the MacMahon lordship was broken up and individual freehold-

ing landlords were established. The campaign of O'Donnell, Hugh Maguire, and Brian Oge O'Rourke gathered momentum and acquired a religious dimension when Catholic bishops supported the cause for Spanish intervention. Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, was faced with the dilemma of continuing to cooperate with the Dublin government and losing face with the Gaelic of Ulster, or throwing in his lot with the militant chieftains and risking the loss of all his lands and authority, as had happened to the earl of Desmond. Eventually, in 1595, he took the field on the side of the insurgents and initiated a highly successful military strategy in Ulster, culminating in his victory over the English army at the Yellow Ford in 1598. The triumphant O'Neill took the war to other parts of Ireland including Munster, and in Leinster and Connacht there were sympathetic uprisings. His most decisive move, however, was to internationalize the conflict by appealing for Spanish aid in the name of the Catholic cause. By the time of the arrival of a fleet from Spain at Kinsale in 1601, Sir George Carew was already subduing Munster, and O'Neill was under severe pressure from Lord Deputy Mountjoy. The battle at Kinsale saw the routing of the confederate forces, and O'Neill was forced to surrender just over a year later. Although the terms granted at Mellifont in 1603 were better than what he might have reasonably expected, O'Neill lost his autonomous Ulster sovereignty and was threatened with being fully circumscribed by English power.

The conquest of Ireland was more or less complete when James I began his reign in 1603, and the flight of the northern chiefs, including O'Neill in 1607, left Ulster leaderless. The consequent plantation of Ulster introduced a large number of Scottish and English settlers to the province. Yet the identities forged in the smithy of the crisis of the 1590s buoyed the older communities in their struggle to preserve their endangered heritages. For the Old English, the survival of their political, economic, and religious liberties was threatened by the absolutist-tending government of the Stuarts. The clearest manifestation of this threat came in the parliament of 1613 to 1615, when a series of constitutional and political clashes revolved around the question of representation of the recusant Old English majority. In the towns their fellows battled to preserve their guild and corporate rights in the face of government centralization and New English infiltration. These campaigns brought into sharper focus their long-established heritage of civic and religious freedom. For the Old Irish, whose senior figures had been sidelined or fled into exile, the absence of a constitutional focus in the form of a legislative forum or even a viable political leadership was damaging. The resilience of some of the Gaelic lords in adapting to the new political and social order contrasted with the failure

of many more to come to terms with the market conditions brought about by colonization and the innovative estate-management techniques introduced by the newcomers. For both of the indigenous communities, the early decades of the seventeenth century were fraught with difficulty.

The prospect of an improvement over the position of de facto toleration of the Old English beckoned in the 1620s when Charles entered into negotiations with community leaders over the question of money and aid in return for a more robust form of recognition of their religious and political rights. Although the bargain was not concluded, the raising of the key issues seemed to promise the possibility of a solution. Contemporaneously, the political thought of Irish Catholic churchmen of English and Gaelic backgrounds appeared to diverge. The Old English Catholics were quite prepared to accept the legitimacy of the Stuart monarchy in return for limited toleration of their beliefs. Some exiled Gaelic priests and scholars, on the other hand, argued that the Stuarts were illegitimate because of their adherence to heresy, and they formulated a brand of Catholic nationalism that melded patriotism and religious zeal, branded “faith and fatherland” by later commentators. Meanwhile, on the ground in town and country, the Catholic Church, spearheaded by continentally trained priests, grew stronger despite the periodic bouts of repression in 1604 to 1605, 1611 to 1612, and 1629. The 1630s witnessed regression on all fronts as the absolutism of Thomas Wentworth (lord deputy, 1633–1640) alienated all groups in Ireland. Threats of a plantation in Connaught were raised, potentially affecting Old English and Gaelic Irish landowners and compounding the already existing resentments of the displaced landowners of Ulster after the resettlement in the north.

In the 1640s the Old English and Old Irish were drawn together into a major uprising that resonated throughout the British kingdoms. At stake were the constitutional, religious, and property issues that had loomed large in the previous decades, but now the monarchy, in jeopardy itself, was prepared to enter into talks with the communities in Ireland. Beginning in July 1642, the Old English, through the representative confederation of Kilkenny, sued for religious toleration and a guarantee of their political standing within the kingdom. The Old Irish, also in the assembly but with their own, separate military organization, pushed for full re-establishment of Catholicism and restoration of their lands within the kingdom of Ireland. Divisions that opened up among confederates were not exactly along ethnic lines, but the arrival in 1645 of Archbishop Rinuccini, the papal legate, complicated the matter of whether the terms offered by Ormond, the king’s repre-

sentative, should be accepted or not. Rinuccini, who championed the full reestablishment of the Catholic Church, lost the argument and withdrew, but the divided confederates soon had to face the English army of Oliver Cromwell, which swept all before it in 1649 and 1650.

Out of the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s there emerged a restored monarchy by 1660, but the position of the older indigenous Irish communities had been irreparably eroded. The Old English lost their socially ascendant role in the counties, and their urban counterparts were excluded from political and economic power. The Catholic Church had suffered severe dislocation in the mid-century decades and faced a painful process of recovery. The arbitrary nature of the toleration of dissent was graphically shown in the fate of Oliver Plunkett, the archbishop of Armagh, who was executed on charges of treason in 1681. The Old Irish presence as a political grouping was further diluted by the Cromwellian and Stuart settlements: The real spiritual home of the community lay outside Ireland among the exiled literati and churchmen who fanned the flames of Catholic nationalism. Key to this resurgence was the use of the Gaelic language in print in the Tridentine catechism. The reign of James II offered a brief period of hope to the older Catholic communities that their positions could be restored, but the defeats at the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691) dashed these hopes. Thereafter, the Old English and the Old Irish ceased to exist as coherent politico-religious groupings, and the process of unification of the Catholics of Ireland, designated “Irish papists” indiscriminately by Cromwell, continued on into the eighteenth century. The era of the penal laws shaped a different kind of Catholic community.

SEE ALSO Council of Trent and the Catholic Mission; Desmond Rebellions; Lombard, Peter; Monarchy; Nine Years War; O’Neill, Hugh, Second Earl of Tyrone; Plunkett, Oliver; Rebellion of 1641; Rinuccini, Giovanni Battista; Sidney, Henry; **Primary Documents:** From *Solon His Follie* (1594); From *A Direction for the Plantation of Ulster* (1610)

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Colm Lennon

English Writing on Ireland before 1800

The boundaries of this subject are more than a little blurred, and more than a trifle contentious. For medieval writing, the very categories "English" and "Irish" may be anachronisms: historians argue vigorously over how far back in time such national labels can aptly be applied. In more recent periods particular individuals and groups evidently had changeable or hybrid identities—the same person might be viewed either as English or as Irish, as both or indeed neither, from different perspectives or at different times. "Old English" and later "Anglo-Irish" identities in early modern Ireland are the most obvious cases in point. But there would also be scope for dispute over the categorization, for instance, of a figure such as Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), who was Dublin-born but of English parentage, and divided his adult life between the two countries, adopting different literary personae according to circumstances and polemical intent.

Among the earliest surviving "English" texts dealing with Ireland are medieval Anglo-Irish annals of Irish historical events; that is, ones apparently set down by monks of English origin, though resident in Ireland. They differ from their counterparts kept in Gaelic Irish monasteries mainly in that the latter confine themselves largely to happenings within Ireland, whereas the Anglo-Irish chronicles detail English and Welsh events as well. A little later, Giraldus (Gerald) Cambrensis depicted Ireland more extensively in his *Topography of Ireland* (1188) and *Expugnatio Hibernica* (c. 1189). As his name suggests, Gerald was of Welsh birth, but his writings clearly reflect the viewpoints of Ireland's and Wales's Norman invaders. Indeed, Gerald is often seen as the effective founder of a long English literary tradition of viewing the Irish as primitive, barbaric, semi-heathen, and fit only to be dominated, if not destroyed, by England.

A great deal of the early English writing about Ireland came from clergymen and was religious in character. After the Protestant Reformation, a major theme was naturally anti-Catholic polemic, often coupled with lamentation at the alleged theological ignorance, immorality, and backsliding of the Irish clergy and people. Suffolk-born John Bale (1495–1563), for instance, was bishop of Ossory from 1552 to 1553. His tenure was brief because his attempts to enforce Protestant worship in the diocese met a violently hostile reaction from local people. Bale's account of this fiasco is among the most important records of early responses to the Reformation in Ireland. Among the later English ecclesiastics who resided in and wrote about Ireland, perhaps the most prolific and influential was Anglican bishop Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667).

English-born writers contributed to Counter-Reformation polemic too. The English Jesuit Edmund Campion (?–1581) stayed in Dublin in 1570 and 1571 and wrote his *Histories of Ireland* (published only in 1633, well after Campion's execution for treason) to acclaim the record of the Catholic Old English there. His manuscripts were heavily drawn on by Richard Stanishurst (1547–1618), who wrote most of the Irish sections of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The latter was the most widely read historical work in Elizabethan England. As is well known, it formed in its turn the main source for Shakespeare's history plays. But although Shakespeare's *Henry V* features a famous cameo appearance by a belligerent Irish soldier, Macmorris, there are no major Irish themes or settings in his oeuvre. England's greatest seventeenth-century poet, John Milton, similarly made only fragmentary (and unflattering) allusions to Ireland in his works. Indeed, very few—perhaps surprisingly few—of England's major



Depiction of the flight of the Irish. English horsemen are pursuing the Irish cavalry. In the background the Irish foot soldiers are flying, annoyed by the English arquebuses. The piper has been thrown down, with his bagpipe beside him. FROM JOHN DERRICKE'S *THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE* (1581).

early playwrights, poets, or novelists seem to have given much attention to Ireland before the eighteenth century. The most prominent exception was Edmund Spenser (c. 1552–1599), whose *View of the Present State of Ireland* (which remained unpublished until 1633) advocated a harsh policy of repression or even extermination. Historians have differed over how representative or influential such extreme proposals may have been, and also on how far Spenser's epic *Faerie Queene* (1590–1596) should be read as presenting a similar view in allegorical form.

Nonfiction accounts—histories, geographical surveys, and religious and political arguments—were more numerous and extensive. Many came from the pens of English soldiers or administrators in Ireland. Sir John Davies (1569–1626) in his *Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (1612) celebrated the extension of English law across Ireland and the sweeping away of indigenous and Old English institutions. William Camden (1551–1623) espoused fiercely anti-Catholic sentiments, while his *Britannia* (1586) also included references to the Irish as lazy, filthy in their habits, bellicose, and promiscuous. Other major contributions to this literature included John Dymok's *Treatise of Ireland* (c. 1600), Robert Payne's *Brief Description of Ireland* (1589), Luke Gernon's *Discourse of*

Ireland (1620), and various works by Fynes Moryson (1566–1630). Others became more famous for their images than their words—above all, John Derricke's 1581 *Image of Irelande*.

The relative weights of anti-Catholicism and of anti-Irishness in much of this writing have been lastingly contentious, but claims that the supposedly deplorable character of the Irish people was caused above all by their religion seem to have gained strength in the early seventeenth century. Still, not all were uniformly hostile. Payne, for instance, found much that was positive to say about Irish honesty, hospitality, and (perhaps surprisingly at that time) their obedience to the law, and the Elizabethan courtier Sir John Harrington (1561–1612) was positively effusive about the people's good qualities. Yet these, it is often pointed out, were exceptions, while new political conflicts gave impetus to antagonistic imagery. Thus the “depositions” of Protestant settlers who had suffered in the 1641 rebellion were heavily drawn upon in Sir John Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion* (1646). Temple's claims about the number of settlers massacred in the rising were greatly exaggerated but had a lasting effect on Protestant historical consciousness.

Several of those who came with Oliver Cromwell in and after 1649 left important accounts. Some, like *Ire-*



Triumphant return of the English soldiers. Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, is escorted by a guard of English troops, preceded by trumpeters and standard bearers. FROM JOHN DERRICKE'S *THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE* (1581).

land's *Natural History* (1652), the posthumously published survey by Gerard Boate (1604–1650), who was actually Dutch-born, or the later *Interest of Ireland in Its Trade and Wealth* (1682) by the former Cromwellian colonel Richard Lawrence (?–c. 1684) were explicitly designed to encourage colonization and commercial development. The most influential of them, however, was Cromwell's physician-general, William Petty (1623–1687), whose economic and demographic surveys of Ireland included *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1691) and *Hiberniae Delineatio* (1685).

After the end of the Williamite wars a seemingly more tranquil Ireland attracted numerous English travel writers. The most famous—and in many later critics' eyes, the most accurately informative—was the 1780 *Tour in Ireland* by agrarian reformer Arthur Young (1741–1820). But the genre became so popular that even an Irish-authored account—Thomas Campbell's *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* (1776)—was presented as if written by an English tourist. English-born members of the Ascendancy, such as Mary Delany (1700–1788) and Emily Fitzgerald, duchess of Leinster (1731–1814), also left significant portrayals, which are among the first widely known women's views of Ireland. Some began to be infused with the emerging and novel Romantic enthusiasm for wild countryside, mountains, and lakes, for “unspoilt” peasant communities and their folklore. Thus it became possible and in-

creasingly popular to see the west of Ireland no longer as its most barbaric part, but as the most picturesque and interesting—indeed, as more “truly Irish” than other regions. This structure of feeling had, of course, a lasting influence not only on outsiders' depictions of the country but on Irish literary self-images too.

Literary depictions of the Irish—especially on the London stage—also became more numerous, more varied, and at least in some cases, less scornful during the eighteenth century. The stock figure of the comic, usually foolish “Stage Irishman” was already well established, but now a wider range of stereotypical characters began to emerge in the writings of Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, and other popular English writers: the impudent fortune hunter, the sham squire, but also the gallant army officer and the naturally eloquent peasant. An image of the Irish as sentimental, poetic, musical, and courageous took shape. It was often a condescending representation at best, but it was no longer a ferociously hostile one. Nonetheless, such affectionate stereotypes did not entirely replace those of the Irish as congenitally idle, drunken, violent, and treacherous. The latter, indeed, were to re-emerge with renewed force in the era of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal campaigns and the Great Famine of the late 1840s.

So diverse a body of writing, extending across several centuries, cannot easily be subject to general judgment. Yet dispute over the dominant character of En-

English works and views on Ireland has nonetheless been vigorous, not least since the 1990s. Some commentators would emphasize a general tendency of English writing about Ireland and the Irish to stereotype, denigrate, and scorn its subjects. They see a great deal of it as directly linked to and supporting England's attempts at conquest, domination, and exploitation. Other critics, by contrast, would stress that many English literary views of Ireland were by no means uninformed, unfriendly, or unsympathetic.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; Literature: Anglo-Irish Literary Tradition, Beginnings of; **Primary Documents:** From *The Topography of Ireland* (1188); From *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189); From *Vocation of John Bale to the Bishopery of Ossorie* (1553); From *Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland* (1571); From "Notes of His Report" (1576); Letter to Elizabeth (12 November 1580); From *The Image of Irelande* (1581); From "The Sons of Clanricard" (1586); From *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596); From *A New Description of Ireland* (1610); From *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (1612); From *An Itinerary* (1617); From *Discourse of Ireland* (1620); From *The Total Discourse of His Rare Adventures* (1632); From *Travels* (1634–1635); From *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* (1777); On Irish Rural Society and Poverty (1780); From *A Description of the . . . Peasantry of Ireland* (1804); From *Narrative of a Residence in Ireland* (1817)

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Stephen Howe

Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland

Until the closing decades of the twentieth century the social model around which rights to property, employment, and social-welfare payments revolved in Ireland was the male breadwinner. The model was supported by a firm legal framework: The property of a married woman was vested in her husband; priority in employment and pay went to men; and married women were barred from work in the public service and from a range of other jobs, including teaching, nursing, and banking. In relation to certain social-welfare payments, including unemployment assistance, married women did not have an entitlement of their own; instead, their husbands were entitled to a payment for a dependent wife. Children's allowances were paid to fathers.

Until the late nineteenth century a wife did not have a legal right to hold property in her own name separately from her husband. Husband and wife were regarded as one person in law, and the husband held all the property. By an enactment in 1882, when Ireland was still part of the United Kingdom, a wife was allowed to hold property and could enter a contract separately from her husband. The Married Women's Status Act of 1957 represented an important development regarding the property rights of married women. The act permits one spouse to sue the other in court, and a section of the act has been used to determine proprietary rights to the family home. Prior to the Succession Act of 1965 it was possible for one spouse to exclude the other from benefiting from his or her estate. As the bulk of property was held by men, this left wives in a parlous state. The Succession Act guarantees a minimum of one-third of the deceased spouse's estate to a surviving spouse. When introduced by the then minister for justice, Charles Haughey, the Succession Bill aroused terrific hostility, partly owing to the possibility of property passing out of a family of origin following a childless marriage.

In achieving equal rights for women in employment and social welfare, an important catalyst was the *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women*, published in 1972. In November 1969 the taoiseach announced the establishment of a Commission on the Status of Women which would operate under the minister for finance. Dr. Thekla Beere was appointed chairperson. (Beere, a legal and political science graduate of Trinity College, made history when she was appointed secretary of the Department of Transport and Power, the first woman to hold the post of secretary of a government department in Ireland.) Shortly after it was estab-

lished, the commission was asked by the minister for finance to prepare an interim report on the question of equal pay with particular reference to the public sector. In the event, and reflecting the position at the time, almost the entire Final Report dealt with equal pay and other issues related to the employment of women, as well as aspects of politics and public life, taxation and social welfare.

A recommendation of the commission for a payment to women working full-time in the home as careers sprang from the concern of the commission that "the introduction of equal pay will not accentuate further the present undervaluation of the role of mother and housewife." Alone among the recommendations of the commission, this recommendation for a payment for women in the home was not implemented. However, another recommendation, that the entitlement to children's allowances should be paid to mothers was given effect in the Social Welfare Act of 1974. This proposal had been made by Deputy Liam Cosgrave, TD, thirty years earlier in 1943, when the bill to introduce children's allowances was being debated in the Dáil. An important innovation in the social-welfare code that was introduced following a recommendation by the Commission of the Status of Women was a payment for a single mother who rears her child herself. The payment was revolutionary at the time that it was introduced. Subsequently, it was extended to include fathers who rear children on their own.

Two pieces of legislation enacted in the 1970s contributed to strengthening the economic rights of women. These were the Family Law (Maintenance of Spouses and Children) Act of 1976 and the Family Home Protection Act of 1976. The former contains a code relating to the maintenance of spouses and children and provides for enforcement of maintenance orders through attachment of earnings, while the latter prevents either spouse from disposing of the family home without the written consent of the other, although it does not give any right to ownership.

Beginning in the 1930s, the era of the Great Depression and the Economic War with Britain, restrictions were gradually introduced to limit the sphere of women's work. In 1936 the Conditions of Employment Act was passed. It provided ministerial authority to prohibit the employment of women in certain forms of industrial work, to fix the proportion of female workers who could be hired by an employer, and to outlaw the employment of women in industry between 10 P.M. and 8 A.M. These restrictions applied to all women; certain further restrictions were imposed on married women. For example, a marriage bar against the employment of married women primary teachers was introduced in

1933. The growth in employment of married women has been facilitated by the removal of such discriminatory regulations against them. One of the most significant changes in the regulations governing the employment of married women was the removal in 1958 of the ban on married women primary teachers introduced twenty-five years earlier.

A series of significant changes in regulations followed Irish entry into the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973. On 31 July 1973 the marriage bar in the civil service was ended. The Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act of 1974 came into operation in December 1975, establishing the right of men and women employed at like work by the same employer to equal pay. The Employment Equality Act came into operation on 1 July 1977, prohibiting discrimination on grounds of sex or marital status in recruitment, training, or provision of opportunities for promotion.

Other important laws were the Unfair Dismissals Act of 1977 and the Maternity (Protection of Employees) Act of 1981. The Unfair Dismissals Act protects employees, including pregnant employees, from unfair dismissal by laying down criteria by which dismissals are to be judged unfair and by providing an adjudication system and redress for an employee who has been dismissed unfairly. The Maternity Act of 1981 was particularly important in ensuring the right of a woman to return to work following the birth of a child. The act provides maternity protection for pregnant employees by granting an entitlement to maternity leave and the right to return to work.

The basis for equality in the social-welfare system derives from the Equality Directive of the European Community (Directive 79/7/EEC). This directive on the progressive implementation of equal treatment for men and women came into force in Ireland in 1984. At the time, a number of elements of discrimination existed in the social-welfare code. One discriminatory practice that operated against married women was the lack of direct access to unemployment assistance; instead, their husbands received an allowance for a "dependent spouse." The legislation providing for equality of treatment for men and women in the social-welfare code (Social Welfare Amendment No. 2, Act of 1985) allows either member of a married couple to claim the main payment, and a spouse can apply to obtain the dependent payment part directly. Subsequent delays in making payments led to litigation all the way to the European Court. The matter was finally resolved in 1992.

As the twentieth century drew to a close, there was general awareness of the extent to which the agenda seeking equal rights for women had been achieved, and attention refocused on possible areas of discrimination

against men and on the difficulties for men and women of sharing domestic and labor-market tasks, especially in relation to the care of children and other dependents, including elderly and disabled relatives.

SEE ALSO Clarke, Kathleen; Conditions of Employment Act of 1936; Family: Fertility, Marriage, and the Family since 1950; Health and Welfare since 1950, State Provisions for; Robinson, Mary; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century; Women in Irish Society since 1800; **Primary Documents:** From the *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women* (1972)

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Finola Kennedy



Equal Rights in Northern Ireland

The period of devolved government in Northern Ireland (1921–1972) saw an entrenched unionist and Protestant majority discriminating systematically against a large nationalist and Catholic minority. Despite a constitutional ban on discrimination, Catholics were discriminated against in local elections, housing, and public and private employment. Alienation, segregation, and disadvantage were serious problems. The police and security services were almost exclusively Protestant. In education, single-denominational schools were the norm; educational underachievement among Catholics compounded their disadvantage.

REFORMS SINCE THE 1960s

The unionist and London governments introduced some belated reforms in the 1960s: The more crass discriminatory practices in housing and elections were removed;

complaint mechanisms and community-relations bodies were introduced; and the exclusively Protestant police reserve was replaced with a new force. The 1973 Northern Ireland Constitution Act reinforced the prohibition on explicit discrimination by public bodies on grounds of religion or political opinion, and it also established the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights (SACHR) to advise on human-rights matters.

In 1976 the government introduced measures to combat discrimination in the private sphere. The British ban on sex discrimination in employment and in the supply of services was extended to the Irish province (but not the prohibition on race discrimination, since the government did not believe that the province had a problem of racial discrimination). The 1976 Fair Employment Act (FEA), which was limited to Northern Ireland, banned discrimination on grounds of religion or political opinion in employment. The statutes on sex discrimination and fair employment established independent bodies to promote equality. The FEA applied only to employment. More seriously, it prohibited only direct, explicit discrimination and not indirect discrimination, which includes cases where, for example, an employer hires someone on the basis of educational achievement; this indirectly works to the disadvantage of some groups. The 1976 act did not undo the situation of persistent disadvantage. Pressure groups in the United States urged corporations and legislators investing in Northern Ireland to respect the “MacBride principles,” a code of conduct for U.S. firms that encourages nondiscrimination and equality of opportunity in Northern Ireland. In 1987 SACHR reported that the Catholic male unemployment rate was two and one-half times higher than the Protestant male unemployment rate and had not changed since 1976. SACHR recommended a new law to promote equality of opportunity.

The 1989 Fair Employment Act implemented some of SACHR’s recommendations. Indirect discrimination was outlawed, and many (though not all) employers were put under a duty to monitor the religious composition of their workforces. The act permitted limited forms of affirmative action, including training programs that would be accessible to the underrepresented Catholics and would encourage them to apply for jobs. Reverse discrimination—explicit preferences for Catholics—remained illegal. The 1989 act prompted definite improvements, but Catholic disadvantage, single-religion places of employment, and occupational segregation persisted. SACHR, the equality bodies, the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ—a civil-rights group established in 1981), and others promoted a new policy of “mainstreaming” equality, which

would emphasize working proactively to achieve equality rather than simply avoiding discrimination. They also advocated more robust affirmative-action and enforcement measures.

There were important developments apart from the fair-employment laws. The United Kingdom's accession to the European Community prompted many changes. A 1986 European Court of Justice (ECJ) decision limited the scope for national-security defenses in sex-discrimination cases. In 2000 the European Community adopted new measures barring discrimination based on race, religion, disability, age, or sexual orientation. Rulings of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) resulted in the decriminalization of gay sexual practices (1981) and in limits being placed on the national-security defense to claims of religious discrimination (1997). Both ECJ and ECHR cases provided greater protection for people who had undergone gender-reassignment surgery. Discrimination against people with disabilities was banned in 1995, and so too was racial discrimination in 1997. Independent bodies were established to enforce these laws. The 1997 Labour government's constitutional reforms included the 1998 Human Rights Act, which requires public authorities to respect the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights. The convention prohibits discrimination in the enjoyment of such rights. Its extensive and open-ended list of prohibited grounds (e.g., age, sexual orientation, lifestyle, etc.) captures some types of official discrimination that would not otherwise be illegal. Women's rights also began to receive attention. In 1996 a new party with a focus on equality—the Women's Coalition—entered the male world of Northern Irish politics.

THE BELFAST OR GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

The Belfast or Good Friday Agreement promises wide-ranging equality and human-rights reforms. The Women's Coalition played a role in ensuring this. Under the 1998 Northern Ireland Act the assembly and executive may not violate the European Convention on Human Rights. The act creates two bodies to promote human rights and equality: the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission (replacing SACHR) and the Equality Commission (replacing four earlier bodies). The Human Rights Commission is working on a bill of rights for Northern Ireland. The act adopts the policy of "mainstreaming" equality. All public authorities must devise equality schemes to explain how they promote equality of opportunity between people, irrespective of religion, political opinion, race, age, marital status, or sexual orientation, and between people with or without a disability and with or without dependents. This duty extends to all the functions of a public authority. Public

authorities must also consider how to promote good relations between persons of different religions, political opinions, and races. This new duty is expected to encourage a more proactive approach and more transparent and participatory decision making.

The London government's Fair Employment and Treatment Order (FETO) of 1998 replaced the earlier fair-employment legislation. FETO extended the prohibition of religious discrimination to nonemployment fields. Affirmative action was extended somewhat—for instance, employers may actively recruit from the ranks of the long-term unemployed. (Previously, this would have been unlawful indirect discrimination against Protestants.) Since 1998 the Office of the First and Deputy First Minister is responsible for equality law; its charge is to unify the diverse equality laws. The peace process also required a major review of the police, a force that was still unrepresentative of Northern Ireland's diverse population. To remedy this, the 2000 Police Act requires that 50 percent of new recruits be Catholics.

Much has been achieved in Northern Ireland. Catholic disadvantage in employment and education has diminished; for example, in 2001, except in security occupations, Catholic participation in public employment equalled Catholic representation in the private workforce. The new measures undertaken since 1998, although they stop short of the SACHR recommendations, are impressive, but they also indicate how bad things had become in Northern Ireland. A quota for the police was necessary because less than 10 percent of the force was Catholic. The FETO had to make an exception for affirmative action targeted at the long-term unemployed because two-thirds of the long-term unemployed are Catholic. In many areas of life separation and mistrust remain: Sectarian violence continues, residential segregation is prevalent, many private associations are restricted to a single community, most schools are single-denominational, and the main political parties attract support from only one community. Furthermore, the equality measures are controversial, with some members of the unionist community regarding them (especially the quota for the police) as rank reverse discrimination.

Other forms of inequality are also significant. Serious socioeconomic deprivation affects members of both communities. Homelessness is a bigger problem than in the rest of the United Kingdom. The Women's Coalition has exposed crude sexism in political life. According to a 2002 Northern Ireland assembly research paper, women are significantly more likely than men to experience poverty. In 2002 the Equality Commission felt the need to issue a "wake-up call" on the dangers of race

discrimination. If the new equality measures are striking initiatives, that is only because Northern Ireland still needs to tackle serious problems of inequality, segregation, and disadvantage.

SEE ALSO Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Women in Irish Society since 1800; **Primary Documents:** The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (10 April 1998)

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Rory O'Connell



Estates and Demesnes

Visually significant components in the modern Irish landscape, estates and demesnes are particular Irish expressions of a system of landownership and social control that was characteristic of much of western Europe and had its origins in the feudal manorial system of the Middle Ages. They have been mainly associated with the Protestant Ascendancy class in Ireland, though some es-

tates were owned by Catholic families and others who were not part of the ascendancy. It might be more accurate to characterize them as being held by a heterogeneous group of landowners who belonged to the "gentry."

ORIGINS

The estate system grew out of an amalgam of Anglo-Norman medieval manors, lands which were confiscated by the Crown and granted to or purchased by new British planters and settlers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in such projects as the Munster (1586) and Ulster (1610) plantations and the Cromwellian settlement in the 1650s, as well as some Gaelic sept lands which survived confiscation. Plantations introduced many representatives of the new mercantilist British state, like Richard Boyle (later earl of Cork) or Moses Hill (later the marquis of Downshire) in County Down, who were intent on the vigorous economic development of their new lands. Some landowners in the eighteenth century owned estates in both England and Ireland.

STRUCTURE

Estates varied greatly in size and economic capacity, reflecting the impact of initial plantation settlements, subsequent speculative land purchases, incremental additions to the original holding, marriage endowments, and random sales. As a result of defective land surveys, the initial plantation schemes in Munster and Ulster sometimes allotted estate properties that were too large and beyond the investment potential of the Undertakers or Adventurers (who "undertook" to plant the land with settlers or who "adventured" their capital in the enterprise). The Downshire and Kildare estates comprised 120,000 and 67,000 acres respectively, but most were properties of less than 10,000 acres. Economic viability, however, was determined more by land quality: the Lansdowne estate in Kerry (95,000 acres) consisted mostly of mountain and bogland.

The plantation of a landed elite in Ireland had the economic objective of stabilizing regional economic and political conditions. Estates were leased in farms to tenants for specified periods at agreed rents. Tenants were bound by their contracts to develop the landholding, build a house, pay the rent, and so on. Leases reflected contemporary economic conditions. During the seventeenth-century wars and economic recession, leases were long and cheap in order to attract tenants. Many obtained long leases on large portions of estates, which they subsequently subleased in smaller sections at higher rents, and shorter leases. These leaseholds produced what became known as the middleman system,



The great house of the Butlers, earls (and later dukes) of Ormond, erected around 1570 at Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary. The remains of the medieval castle are visible in the background. COURTESY OF FAILTE IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

which in places allowed fragmentation of landholdings and the growth of unsustainable population densities. By the time of the Napoleonic wars and the wartime boom in agriculture, rents rose significantly and leases were shortened by landlords (in many cases smaller farms were let on annual tenancies). Population rose rapidly as farms were subdivided on many estates in the decades prior to the Great Famine. In general, subdivision among tenant families, and subletting to landless laborers or cottiers occurred most often on poorly managed estates, especially in more marginal western districts that had little economic potential beyond rental farming. In regions of commercial agriculture, estates were more carefully managed by their owners, with tenant leases and laborer numbers controlled.

Larger properties usually had an array of estate officials to help with management, such as land agents, stewards and bailiffs, as well as an office holding records of the tenancies and the estate's business—of vital importance to modern historians. Management practice often varied between resident and nonresident (or absentee) owners. Smaller, more fragmented properties,

often on poorer lands that may have had a history of speculative ownership, may have had a less alert management. There were, for example, many estates where the tenants were largely unknown to the owners in the 1840s.

These differences were reflected in landscape and settlement patterns that echo down to the present. The texture of farms and fields, hedges and trees, road networks, and housing density reflected varied management strategies. For example, estates in south Monaghan, which contained many house clusters in the 1770s, were characterized by dispersed farmsteads by the 1830s as a result of land-reform policies pursued by Lord Bath, an influential landlord from Wiltshire in England.

In the eighteenth century the more innovative landlords and land agents were preoccupied with improving their estates, introducing enclosure, rearranging settlement, planting trees, setting up model farms, and offering prizes to encourage better husbandry. Improvement extended to the local economy, with landowners getting involved in the development of towns and villages as

focal points for markets and industry on their estates. By the mid-eighteenth century, the linen industry was developing and colonies of weavers were established in villages like Collon, Co. Louth, and Monivea, Co. Galway. Estate towns like Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, Hillsborough, Co. Down, and Kenmare, Co. Kerry, as well as encouraging the local economy, were important marks of status for the landowner.

In an age of paternalism some landlords considered that they had responsibilities as social improvers too, and appointed moral agents to look after the welfare of their tenants, especially to stem over-indulgence in whiskey drinking. Most ideas on improvement were encountered in England or on the Grand Tour in Europe. Landlords were also patrons of the arts and many Big Houses contained paintings and sculptures bought on the Continent. By the 1840s ideas on improvement encompassed schemes of assisted emigration in order to relieve many overpopulated estates of surplus tenantry.

DEMESNES

Demesne is a medieval term for lands set aside for the lord of the manor, especially deer parks, which continued in some instances into modern demesnes. By the 1650s the demesne was essentially the home farm of the landlord, and by the late seventeenth century its design began to incorporate fashionable gardens laid out in the classicalism of Le Nôtre. But by the time of the mid-eighteenth-century romantic movement, pastoral designs from nature became popular and most demesne landscapes are legacies of this period. Irish demesnes are distinguished by high enclosing walls to keep out poachers and the populace from what were called the pleasure grounds of the landlord. Rising estate incomes in the eighteenth century led to increased investment in demesnes involving a range of elements, which were as much a mark of contemporary fashion as a necessary function. Grand Tours of the Continent and seasonal visiting by the landed class led to the diffusion of fashionable gardening and architectural ideas. Vistas; winding avenues; serpentine lakes; ponds and canals, kitchen, walled, and exotic gardens; fanciful gate lodges; boathouses; Swiss cottages; shell houses; glasshouses for soft fruit; icehouses for summer drinks; and extravagant follies appeared in the most prestigious properties to match imposing mansion houses and modern farm buildings. Many examples remain as important resources of cultural tourism today—Carton, Castle-town, Florence Court, Powerscourt, Kilruddery. There are also many derelict demesne landscapes and Big Houses, which reflect the demise of the estate system following the Land Acts and the burning of many houses by the IRA during the War of Independence.

SEE ALSO Country Houses and the Arts; Landscape and Settlement; Rural Settlement and Field Systems; Woodlands

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Patrick J. Duffy

Eucharistic Congress

The Eucharistic Congress is a mass meeting of Catholics organized on an international basis and aimed at celebrating the mystery of the Eucharist through lectures, seminars, discussions, and the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. The thirty-first congress, which was held in Dublin in June 1932, demonstrated not only the links and bonds within Irish society, North and South, but also the inherent tensions and strains (particularly in the North: for instance, trains carrying Catholics back through Northern Ireland after the event were stoned, prompting complaints from the Catholic hierarchy to the Stormont government).

Interestingly, the Northern Irish government was invited to attend the celebrations but chose to ignore the invitation, though the Northern Irish press gave detailed and balanced coverage of the event. Conversely, Eamon de Valera's government chose to use the congress as an opportunity to snub the governor-general (the representative of the British crown in Ireland), James McNeill. The congress was a coup for de Valera, who gained in world profile and prestige from association with the congress and the visit of the cardinal legate, Lorenzo Lauri. This was ironic given that de Valera's predecessor, W. T. Cosgrave, and the previous Cumann na nGaedheal government had helped to orga-

nize the event before de Valera and Fianna Fáil won their first election in February 1932.

The congress organizers presented a distinctive and selective version of life in the Free State, portraying an image of civic and religious unity. The scars of the Civil War lived on in the Free State in the 1930s, and arguably for much longer. Indeed, up to 1927 de Valera and his party had rejected the legitimacy of the state. However, in the face of such a high-profile event, and with the Catholic world watching, the organizers were keen to represent the state as now unified. In form and style, although on a much greater scale, the 1932 Eucharistic Congress owed much to the 1929 centenary celebration of Catholic Emancipation. In its similarities it reminded the audience and participants of the previous drama of the centenary, and by association, it promoted a Catholic and nationalist interpretation of Ireland's past. Carefully organized and choreographed, both observances were preceded by a week of events, including high masses and a special children's mass, building to the climax of a mass held in Phoenix Park. In both the 1929 and 1932 celebrations, the high masses were followed by processions to the center of the capital, where benedictions were held on Watling Street Bridge in the first instance and on O'Connell Bridge in the second. Although both events were meticulously planned, neither the centenary or the Eucharistic Congress were prepared for or performed cynically: They were, above all, genuine expressions of a Catholic state that tentatively was coming into its own. With these two events the relationship between church and state in the Free State was formally acknowledged and affirmed in the modern age. In an almost literal way it was (or was presented as) an act of "national communion."

SEE ALSO Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Protestant Community in Southern Ireland since 1922

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Gillian McIntosh

European Union

In January 1972 the Taoiseach Jack Lynch and his foreign minister Dr. Patrick Hillery left Dublin airport for Luxembourg to sign Ireland's Treaty of Accession to the European Communities. Just over fifty years after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which gave the people of twenty-six of the thirty-two counties of Ireland the right to establish a state (the Irish Free State) separate from the United Kingdom, an Irish government negotiated membership of a community that had altered the nature of statehood in Europe. Ireland as a relatively young state was preparing to pool and share its sovereignty with the other member states of the Union in a dynamic political experiment. The Irish government made its first application for European Union (EU) membership on 31 July 1961. It took twelve years to bring this key foreign-policy goal to fruition, largely because of events beyond the control of any Irish government. Throughout the 1960s successive governments remained wedded to Ireland's eventual membership of the Union. In 1972, 83 percent of those who voted in the referendum voted in favor of membership.

THE NICE NO

Ireland's engagement with the EU system was relatively smooth until the shock of the defeat of the Nice referendum in June 2001. Ireland was the only member state that had to submit the Nice Treaty to a popular referendum for constitutional reasons. In Ireland this was the fifth referendum on the EU since 1972. All of the others had been passed by a comfortable, albeit declining, majority. On 7 June 2001 the Irish electorate voted no to the Nice Treaty by 54 to 46 percent in an extremely low voter turnout of just 35 percent. The outcome of the referendum was a major reversal for the government that had negotiated the treaty, for the main opposition parties that had advocated a yes vote, and for the peak groups in civil society, notably the main business associations, farming organizations, and the Trade Union Congress. Although a second referendum in October 2002 reversed this decision by a decisive 62 to 38 percent, Irish attitudes toward the EU have since entered a more complex and a more ambivalent phase.

IRELAND'S POLICY INTERESTS

There is remarkable consistency in the policies that are accorded a high priority by Ireland in the EU. Preferences were molded by Ireland's low level of development relative to the continental European economies, by sus-



The first European Economic Community (EEC) summit in which Ireland participated, Dublin, March 1975. EEC membership brought major economic benefits to Ireland and an increased profile in international affairs. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE IRISH TIMES.

tained high levels of unemployment, and by Ireland's dependence on mobile foreign investment. The aim was to try to ensure that Ireland could accommodate developments in social and economic policy at the EU level. From an Irish perspective, the key policy areas were as follows:

- The EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) enabled Irish agriculture to escape from the traditional cheap-food policies of the United Kingdom. The emphasis in relation to the CAP is to maintain or improve farm incomes. Ireland and France remain the key supporters of CAP.
- Cohesion policies at the EU level assist Europe's peripheral areas in catching up. Successive Irish governments deployed considerable diplomatic effort to ensure that the EU would develop a cohesion policy and that Ireland would benefit from financial transfers from the EU budget. Following reform of the structural funds in 1988, Ireland experienced a significant increase in financial transfers from the EU budget. Given Ireland's high level of economic growth in the 1990s, the volume of transfers will be reduced progressively until 2006.
- Successive Irish governments attempted to protect the domestic space by carefully vetting policies and EU regulations that were likely to have an impact on Ireland's competitive position and on regulatory frameworks at the national level. The internal-market program was thus accorded a high priority because of the weight of EC legislation and the need to prepare Irish industry and the service sector for the competitive shock of the 1992 program. Irish administrations have been adamantly opposed to any harmonization of taxation policy in Europe and have fought a hard campaign to maintain low levels of corporation tax.

- The 1992 Maastricht Treaty on European Union (TEU) marked further integration, with provisions on a single currency, the common foreign and security policy, and cooperation among EU members on justice and home affairs. Rather than dislodging the high-ranking policies of the past, the TEU simply added priorities and concerns. Irish governments in the 1990s showed considerable commitment to the public debt philosophy and targets set out in the Maastricht Treaty and supported the full observance of the Maastricht criteria across Europe. In practice the Irish political and policy system was converted to the sound-money/tight-budget philosophy of the German Bundesbank.

Successive Irish governments have endorsed EU social and environmental regulation, provided that regulations do not impose an undue burden on Irish industry or the exchequer. The goal of maintaining Ireland's attractiveness to foreign mobile investment, particularly American capital, runs deeply through Irish policy. In promoting domestic preferences and protecting national space, Irish politicians and administrators have had to engage in coalition-building with like-minded states. Unlike other small states, such as the Nordic or the Benelux countries, Ireland does not have a natural grouping of like-minded states and thus must seek allies on a case-by-case basis: with the French on agriculture, the United Kingdom on taxation, and the other "cohesion countries" on regional funds.

Domestic adaptation to the challenge of competition and Ireland's vulnerability as a small open economy caused difficulties. Irish adjustment in the 1970s, notwithstanding the oil crises, was relatively smooth. However, by the end of the 1970s Ireland had entered a vicious circle of economic policy. Ireland had the worst economic performance in Europe during most of the

1980s as a result of international recession, which was reinforced by dramatic domestic efforts to reduce public-finance and balance-of-payments deficits and to lower inflation. By the mid-1980s Ireland's economic and social strategy was in ruins and its hope of prospering in the EU was in considerable doubt. There was a widespread sense of Ireland's failure, not unlike the prevailing mood in the 1950s. The state and its society found itself at another critical juncture. Ireland had to find the institutional and cultural capacity to overcome the failure of the 1980s. Without this, the opportunities offered by the internal European market and the deepening of integration would have been lost. Tight management of the domestic budget and a new system of social partnership meant that Ireland could take advantage of the larger market. The conditions for the remarkable boom of the 1990s were in place.

REPOSITIONING IRELAND IN THE EU

Just over thirty years of membership of the Union and over forty years since the Irish state altered its strategy of economic development, Ireland finds itself as a small, prosperous Western European state with per capita incomes that have converged with those of other wealthy EU states. The claim that Ireland is a "nation caught on the hop between the traditional and the modern, between the Bishop of Rome and the Treaty of Rome" no longer holds (Eagleton 1999, p. 177). The economic modernization represented by the Treaty of Rome has prevailed. Within the EU, Ireland will find itself as one of over twenty five small states in the decades ahead. It is no longer regarded as a deserving, small, poor state. Policy preferences are likely to change when Ireland becomes a net contributor to the EU budget Irish officials will be expected to contribute more actively to EU debates rather than concentrate on the key issues of interest to Ireland. How Ireland repositions itself in the EU system depends on the outcome of several proposed developments. The draft EU constitution, agreed by the Convention on the Future of Europe, is the subject of negotiations among the member states and represents an important development in the dynamic of European integration. The purpose of the draft constitution is to simplify the EU's constitutional and institutional framework and to add to its legitimacy by inserting a charter on rights. Major changes are foreseen in the institutional architecture and decision-making processes. In a Union of twenty-five, it will be more difficult for Ireland to have its voice heard. Managing its relations with the EU will demand greater prioritization and care from Irish governments and policy-makers. While it is highly improbable that a common European defense policy will emerge in the near future, any moves in that

direction would present major difficulties for a neutral Ireland.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; Celtic Tiger; Common Agricultural Policy; Health and Welfare since 1950, State Provisions for; Industry since 1920; Neutrality; Overseas Investment; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; United Nations; **Primary Documents:** Speech to Ministers of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community (18 January 1962)

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Brigid Laffan

Evangelicalism and Revivals

Evangelicalism is a term used to describe a movement of religious ideas that swept the transatlantic world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its distinctive features include the central importance of a personal conversion experience and assurance of sins forgiven. It also lays great emphasis on the doctrine of atonement and claims that the Bible is the only source of religious authority. Its adherents are known for their pragmatism, their disregard for denominational traditions, and their active efforts at evangelization and charitable work.

The origins of evangelicalism are a complicated mixture of local trends and international influences. In the late seventeenth century persecuted Protestant minorities in Central Europe developed a deeply personal and emotional form of religious worship. They stressed the need for a "new birth," which they promoted via private devotions and Bible reading, house meetings, and field preaching, which often turned into full-scale revivals. This new approach to Protestant belief spread very quickly throughout Europe and beyond.

In Ireland, Protestantism in the early eighteenth century was dominated by the Church of Ireland and

the Presbyterians, both of whom were concentrated in the northern part of the island. Small groups of Protestants who had immigrated in the seventeenth century, such as the Moravians, Palatines, Huguenots, and Baptists, were based in the southwest or in urban centers such as Dublin. It was among these Protestant minorities that evangelical ideas initially began to develop. Several of the Dublin-based groups started to form religious societies in the 1730s. These stirrings were enlivened by the visits of itinerant evangelists such as John Cennick, George Whitefield, and John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Between 1747 and 1789 Wesley made twenty-one visits to Ireland, and by 1760 there were an estimated 2,000 members of Methodist societies located mainly in southern port and market towns or near military garrisons.

The spread of evangelicalism in eighteenth-century Ireland was complicated by the Catholicism of the majority of the population, the hostility of the Church of Ireland to religious enthusiasm, and the theological preoccupations of the Presbyterians. Even Methodism, despite its initial success, made little sustained headway. It was not until the 1790s, when Ireland was wracked with agrarian unrest and rebellion, that Methodism began to grow dramatically and shift its focus northward. Between 1770 and 1820 a series of local revivals took place; between 1799 and 1802 Methodist membership more than doubled.

It was around this time that evangelicalism began to make substantial inroads into mainstream Protestantism. By the late 1780s Trinity College, Dublin, had become the focal point for evangelicals within the Church of Ireland, and by the 1850s a majority of the Anglican clergy espoused evangelical doctrines. In the early nineteenth century it was the orthodox, or Old Light, camp within Irish Presbyterianism which, under the influence of evangelical ideas, sought to expel the more liberal New Lights from the Synod of Ulster. After their success in 1829, the Presbyterian Church began to adopt an overwhelmingly evangelical tone.

The growth of evangelicalism was demonstrated most dramatically in an unprecedented outburst of religious fervor that swept the Protestant communities of the north during the summer of 1859. Characterized by frequent and lengthy church services, ecstatic manifestations of spiritual feeling, and lay leadership, the Ulster

revival of 1859 served to solidify evangelical practice among Irish Protestants and to foster a wider sense of Protestant unity.

Evangelicalism has contributed significantly to the development of a distinctly Irish Protestantism, and its theological rigidity has exacerbated sectarian tensions. In the 1820s evangelicals embarked on the so-called Second Reformation, a sustained effort to convert Irish Catholics that, despite some early successes, ultimately failed to do more than antagonize the Catholic hierarchy. Throughout the nineteenth century, open-air preaching and other efforts to target the "unsaved" routinely provoked clashes with Catholic protestors. More positively, evangelicalism has prompted an active concern for wider social welfare. In the nineteenth century, Sunday schools, Bible classes, and young men's associations aimed to instruct the young. A plethora of charitable and missionary societies were established to meet the social needs of the poor in Ireland and to marshal the growing interest in overseas missions. In the twentieth century, community involvement continues to be an important focus.

Evangelicalism's theological preoccupations have had a significant impact on the political culture of Northern Ireland. Its disregard for tradition has contributed to the emergence of new charismatic religious movements both north and south of the border. Although evangelicalism has often caused tension and division, its flexibility and pragmatism have sustained its influence as a powerful element within the contemporary Irish Protestant identity.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Methodism; Overseas Missions; Presbyterianism; Second Reformation from 1822 to 1869; Temperance Movements

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Janice Holmes



Factory-Based Textile Manufacture

By 1725 linen bleaching was too risky and time-consuming to be performed by household women. Capitalists—assisted by the 72 members of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufacturers of Ireland, which enforced existing laws and made efforts to extend and improve the industry—made significant timesaving innovations, including harnessing water power and introducing washmills, rubbing boards (1730s), beetling engines (1727), and vitriol (1756). By mid-century, linen bleachers were centralizing and reorganizing linen production along capitalist lines. However, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries innovation slowed, and production processes in these small family-owned firms changed little. Although working conditions in bleach-greens were relatively healthy, skill, strength, and long hours were required of the predominantly male labor force.

The Linen Board similarly encouraged the use of water-driven machinery in scutch mills, which multiplied in number and importance in the eighteenth century. By 1800 most northeastern parishes had a scutch mill. Scutch mills were simple, cheap, and efficient, with a breastshot waterwheel driving a horizontal shaft along which scutching stocks for flax and targing stocks for tow or shorter fibers were arranged. In seasonal scutch mills wages were low and working conditions were dusty and dangerous.

By the 1770s political and economic factors favored the mechanization of linen's rival fabric—cotton. The semiautonomous Irish parliament acted to encourage and protect cotton manufacture. Thereafter, the cotton industry, with its dependence on waterpower, coal-driven steam power, machinery, imported raw materi-

als, and cheap labor, ushered industrial capitalism into Ulster's Lagan Valley. Cotton-yarn spinning required changes in the organization of production and considerable fixed capital investment. Muslin weavers earned higher wages than linen weavers, encouraging many to change jobs.

The cotton industry in Ireland was not the same as in England, due to Ireland's colonial status. In Ireland, cotton spinning did not revolutionize weaving, but instead intensified the decentralized system of putting-out mill-spun yarn by manufacturers to handloom weavers. (The putting-out system, a transitional stage in the development of capitalism, was characterized by manufacturers' supplying raw materials and marketing finished products. Producers, who owned the means of production, controlled the work process.) Irish muslin weavers earned lower wages than their English counterparts, inhibiting technological innovation, and young female workers in the dusty Belfast mills earned lower wages than workers in Lancashire. Finally, when the expanding Irish cotton industry posed a competitive threat, the English state periodically dumped cheaper English yarn and cloth in Ireland.

By the 1820s and 1830s Belfast cotton spinners could not compete, so they turned to spinning flax. Competition and innovation in the cotton industry forced similar technological changes in the linen industry. Flax, however, was far more difficult to process than cotton wool. Flax-spinning machinery capable of spinning coarse yarn had been patented in England in 1789. The coarse-linen trade was thereby captured by England and Scotland, leaving Ireland to concentrate on fine linen yarn. Then in 1825, the Englishman James Kay invented the wet-spinning process, enabling fine counts of yarn to be spun more cheaply. This threatened the future of Ireland's fine-yarn specialization. When the regulation affecting the importation of Brit-

ish and foreign yarn was abolished, the number of yarn-spinning mills in Ireland multiplied. The labor force in flax-spinning mills was predominantly young and female. Persistently unhealthy working conditions—dust in the preparing processes and intense heat in wet-spinning rooms—damaged the health of workers.

Although the mechanization of spinning fundamentally changed the organization of linen production, the centralization of linen weaving was an uneven century-long process. By the 1840s some handloom weavers were reluctantly working for manufacturers in shops or factories where they lost their independence and earned low piece wages. The powerloom was more slowly adopted in Ireland than in Britain because of Ireland's lower labor costs and technological problems in weaving fine-linen cloth. Before the Great Famine the low cost associated with the putting-out system inhibited innovation. After the famine the rising costs of labor and yarn and competition from powerloom weavers in Britain generated the incentive for innovation. Investment in powerlooms increased dramatically during the linen boom years of the 1860s and 1870s when the "cotton famine" induced by the U.S. Civil War stimulated demand for alternative fabrics. New flax-spinning mills and weaving factories multiplied rapidly. The labor in powerloom factories was predominantly female, and working conditions were persistently poor because of dust, moist heat, and intense noise. A new division of labor between hand- and powerloom production of linen emerged by the 1880s, with fine-linen cloth being produced on handlooms into the twentieth century.

The making-up end of textile production consisted of producing and decorating linen and cotton household articles, handkerchiefs, and apparel, and decorating these by embroidery and sewing. Making-up work entailed an intricate division of labor between tasks performed in factories and those carried out in homes. Only three processes—punch hemstitching, Swiss embroidery, and machine spoking—were always performed in factories. Swiss-embroidery machines operated by one skilled man with three female assistants dominated the higher end of the hemstitching trade by the 1860s. Most other processes, including hemming, and sewing shirts, collars, and ladies undergarments, were performed both inside and outside factories, at the discretion of the employer. Although female workers in sewing factories earned piece rates similar to those of other textile workers, cleaner and quieter working conditions resulted in their higher status.

Until World War I the north of Ireland was the world's largest producer of linen. Thereafter, the indus-

try faced myriad problems, including a shortage of sources of flax, the dominance of private family ownership, internecine disputes among the sectors, protection in overseas markets, rival fabrics, lower labor costs elsewhere, and inadequate marketing and research. The need for modernization was particularly acute. Although flax spinning and weaving were classified as dangerous trades in 1905, by 1948 no new flax mills had been built for more than forty years, and in many plants the average age of machinery was forty or fifty years. The Re-Equipment of Industry Act (1951) subsidized the modernization of machinery and buildings. Still, the decline of the linen industry continued, with only twenty firms remaining by 1980. The few firms that survive today have done so by adopting new strategies of production and marketing, by cooperation among manufacturers, and through government investment in research and development. New spinning machinery was developed, computerized damask looms currently produce cloth cleanly and efficiently, and fashion designers creatively use Irish linen.

Between 1939 and 1951 the shortage of flax and decreased demand for linen forced northern Irish manufacturers to invest in rayon staple fabrics. The transition to rayon after 1945 was encouraged by government assistance, since rayon staple required the installation of new equipment and at times new factories. Existing wet-spinning frames and powerlooms in linen plants were unsuitable for rayon production, which required dry processing and greater regularity in weaving. Despite the early success of the rayon industry, it was vulnerable, controlled from firms outside Northern Ireland, and ultimately short-lived, collapsing in the 1980s.

SEE ALSO Belfast; Industrialization; Industry since 1920; Rural Industry; Women and Children in the Industrial Workforce

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Marilyn Cohen

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Family

**MARRIAGE
PATTERNS AND
FAMILY LIFE
FROM 1500 TO
1690**

MARY O'DOWD

**MARRIAGE
PATTERNS AND
FAMILY LIFE
FROM 1690 TO
1921**

**TIMOTHY W.
GUINNANE**

**FERTILITY,
MARRIAGE, AND
THE FAMILY
SINCE 1950**

AIDAN PUNCH

**MARRIAGE PATTERNS AND FAMILY LIFE
FROM 1500 TO 1690**

In 1500 Irish customs in marriage and family life can be distinguished by ethnicity, law, and economic status. Practices in Gaelic Ireland differed from those in areas where English law was observed; and within both regions, wealthy families viewed marriage differently from poorer families.

The legal differences in marriage practices in Gaelic and Anglo-Irish Ireland should not, however, be exaggerated. In the two societies canon law formed the basis for the recognition of a valid marriage. Under church law a marriage was created when both partners freely expressed their consent to the union. Neither public ceremony nor consummation was necessary, although throughout the medieval period, the church tried, with only limited success, to promote the public solemnization of nuptials. The church also asserted the permanent nature of the marriage bond and prohibited unions between persons who were related to one another up to the degree of third cousin.

In Gaelic Ireland canon law on marriage was observed selectively. At the upper levels of society mar-

riage was exploited as a valuable political asset. Marriages often coincided with political alliances and lasted only as long as it was politically convenient for the families of both partners. As networks and connections between families shifted and changed, so too new marriage partners were selected and old ones abandoned. Most aristocratic men and women in Gaelic Ireland married several times and usually in the lifetime of former spouses. Shane O'Neill, lord of Tyrone, for example, married four times and clearly changed his marriage partners to suit his political circumstances.

The political pressure to select a marriage partner from within the small pool of Gaelic aristocratic families meant that marriage of kinsfolk within the prohibited third degree was common. The regular petitions for papal dispensations from such unions suggest some concern to keep within the confines of canon law. The fact that dispensations were sought years after the marriage had been consummated also indicates, however, that papal church approval was not considered a matter of great urgency.

We have far less information about the duration of marriages among families outside the aristocratic elite, but the surviving records of the Armagh ecclesiastical court document women from less well-off Gaelic backgrounds complaining of their abandonment by husbands who had taken new wives. Clandestine marriages also continued to be consummated into the seventeenth century, although by that time they were mainly to be found within the landless section of society.

In Anglo-Irish society marriage was normally only dissolved on death, but given the prevalence of war in sixteenth-century Ireland and generally high mortality rates, most people married more than once. A study of marriage patterns among the landed families of the Pale in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries revealed that many women in that community married three or four times. Few, however, matched the record of Genet Sarsfield from County Meath, who had six husbands.

By 1500 the payment of a dowry to the groom was customary in both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish families. Among wealthy Gaelic families dowries were usually calculated in cattle, but in the 1560s and 1570s, Scottish women also brought attractive dowries of mercenary soldiers and weaponry to their new chieftain husbands in Ulster. In the more anglicized parts of Ireland, a woman's marriage portion usually consisted of cash, animal stock, and household goods. In the towns a merchant could also offer a prospective son-in-law admission as a freeman of the city or membership of a trade guild—both passageways into the closed commercial world of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Irish

towns. At the lowest levels of rural society the bride made a valuable economic contribution to the establishment of the home of the new couple. She provided the animal stock for the land and the household utensils, such as a brass pan and a griddle iron that she would use for cooking and brewing beer.

Old English and Gaelic society also cemented social and political alliances through the fostering of children. The bond between foster parents and the foster child was strong and was often said to be stronger than that between the child and his or her natural parents. Dame Janet Eustace, who was foster mother to Thomas Fitzgerald, tenth earl of Kildare, was alleged to have had a strong influence over him, particularly at the time of his rebellion in 1534.

Gaelic society traditionally made no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children, and the determination of the paternity of a child lay with the mother. The most famous example of this phenomenon was that of Alison Kelly who claimed in the 1530s that her son, Mathew, by then a young teenager, had been conceived following a night spent with Conn O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone. Conn liked the boy and not only accepted him as his son, but also nominated him as his heir in the agreement that he made with the English administration in 1542, much to the dismay of his legitimate sons—particularly Shane, who refused to recognize Matthew as his father's heir.

In Old English society, only children conceived within marriage were entitled to inherit their father's property and title. Primogeniture was also universally observed by Old English families, although daughters could inherit the family property if a man had no sons. Under Gaelic law daughters were prohibited from inheriting land. In practice, however, the difference between the two systems was less stark. Many Old English families entailed their estates to male heirs only, thus effectively excluding women from landownership.

Changes in the religious and legal structure of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ireland had an impact on marriage customs and family life in a number of ways. First, the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic response strengthened the necessity for a formally solemnized marriage ceremony in a church. In addition, the Council of Trent asserted Catholic doctrine on the sacramental nature of marriage. The marriage of partners from different religious denominations resulted in a public discourse in the seventeenth century on what constituted a valid marriage. This was a debate that was to become increasingly bitter in the 1690s, when the Penal Laws imposed severe penalties on Protestant landowners who married Catholic or Dissenting spouses.

The triumph of English law over Gaelic custom meant the eradication of Gaelic-style divorce and the dominance of primogeniture. The replacement of Old English and Gaelic landed families by new English estate owners brought other changes. There was, for example, a noticeable increase in the number of female heiresses in seventeenth-century Ireland; and espousal to an heiress was an important means by which the large landed estates of the "Protestant Ascendancy" were created and consolidated in the late seventeenth century. Within the craft families of the new British tenancies in Munster towns, male heads of household also demonstrated a willingness to divide their goods equitably among surviving widows and children.

The legal documentation which accompanied marriage ceremonies became increasingly complex in the course of the seventeenth century, particularly among the landed elite. Marriage settlements, deeds, and wills were drawn up, often before the marriage took place, in order to ensure jointures for widows, marriage dowries for daughters, and livelihoods for younger sons. Jointures, by which land was held jointly for the use of husband and wife, replaced dowries as a means of providing for widows; and increasingly the jointure was in the form of a cash annuity rather than, as in the dowry, a specified portion of the family estate. There was also a steady increase in the amount required for marriage dowries, with cash amounts of £2,000 to £3,000 replacing the cattle and household goods of earlier times among the wealthier families. The growing tendency of Irish peerage families to look for spouses from English peerage families also exerted inflationary pressure on the cost of marriage.

SEE ALSO Burial Customs and Popular Religion from 1500 to 1690; **Primary Documents:** Act of Uniformity (1560)

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Mary O'Dowd

MARRIAGE PATTERNS AND FAMILY LIFE FROM 1690 TO 1921

By the early twentieth century about one-quarter of adult men and women in Ireland had never married. While not unique to Ireland at the time, these patterns were unusual and have long been taken as evidence of an exceptional pattern of marriage and family life. As early as the 1840s the proportion of adults in Ireland who had never married was much lower, at about 10 percent, and was completely unremarkable by European standards. The huge increase over the second half of the nineteenth century raises the question of the role of the Great Famine in these family patterns. The reasons behind this dramatic change are not well understood, unfortunately, but the broad outlines are known and scholarship since the 1980s has at least succeeded in dispelling some old thinking.

FROM 1690 TO THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1846 TO 1850

Most western European couples between 1690 and 1850 lived in small households consisting of a married couple and their children. This couple did not marry until they were able to move out of their own parents' household and provide for themselves and their offspring. This western European marriage pattern produced what was by world standards a relatively late age at marriage. Women did not marry until their early or mid-twenties, and men married a few years later. Many adults never married at all. Depending on the time and place, some 10 percent to 20 percent of adults remained single (or celibate, to use the demographer's term) all their lives. There is strong evidence that in bad economic times adults married later, and more of them never married, reflecting the difficulty of setting up their own households.

This picture is clear for England, France, Sweden, and some other western European societies for which there are excellent historical records on marriage and households. For Ireland, with its very poor demographic records prior to the 1841 population census, the picture is much less clear. Most of what is known about marriage patterns in Ireland until the early nineteenth century comes from sources that are either inadequate to the questions at hand or that pertain to small minority groups such as Quakers.

The striking account of pre-famine marriage patterns offered by Kenneth H. Connell in his classic work *The Population of Ireland, 1750 to 1845* implies that Ireland was some sort of demographic oddity. The pre-famine Irish, he claimed, married at much younger ages than did their European counterparts, and virtually all of them married. Connell argued that agricultural prosperity brought about by the Anglo-French wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had made it easier for poor Irish people to obtain land and so to marry and raise a family. He stresses the miserable living standards to which the Irish were accustomed, which made them willing to marry an income that other Europeans would have considered insufficient to support a family. He also noted the spread of a system of land tenure that let very small strips of land in conacre, an in-kind form of rent, to the poorest families.

Research since the 1980s suggests that Connell's account was flawed in important features. A number of reliable sources, including the 1841 census (which is considered very reliable), show no trace of his teenage brides, and the proportions who never married in Ireland at that time were nearly identical to those in England and other western European societies. On the other hand, some studies (such as O'Neill's account of the parish of Killashandra, Co. Cavan), have found lower female ages at marriage, reflecting economic opportunities presented by household linen production in some regions of Ireland.

THE FAMINE AND AFTER

During the decades following the famine the proportions of Irish people who never married climbed dramatically, although not constantly. The basic patterns of this change are better documented than are household patterns before the famine. Increases in permanent celibacy were at first largely restricted to eastern and northern Ireland in the 1860s and 1870s, but then spread rapidly to western and southern Ireland. Many accounts claim that age at marriage rose dramatically, and indeed there were numerous bridegrooms in their late thirties and even older. But the increase in the age at marriage was slight when compared to the increases in the proportion of those who did not marry at all.

Some scholars have argued that this change in marriage patterns was a simple result of the famine. Early and universal marriage was restricted to the poor, the argument goes, and the famine swept away these poor, leaving only the social classes whose marriage patterns had been more "European" all along. This view contains a kernel of truth. But it cannot explain the time patterns of change; there was no dramatic rupture at the time of

the famine, and marriage patterns continued to change well into the twentieth century, long after any direct impact from the famine would be expected. Kevin O'Rourke has noted that the famine made Ireland's poor more willing to emigrate and less likely to tolerate poverty in Ireland, which would imply a more drawn-out influence of the famine on marriage patterns. Connell stressed the postfamine spread of a form of marriage that he called the "match." In his account Irish farming families, who dominated the countryside after the death of many of the poor during the famine, became less and less willing to marry without larger and more prosperous farms. As these farms became more difficult to acquire, young Irish adults became more willing to postpone marriage or even avoid it altogether.

Guinnane's 1997 study of postfamine demographic patterns stresses some correctives to earlier accounts. Most accounts of marriage in postfamine Ireland claim that Irish marriage patterns were unique, but this is simply not true. Similar marriage patterns can be observed in several other regions of western Europe, all of which shared a common history of rural poverty, lack of industrialization, and heavy emigration. An explanation unique to Ireland cannot account for similar patterns in Portugal. Much of the discussion of postfamine marriage patterns also ignores the impact of emigration on every facet of Irish life. Some Irish birth-cohorts lost half of their members to emigration; those who remained were those who had in a real sense chosen Irish life and all that it meant. For many, remaining in Ireland meant giving up a chance to marry and to have a family, and this must have played a large role in many emigrants' decisions.

Less is known about the other famous feature of Irish family life—large numbers of children. During the second half of the nineteenth century most European couples began to have much smaller families, in a development historical demographers call the fertility transition. The Irish were only half-hearted participants in this development. As late as 1911 the average Irish couple had a family about 50 percent larger than the average English couple. The reasons for this high Irish fertility are not yet understood. It is true that the Roman Catholic Church, of which a large majority of Irish people were adherents, forbade contraception. But this was also true of many Protestant groups in Ireland, and the evidence on Catholic/Protestant fertility differences in Ireland is very mixed. Historians have proposed other reasons for high fertility in Ireland. One is that Irish parents did not have to bear much expense to establish their children as adults, because an inexpensive ship ticket purchased life in the United States. Another reason often noted is that there was little employment opportunity

for Irish women outside the home, which made it relatively easy for Irish women to care for large broods.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Great Famine; Indian Corn or Maize; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Population Explosion; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century; **Primary Documents:** On Irish Rural Society and Poverty (1780); On Rural Society on the Eve of the Great Famine (1844–1845); From the *Report of the Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, 1948–1954* (1955)

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Timothy W. Guinnane

FERTILITY, MARRIAGE, AND THE FAMILY SINCE 1950

During the second half of the twentieth century the annual number of births in Ireland reached a peak of 74,000 in 1980 and subsequently decreased by over a third, to reach a low point of 48,200 in 1994. The period since 1980 has seen births decline and then pick up again, attaining a level of 57,900 in 2001. During the 1950s and 1960s births exceeded 60,000 annually—apart from 1958 (58,510) and 1961 (59,825). Having risen to 64,000 in 1964 and declined to 61,000 in 1968, births began their upward movement to reach the 1980 maximum figure—the only decline being a temporary one during the mid-1970s.

FERTILITY IN DECLINE SINCE THE 1960S

To gain a greater insight into fertility trends it is necessary to look at the number of women of childbearing age (those aged 15 to 49 years) and at the fertility levels of these women. Between 1961 and 1981 the number of women aged 15 to 49 years increased by over 30 percent. More significant was the increase of nearly 50 percent in the number of women in the prime childbearing age group (20 to 39 years). Therefore, the 20 percent increase in births observed during this period actually masked a significant decline in the underlying fertility rates of these women.

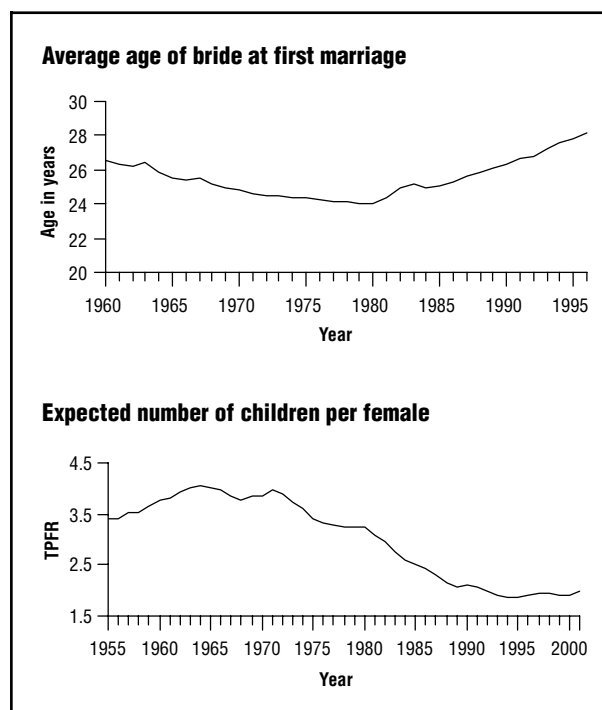
The total fertility rate (i.e., the average number of children born to each woman), which was slightly over 4 during the mid-1960s, fell to 2.08 in 1989. That was the first year in which Irish fertility fell below the replacement level of 2.1—the level at which each generation replaces itself. Having fallen further to 1.85 in 1994 and 1995, the fertility rate has recovered slightly and stood at 1.98 in 2001.

A striking change that occurred during the second half of the twentieth century was the increase in the proportion of births outside marriage. In 1950 the relevant proportion was fairly minor at 2.6 percent; by 2001 nearly one in three births were outside marriage. The proportion of nonmarital births has increased every year since 1971, with the most significant increases taking place from the mid-1980s onward. It is important to bear in mind that nonmarital births include those to single mothers as well as those to couples who choose to cohabit rather than marry. While the popular perception of a birth outside marriage may be of an unplanned pregnancy for a young girl, no fewer than 40 percent of births outside marriage in the year 2000 were to women who had previous children.

Another change was the decline in the number of home births. In the mid-1950s the proportion of home births stood at one in three. The figure had fallen below 1 percent by 1974 and has been less than 0.5 percent since 1977.

The average age of women who bore children in 1960 was 31.5 years. This fell to 29.6 years by the mid-1970s, reflecting an increase in the fertility rates of younger women—especially those in their twenties—over this period. The average age of women at childbearing has since increased and stood at 30.7 in 2001. Looking at firstborn children only, the average age of the mother increased from 25.5 in 1975 to 28.0 in 2001, indicating a tendency for women to postpone childbirth, thereby curtailing family size.

The number of births to teenage girls increased from around 1,100 a year in the mid-1950s to just over



3,000 by the late 1990s. While only one in four of these births were to unmarried teenagers in the earlier part of the half-century under review, by 1980 the proportion had grown to 40 percent, and it has exceeded 90 percent since 1993. This reflects both a departure from the situation in which a pregnant teenager might hastily marry and also an actual fall in the number of marriages in which the bride was a teenager.

MARRIAGE GOING OUT OF FASHION?

The popular perception is that marriage as an institution is going out of fashion, but this overstates the actual situation. A comparison of the number of marriages in 1950 (16,000) with the 2001 total (19,200) indicates an increase of 20 percent. However, when account is taken of the growth of one-third in the underlying population, a fall in the crude marriage rate (the number of marriages per 1,000 population) is the outcome. In fact, the marriage rate, which stood at 5.4 in 1950, exceeded 7.0 for the first five years of the 1970s and then fell to 5.0 by 2001.

Although the crude marriage rate does take account of the underlying population, a more refined measure is the total female first-marriage rate, which is based on age-specific marriage rates. By this measure the probability of a female marrying has fallen by over a third in the years 1960 to 2000. During the same period the average age of the bride at first marriage declined from 26.9 years in 1960 to 24.6 in 1980 and increased to

27.9 by the late 1990s. The general picture is therefore that proportionately fewer females marry, and in the case of those who do, the average age is higher than before.

The number of private households increased from just over 660,000 in 1946 to 1.1 million fifty years later (an increase of 68.3%). Average household size fell from 4.2 to 3.1 persons during the same period, with most of the decrease occurring since 1960 as a direct result of decreasing fertility and increasing household formation.

The number of childless couples (whether married or not) increased by over a third between 1981 and 1996, while families with one or two children also grew appreciably over the same period (by 25.9% and 34.3%, respectively). Larger families have become less common, with the result that the average number of children per family fell from 2.2 to 1.8 between 1981 and 1996.

Cohabiting couples accounted for 3.9 percent of all family units in 1996, and of these, about 60 percent comprised couples without children. Given the age profile of the partners involved, there is strong evidence that cohabitation is not just a precursor to marriage but a permanent form of union.

The number of separated persons more than doubled in the ten years from 1986 to 1996. In 1986 there were 37,200 separated persons. This grew to over 55,000 by 1991, and the 1996 census recorded close to 88,000 separated persons, corresponding to 5.4 percent of ever-married persons.

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT

In 1961, when the population of Ireland was at a historically low level of 2.8 million persons, the number of persons in employment was 1,053,000. Females accounted for 26.4 percent of these. By 1996 the number of women at work had increased by 226,000, representing an increase of 81.5 percent, while male employment increased by only 28,100. The period 1996 to 2001 was one of unprecedented employment growth (greater than 29.2%). At the end of this period women accounted for 40.9 percent of total employment. Furthermore, about 45 percent of these working women were married. The corresponding figure in 1971 was only 14 percent. The labor-force participation of Irish women has now reached the European norm. In 2001 the figure for Ireland was 47.5 percent compared with an overall European Union figure of 47 percent.

IRELAND'S DEMOGRAPHY IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Ireland's demography is markedly different from that of most of its Western European neighbors. Major demographic changes have tended to occur much later and at a slower pace in Ireland than elsewhere in Europe. In particular, fertility rates have been, and continue to be, higher in Ireland than in other western countries. Consequently, Ireland has a younger population profile and has yet to experience the aging of population evident in mainland Europe, with its attendant pressures on healthcare and the pension system.

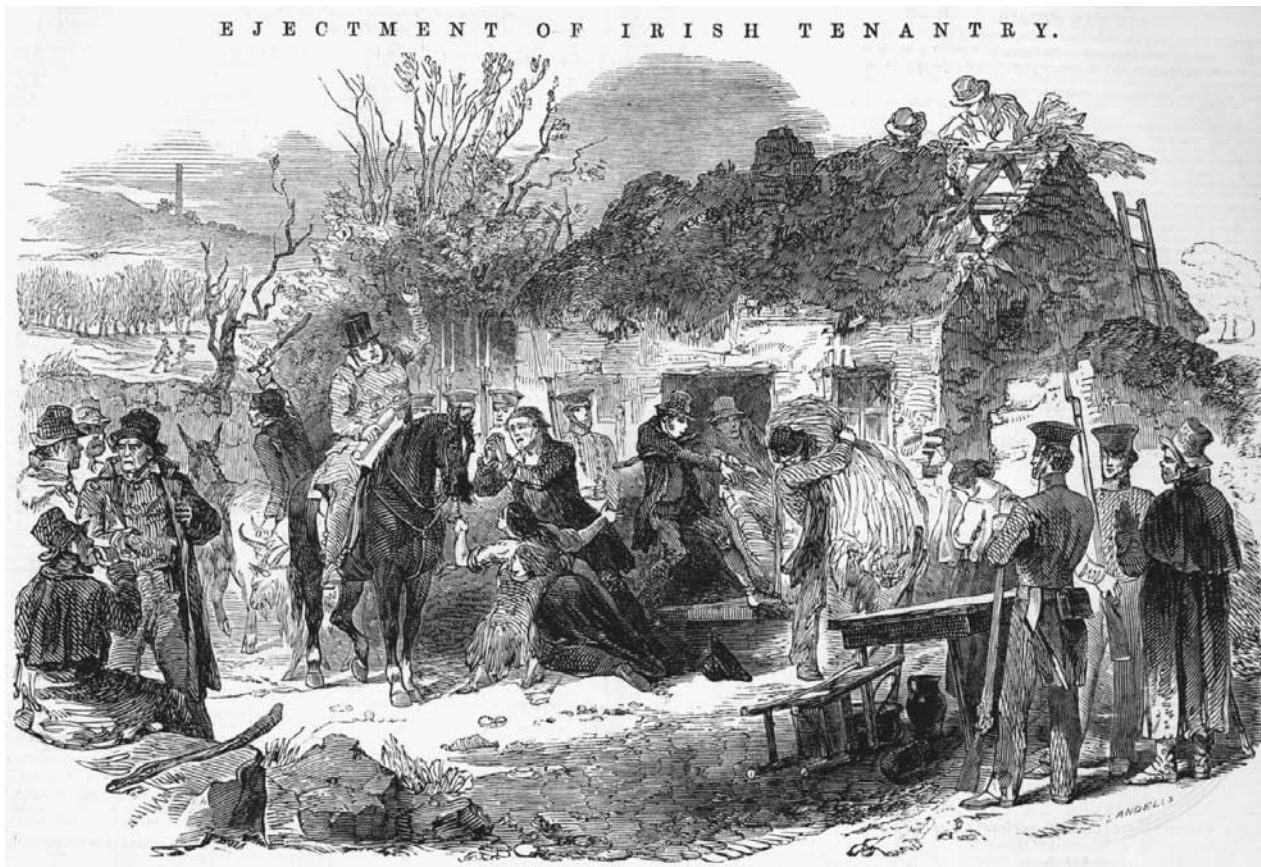
Since the 1990s Ireland's population has been growing at a faster rate than those of other European Union countries. This growth has been fueled by both natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) and net immigration. Because of the young age-profile of its population, Ireland can expect a continuing, though slowing, natural increase in population; in other European countries population growth is already close to zero or even negative.

SEE ALSO Divorce, Contraception, and Abortion; Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Farming Families; Migration: Emigration and Immigration since 1950; Social Change since 1922; **Primary Documents:** From the Decision of the Supreme Court in *McGee v. the Attorney General and the Revenue Commissioners* (1973); On the Family Planning Bill (20 February 1974)

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Aidan Punch



The scale of the mass evictions that occurred during the famine and in the early 1850s was enormous, with 250,000 persons formally dispossessed between 1849 and 1854 alone. In this 1848 sketch a tenant and his family plead vainly to be spared. Some bailiffs are unroofing the tenant's house while others are seizing his goods. Soldiers stand ready to overawe would-be resisters. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 16 DECEMBER 1848.

Famine Clearances

During the Great Famine and in its immediate aftermath, Irish landlords engaged in a campaign of mass evictions that was unprecedented in its extent and severity. These mass evictions are known as the famine clearances. One relatively moderate estimate puts the numbers permanently expelled from their homes at about half a million persons. This estimate refers to legally sanctioned evictions and does not take account of the countless informal ejections and so-called voluntary surrenders of land during the period.

Although few parts of rural Ireland escaped clearances altogether, as a rule they occurred most frequently in the more remote, poorer regions of the country, where subdivision of holdings had been carried on to its most extreme degree. Regions of the west and south of Ireland were therefore most affected by the clearances, with residents of counties such as Clare, Tipperary, and

Mayo suffering more than others. The level of evictions in Tipperary was some twenty times that of Fermanagh, the county with the lowest incidence of clearance, and in Clare it has been calculated that one in every ten persons was permanently expelled from house and holding in the years between 1849 and 1854.

Before the famine evictions had been one of the great ills of the prevailing system of landholding in Ireland, prompted by many different circumstances, ranging from nonpayment of rent to the whim of the landlord. Mass clearance-evictions were rather infrequent, and occurred mainly where landlords sought to improve and modernize their properties by ridding them of the inefficiency of large numbers of smallholding occupiers. A clearance might occur in one great consolidation, with the ejection of very large numbers at once, or it might take place piecemeal wherever the surrender of middleman leases provided the opportunity of ejecting subtenants, with the landlord either taking the land into his own hands or redistributing it among a smaller number of occupiers. Famine-era clearances followed



No other poor-law union in the whole country suffered more from clearances than Kilrush, Co. Clare: 14,000 persons (from 2,700 families) were evicted between November 1847 and mid-1850 alone. Entire villages, like Moveen in this 1849 sketch, were cleared of their occupants. Special legal procedures made mass removals relatively easy. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 22 DECEMBER 1849.

this basic pattern, but on a gigantic scale. Emerging with remarkable suddenness toward the end of 1847, the number of these clearances escalated over the next two years, peaking in 1850, after which the rate of eviction fell rapidly. By 1854 the clearances had come to an end in most parts of Ireland.

The sudden onset and exceptional severity of the famine clearances were the consequence of new government relief policies that added greatly to the economic troubles of landlords. A massive loss of rental income from successive years of crop failure and extreme deprivation, including actual starvation, together with encumbrances inherited from prefamine times, had already brought many landlords to the brink of insolvency. To these difficulties was added a hugely increased tax liability under the Poor Law Amendment Act of June 1847, which transferred the major responsibility for poor relief to Irish property owners. Most of them acted in the belief that the only way to avoid potentially ruinous liability was to eliminate their tax-bearing smallholdings altogether by the wholesale expulsion of the occupiers and the destruction of their dwellings. For the owners of large estates who were not in difficulties, the new pressures furnished a reason to finally resolve the problems of overcrowded properties and unprofitable holdings; for them the dislocation of the period presented a convenient opportunity to complete the estate consolidation begun before 1845.

Although many landlords carried out evictions directly, there was an increased demand for the services of land agents with specialized knowledge of cost-cutting legal procedures and the innumerable practical difficulties encountered at eviction sites. As well as ensuring that a professional job was done, the employment of an agent also enabled the landlord to distance himself from distressing aspects of the eviction process.

Clearances were greatly facilitated by the Gregory clause of the Poor Law Amendment Act, which landlords used to force tenants to part with their entire holding, and once begun, rapidly degenerated into a panicked scramble to clear properties before the new and higher tax rates began to bite. Behind the rush also lay the fear that the eviction option might soon be closed off forever in the event of the introduction of a tenant-right measure by government. Because of the frenzied manner of so many clearances, estates were voided of occupiers to an extent that went beyond what the landlords had originally intended, or what was economically wise for the owners. On many properties the number of tenants left behind after a series of evictions was insufficient for the redistribution of the land. Many cleared estates returned to untended wilderness and remained economically unproductive for several years. Rental income fell during this period, and land values dropped accordingly.

Resistance to evictions was a rare phenomenon in the famine clearances. By the time they began, the enormous wave of social protest and retaliatory crime that had characterized earlier phases of the Great Famine had faded away completely, and many participants and organizers were either in jail or dead of starvation or disease. Verging on disintegration after years of famine, rural communities were now leaderless, and few of those still surviving retained the physical or psychological strength to resist the so-called crowbar brigades, the demolition gangs deployed by landlords and agents at eviction sites. Indeed, the work of evictors was much eased by the fact that tenants destined for eviction were for the most part demoralized to the point of complete docility. In innumerable cases evictors took cynical advantage of this docility by inducing occupiers to destroy their own cabins in exchange for a small monetary consideration. The destruction of dwellings, either in this manner or by paid demolition gangs, was considered essential by evictors to prevent reoccupation by the former tenants. Where ejected families erected huts within or adjoining the ruins of their homes, pains were taken to level these also. Rather than face the horrors of the overcrowded workhouses, the majority of evicted families remained in the vicinity of their former dwellings. Some built crude shelters of branches and turf-sods called “scalpeens” on waste or boggy land nearby. Enormous numbers died of disease, exposure to the cold, or hunger in these hovels, and often it was only in the last stages of starvation or disease that evicted persons could bring themselves to approach the workhouses.

Not surprisingly, the famine clearances left behind many bitter memories in Irish rural communities. The cruelty of particular evicting landlords and agents was remembered sharply for generations, and general culpability was assigned to the British government for the Poor Law Amendment Act and its notorious Gregory clause. More than any other aspect of the Great Famine tragedy, the evictions provided ammunition for the nationalist belief that a genocidal intent lay behind British government famine policies. Transmitted memories of the clearances supplied much of the enraged energy behind the nationalist movements of the later nineteenth century, from physical-force separatism to constitutional demands for self-rule for Ireland and agitation for agrarian reform. There is little doubt, too, that in the long term, by engaging in clearances during the Great Famine, Irish landlords helped seal their own doom. At the end of the nineteenth century, a series of land-purchase acts, inspired by determined campaigning on the part of agrarian and constitutional nationalists, initiated the legal processes by which Irish landlordism would disappear within a generation.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Great Famine; Indian Corn or Maize; Land Questions; Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 and the Gregory Clause; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings

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Ciarán Ó Murchadha

Farming Families

By the 1960s Irish agricultural policy involved the existence of an ever-greater number of schemes to support the occupants of farms. Survival, not prosperous expansion, remained the goal of the majority of Irish farmers, most of whom resided on small farms that had been created or sanctioned by the state. These farming families were profoundly affected by ideological and economic division on the role of agriculture within Irish society. The struggle to reconcile the demands of modern society with the emotions and traditions of the past acutely influenced the country's agriculture. The ideal of Gaelic, industrious, prosperous (though not materialistic) farmsteads filling the countryside with an ancient and dignified way of life was fundamentally at odds with the forces governing the realities of rural life. Repeated insistence that agriculture would provide the engine of economic expansion, bringing prosperity to all the citizens of the state, ignored global trading patterns. Yet, political demands, as well as genuine fidelity

to an inherited dream, severely restricted moves to restructure the Irish agricultural economy; for example, the policy of land division was continued long after it became apparent that such a policy was economically unsound.

In terms of price and accessibility, only the export of cattle to Britain offered a substantial and viable trade with a profit margin worthy of the name. The production of cattle for export, however, necessitated an extensive-farming pattern inimical to the prospects of constructing a vibrant small-farming community. Irish agriculture lived in the shadow of this conflict between economic and social needs. In essence, the expectation that agriculture could both drive the economy through export earnings and simultaneously preserve a way of life that was progressively less profitable was ill-conceived. Like all other countries, Ireland wrestled with the dilemma of viewing agriculture as either a business or a way of life, and the Irish unequivocally regarded it as both. Ultimately, agricultural policy made no attempt to distinguish between farmers seeking assistance to improve the competitiveness of Irish produce on the international market and farmers to whom assistance was socially motivated.

Where other countries freed workers from agriculture to provide labor for industrial development, the Irish constitutional, legislative, and ideological commitment to retain on the land as many families as possible was complemented by the lack of an industrial sector of any note. Farming families suffered grievously from the failure of Irish industry to contribute to the economy on anything approaching the scale achieved in Western Europe and the United States. Irish farms traditionally absorbed far more labor than they could justifiably employ, and the extended retention of family members restricted any moves toward rationalization of the agrarian structure. Throughout the 1950s huge numbers of these previously hidden, underemployed family members left the land and emigrated. As Irish industry developed through the 1960s, more of those born on farms found work in Irish cities, but the percentage was again far below the European average. Furthermore, foreign currency earned by agricultural exports was used to subsidize industrial development, while farmers also supported the inefficient chemical and fertilizer industries by paying prices above the world market. Most crucially, Ireland was unable to offer its farmers price supports funded from industrial earnings, as Britain and the United States did.

By the late 1960s a succession of *Programmes for Economic Expansion* had shifted the position of agriculture within Irish society. Agriculture had modernized, but far too slowly to satisfy the evolving materialist

needs of Irish society, and it was displaced by industry as the fulcrum of the Irish economy. Inevitably, the sheer scale of agriculture in the 1960s ensured that it retained a formidable position in Irish society, and it has continued to do so in the decades since then. The influence of the farming community has waned considerably, however, and the significance of farming within the Irish economy has declined, too. Various independent farmers' bodies sought to oppose this diminution. The Irish Farmers' Association and the Irish Creamery Milk Suppliers' Association continuously campaigned for the economic advancement of farmers, and such organizations as Macra na Feirme and the Irish Countrywomen's Association offered a social outlet to young and female farmers, who often were isolated in rural areas. This voluntary sector was vital in improving the morale of farmers, but it was a constant struggle.

It was as much the experience of what happened outside farming as what happened inside it that influenced farming life. Farmers' incomes rose throughout the 1960s and in every decade after that, but, significantly, the gap between those in agricultural and in nonagricultural employment widened considerably as industrial workers continuously increased their purchasing power. The Irish state now sought to support farmers and to contain the growing disparity of income between families living in rural and in urban areas. Central to those attempts at containment was entry into the EEC. Farming organizations had campaigned in favor of Irish membership since the 1950s, and following Ireland's accession in 1973, farmers benefited from the range of measures comprised in the EEC's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Of all the nations in the EEC, Ireland has received the most money for its farmers, through a plethora of schemes including market-price supports and headage and premia payments (broadly comprising payments related to the number of animals owned by a farmer). Funds from Europe were complemented by payments from the Irish exchequer, and by 1998 direct payments made up 56 percent of aggregate farm income in Ireland. Even attempts to reform the CAP have not unduly affected Irish agriculture, and in 1997 money from Europe amounted to 1.7 billion pounds, or 4 percent of GNP. Essentially, entry into the EEC allowed Ireland to fund its public-policy aim of transferring income to the farming community, which in 1973 still constituted 22 percent of the workforce. There remains considerable criticism that income-support policies—particularly through price supports—have not been successfully targeted, since 60 percent of total support goes to the top-earning 20 percent of farms.

Between the 1960s and the 1980s the number whose principal occupation was farming declined by al-

most 2 percent per annum, although many have held onto the land, and there has not been enormous consolidation of farms. With more than a quarter of Irish farms considered incapable of generating a viable income from farming alone, the importance of part-time farming has increased considerably since the 1960s and is crucial to the survival of many farming units. By the mid-1990s 27 percent of farmers had jobs away from the farm; the number reached 41 percent on small farms. Furthermore, 16 percent of women married to farmers also held off-farm employment. The involvement of either spouse in off-farm employment alters the traditional gender roles prevalent on Irish farms. The great majority of women become involved in farming either through marriage or through the exceptional circumstance of inheriting a farm in the absence of a male heir. Women marrying into a farm usually encounter long-established structures, and are expected to preserve them by creating, in turn, their own farm families. A wife's involvement in off-farm employment significantly alters the traditional pattern. Similarly, when her husband is involved in off-farm employment, the woman assumes a more central role in day-to-day farm management, becoming the de facto farm manager. It was only in 1991 that the Central Statistics Office included the labor of farm wives in the agricultural census, and this demonstrated that women contributed a minimum of 20 percent of all labor on family farms. Significantly, farm women are credited with the exceptional performance of farm children in third-level education (where they are overrepresented), enabling them to avail themselves of professional or skilled jobs rather than in agriculture. As a result, fewer offspring from farm families are dependent on the land for income, substantiating the unmistakable reality that Ireland continues to shed its agricultural past in pursuit of an industrial and technological future. Farm households fell from 22 percent of total population in 1973 to less than 5 percent in 1997, and continue to fall sharply. Global trends and the sands of time have proved impossible to stem, let alone reverse, and agrarian Ireland seems set to suffer a long fade in its importance.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; Common Agricultural Policy; Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Family: Fertility, Marriage, and the Family since 1950; Health and Welfare since 1950, State Provisions for; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century; Women in Irish Society since 1800

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Paul Rouse

Faulkner, Brian

Brian Faulkner (1921–1977), Ulster unionist and prime minister of Northern Ireland, was born in Helen's Bay, County Down on 18 February and educated at Saint Columba's College, Dublin. Faulkner managed the family's shirt factory during the Second World War rather than joining the British armed forces, which was often criticized in later unionist internal disputes. In 1949 he became Stormont MP for East Down. Faulkner was appointed chief whip in 1956 and minister for home affairs in 1959; he acquired a hardline reputation by supporting provocative Orange marches and was seen as a possible successor to Lord Brookeborough. From 1963 Faulkner was an outstandingly able minister for commerce under Prime Minister Terence O'Neill; he intrigued with hardliners while avoiding open confrontation. In January 1969 Faulkner resigned from the cabinet over the appointment of the Cameron Commission on civil disturbances. On O'Neill's resignation in April 1969, Faulkner contested the leadership, losing to James Chichester-Clark by one vote; instead, he became minister for development. In March 1971, Faulkner became leader of the Unionist Party and prime minister of Northern Ireland after Chichester-Clark's resignation. He attempted to combine concessions to nationalists with a harsh security policy; these approaches undermined each other, and violence continued to escalate. Faulkner persuaded the British government to introduce internment in August 1971, believing that it would end the Irish Republican Army's campaign; instead, it further alienated nationalist opinion and intensified

violence. In March 1972 Faulkner and his cabinet resigned after the British government withdrew the Northern Ireland government's authority over security policy; the Stormont parliament was suspended, and Westminster resumed direct control over Northern Ireland. In May 1973, Faulkner led the Unionist Party into assembly elections intended to provide a mandate for negotiations. Negotiations between Northern Ireland politicians and the British government in October and November 1973 led to the Sunningdale Agreement, which created a power-sharing executive drawn from the Ulster Unionist Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, and the Alliance Party. This was unacceptable to most unionists, but Faulkner retained the support of most of his Assembly members; he resigned as party leader in January 1974. In February anti-agreement unionists won eleven of twelve seats and an absolute majority of Northern Ireland votes in the Westminster general election. The executive collapsed on 27 May after a loyalist strike paralyzed the province. Faulkner subsequently led a dwindling splinter group, the Unionist Party of Northern Ireland. In 1976 he retired from politics, accepting a life peerage as Lord Faulkner of Downpatrick. He died in a riding accident on 3 March 1977.

SEE ALSO Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Northern Ireland: Discrimination and the Campaign for Civil Rights; Ulster Unionist Party in Office; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

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Patrick Maume

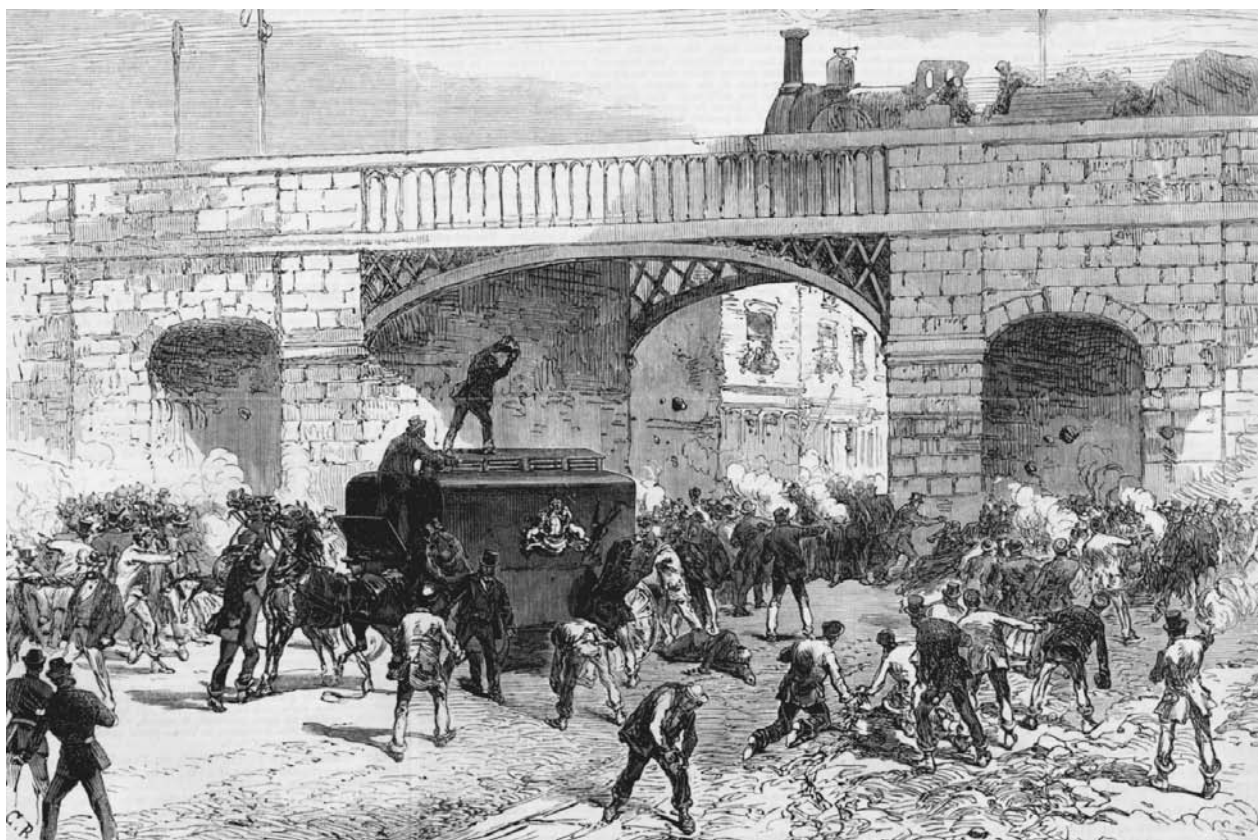
Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood

Between the Great Famine (1845–1851) and the Land War (1879–1882), Ireland was apparently settling into

an accommodation, internally and externally, as a subordinate part of the British empire. Several of the countercurrents to this trend found expression in the Fenian movement that began in Ireland with the foundation in Dublin on 17 March 1858 of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). Its founder was James Stephens. Others who, like him, had been radicalized under Young Ireland influence, such as Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, and Charles J. Kickham, became stalwarts of the movement in Ireland. In 1859 a U.S. counterpart, the Fenian Brotherhood, was formed, the name referring to the warrior Fianna of Gaelic folklore and reflecting the scholarly interests of the brotherhood's leader John O'Mahony. From 1863 onward Fenianism was to become a synonym for revolutionary Irish nationalism.

Both wings gathered widespread support in the early 1860s, with the Fenian Brotherhood becoming a prominent vehicle of Irish-American self-expression. In Ireland the socioeconomic changes of the 1850s had fostered a category of apprentices and literate wage earners, especially in retail trade; Stephens attracted them to the IRB by appropriating various nationalist initiatives, most notably the funeral of the Young Irelander Terence Bellew MacManus, which was organized by the National Brotherhood of Saint Patrick and culminated in a grand procession through Dublin on 14 November 1861. By 1863, in the towns of Leinster and Munster and to a lesser extent in the other provinces, young men were organized into a national network leading back to Stephens. Young men of their social background found their recreational outlets restricted by agents of social control who were busily transforming postfamine Irish society into an exemplar of respectability—priests, policemen, and magistrates. The new organization emboldened members to engage in autonomous socialization in public houses, at sporting events, and at their supposedly secret drilling exercises. The appeal and impact of Fenianism in the mid-1860s cannot be understood without reference to this social dimension.

Thus the original intention of conducting an entirely secret society had been overtaken by the realities of Irish life, and it was further undermined when Stephens in 1863 launched his own weekly, the *Irish People*, and brought key individuals from the provinces to work at its office in Dublin. Over its lifetime of twenty-two months the *Irish People*, while not openly admitting that it was the organ of the Fenians, hinted broadly at their existence and advocated Irish independence and military action as the means to that end. Every other form of nationalist movement was denounced in intolerant fashion. Frequent cannonades against “priests in politics” were intended to strengthen the nerves of Fenians facing



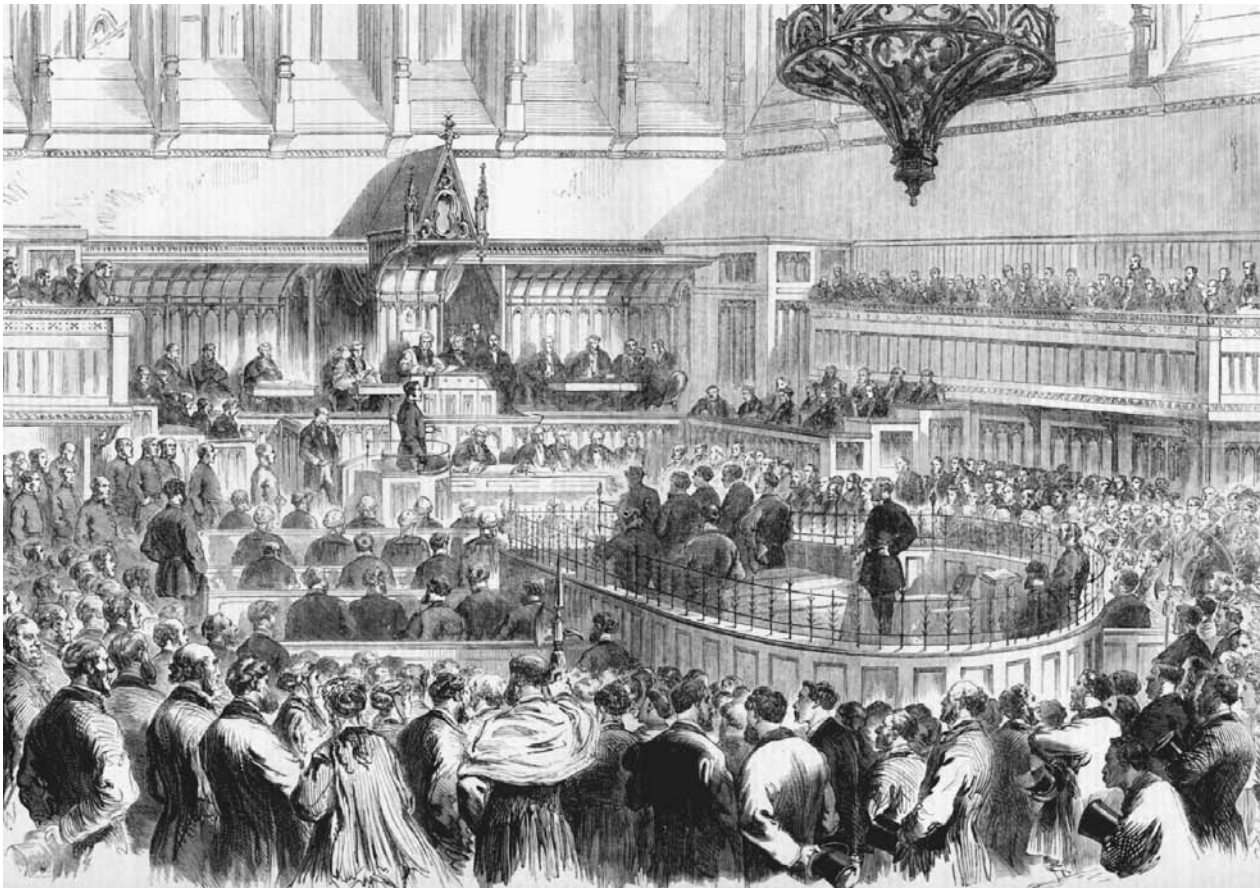
Following the failed Fenian rising of March 1867, the police in Manchester luckily captured two rebel leaders—Colonel Thomas Kelly and Captain Timothy Deasy. But as depicted in this sketch, the prisoners were rescued on 18 September from a police van by a body of armed Fenians. Police sergeant Charles Brett was killed in the raid, leading to a famous trial. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 28 SEPTEMBER 1867.

pressure from clergy who feared a revolution. The paper helped to consolidate the organization in Ireland and to spread it among the Irish in Britain.

The IRB had been launched without a program or manifesto, as an immediate response to a critical situation. In the wake of the Crimean War (1854–1856) relations between Britain and France had become fraught, and the prospect of an Anglo-French war—the classic opportunity for Irish revolution—seemed very credible. Stephens, O’Mahony, and other Fenian strategists were determined to have a force in place ready to take advantage of this longed-for eventuality. As it happened, France did go to war in 1859, not with Britain but with Austrian power in northern Italy. Faced with the disappearance of the original *raison d’être* of their organizations, Stephens and O’Mahony decided to continue on the new basis of working toward a revolution in Ireland (supported by Irish Americans), even without any international crisis affecting Britain.

The U.S. Civil War introduced new and encouraging factors. Participation in the warring armies meant

that tens of thousands of Irishmen in the United States were obtaining military experience and might be persuaded to put it to use in a war of Irish liberation, if one could be instigated. And the U.S. conflict caused serious tensions between London and Washington, raising the prospect of an Anglo-American war. When the Civil War ended in 1865, Stephens promised that there would be action in Ireland before the year was out. It was only the prospect of imminent rebellion that enabled Stephens to maintain his position as dictatorial controller of the IRB. In the summer of 1865 he may have had up to 50,000 at his call, but they were very poorly armed, and he hesitated to launch a rebellion with no hope of success. In September the authorities struck, seizing the *Irish People* and arresting leading figures. Stephens escaped and in May 1866 reached New York City, where he found the movement in confusion, a so-called Senate group having emerged in opposition to O’Mahony. In April and May each of the factions had in turn fomented a brief raid on Canada. Stephens took control of the O’Mahony wing and boosted his authority by reinstating the objective of a rebellion in Ireland



Five Irishmen faced trial in a Manchester courthouse (depicted here) in November 1867 for the murder of Sergeant Brett. The three who were executed on 23 November—William Allen, Michael Larkin, and Michael O'Brien—became known in Ireland as the "Manchester Martyrs." Irish republicans worshipped their memory, as did most nationalists for decades thereafter. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 9 NOVEMBER 1867.

itself by the end of 1866. Thousands of Irish-American Civil War veterans prepared to cross the Atlantic. When Stephens in mid-December announced another postponement, he was deposed and a core group of military men left for England, where they laid plans for what proved to be a desultory attempt at rebellion in Ireland, the main action occurring on 5 and 6 March 1867.

In November 1867 the execution of William O'Meara Allen, Michael Larkin, and William O'Brien for killing a policeman during an attempted rescue of prisoners in Manchester provided the Fenians with martyrs. For a few years the movement attracted vibrant support, boosted by the general exuberance associated with Gladstone's concessions to Irish popular opinion before and after the general election of 1868. The mistaken idea that these concessions had in fact been won by the Fenian threat gained ground and was given some credence by Gladstone for his own purposes. A campaign for the release of Fenian prisoners drew widespread support. The IRB was put on a new footing in 1868 when the for-

mer autocracy was replaced by a supreme council with representatives from around Ireland and Britain. Membership began changing in 1871, as a loss of interest among the urban population was partially offset by inroads on the ranks of the Ribbon societies. By 1877 the numerical strength of the IRB was concentrated among the small farmers of south Ulster and north Connacht. Meanwhile, activists had become accustomed to participation in electoral politics in alliance with the Home Rule Party, and a few prominent Fenians had even been elected to Parliament as Home Rulers.

After 1867 a number of organizations contended for the leadership of militant Irish America, and of those, Clan na Gael came to dominate thanks to the dynamic leadership of John Devoy, exemplified by his masterminding of the escape of Fenian prisoners from Western Australia on board the *Catalpa* in 1876. Devoy forged a compact with the IRB that was intended to secure Clan na Gael influence on both sides of the Atlantic. With Devoy's backing the advocates of involvement in

Home Rule politics were expelled from the supreme council in 1877. Clan na Gael was never without competitors for the support of Irish Americans: O'Donovan Rossa collected a large sum of dollars for a skirmishing fund that he launched in 1876 with the support of Patrick Ford's New York-based *Irish World*; and John O'Mahony maintained an independent, if exiguous, existence for himself and the Fenian Brotherhood until his death in 1877.

SEE ALSO Butt, Isaac; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Newspapers; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Stephens, James; Sullivan Brothers (A. M. and T. D.); **Primary Documents:** Two Fenian Oaths (1858, 1859); "God Save Ireland" (1867); O'Donovan Rossa Graveside Panegyric (1 August 1915)

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R. V. Comerford

Fianna Fáil

See Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922.



Fiction, Modern

Many of the most important works of fiction that emerged from Ireland in the early part of the twentieth century are linked by the themes obsessively explored by their authors: the simultaneous ambivalence and at-

traction to home place and the pain felt at separation from it; and the strong ties to family and community made complicated by equally strong desires for freedom both from family and from such institutions as the Catholic Church, which traditionally have sustained the family. The first great work of the century, and one which explores all of these themes, is George Moore's *The Untilled Field*, which first appeared in Irish in 1902, and subsequently in English the following year. Moore, who was a Catholic landlord from County Mayo, had spent time as a young man in France and learned from Gustave Flaubert and Émile Zola. In addition to the short stories that comprise *The Untilled Field*, Moore is the author of many important novels dealing with both rural and city life in Ireland, most notably *A Drama in Muslin*, *Esther Waters*, and *The Lake*.

James Joyce was a contemporary of Moore's and, like him, looked toward Europe for his literary models, to Flaubert and Henrik Ibsen in particular. In *Dubliners*, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce produced some of the landmark fiction of the century. Joyce's work, however, did not find ready approval in his home country, and was considered difficult, obscure, and even obscene by some commentators. Like many Irish writers of this period, Joyce spent much of his adult life outside of Ireland, living in Italy, Switzerland, and France. Samuel Beckett was a disciple of Joyce's who provided aid while the master sought to complete *Finnegans Wake*. Although Beckett is best known as the author of *Waiting for Godot*, a defining work in the theatre of the absurd, he also wrote many important works of fiction, the most important being his trilogy *Molloy*, *Malone Dies*, and *The Unnamable*. After 1945 Beckett abandoned English and wrote in French, the language of his adopted country. Another great modernist and disciple of Joyce is Flann O'Brien, who achieved fame as an *Irish Times* journalist, using the pseudonym Myles na gCopaleen, and who is the author of the great comic novels *At-Swim Two Birds* and *The Third Policeman*. Máirtín Ó Cadhain's *Cré na Cille* (Graveyard clay) is arguably the greatest novel written in Irish during the twentieth century and one that is similar to the work of Beckett in many respects.

Many fiction writers emerged under the umbrella of the Irish Literary Revival, which set out to examine Irish life after the Yeats model and to keep modernism at a safe distance, but also to put some distance between themselves and revival. For the most part, much of the best work done by writers from this generation was in the short story. The most notable writers in the genre are Sean O'Faolain, author of *Midsummer Night Madness and Other Stories* and *A Purse of Coppers*; Frank O'Connor, author of *Bones of Contention and Other*

Stories and Guests of the Nation, the title story of which is a classic antiwar narrative; and Mary Lavin, author of *Tales from Bective Bridge*. During this same period, Máirtín Ó Cadhain wrote many of his best short stories, which were later translated from the Irish in the collection *The Road to Brightcity*. However, some important novels, such as Patrick MacGill's *The Rat Pit* and Peadar O'Donnell's *Storm*, dealt, with great compassion, with the poor and downtrodden. Liam O'Flaherty wrote many novels, the most popular being *The Informer*—though *Famine*, his exploration of the famine on Aran, is probably his best. Some writers continued in the fantasy vein made popular by Yeats and Lady Gregory and produced some notable work: James Stephens's *The Crock of Gold*, Mervyn Wall's *The Unfortunate Fursey*, and Eimar O'Duffy's *King Goshawk and the Birds*.

Although the Big House novel is often most closely associated with the nineteenth century, it has also flourished in the twentieth. Edith Somerville and Violet Martin's *The Big House of Inver* and Elizabeth Bowen's *The Last September* are remarkable examples of the novel at its best. To this day, the Big House novel exerts a fascination for Irish writers, and two excellent, more recent examples are Aidan Higgins's *Langrishe, Go Down* and Molly Kean's *Good Behaviour*. Higgins is one of an important group of writers who emerged in the 1950s and 1960s and struck out in new directions, borrowing from both the Irish modernists and revivalists.

Brian Moore grew up in Belfast, but left the city after completing school and eventually settled in California. His best known works are *The Lonely Passion of Judith Hearne*, concerned with a middle-aged woman's fruitless search for love, and *The Emperor of Ice-Cream*, a coming-of-age novel, both of which are set in Belfast. John McGahern is well known both as a novelist and short-story writer whose work examines the lives of rural folk in the west of Ireland. His most acclaimed books are the novel *Amongst Women* and the story collection, *High Ground*. William Trevor has written many novels and collections of short stories, set in both Ireland and England. *The Ballroom of Romance*, which deals with the loneliness of rural life, is his most acclaimed. Edna O'Brien has been the most controversial writer of this generation. Her first novel, *The Country Girls*, was banned by the censors for obscenity and burned in her local village in County Clare. In time *The Country Girls* became a trilogy and was seen as a groundbreaking work which explored the inner lives and aspirations of women. Although *The Country Girls Trilogy* remains her best-known work, O'Brien has written many novels and *Lantern Slides*, an important collection of short fiction.

A NEW GENERATION OF WRITERS

Recently, another strong wave of Irish writers has arrived, many of whom have enjoyed wide international success. Roddy Doyle's *The Barrytown Trilogy* is a hilarious and deeply sympathetic portrayal of working-class life on Dublin's Northside, and each part has benefited from being made into a popular film. Doyle was also the first Irish fiction writer to win the Booker Prize for *Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha*. Philip Casey is the author of the highly regarded *Bann River Trilogy*, a work which details the ever shifting nature of love and the often ghostly links between the past and present. Patrick McCabe has found great success, both as novel and film, with *The Butcher Boy*, an impressive exploration of rural deprivation and madness. Similarly gruesome and impressive is John Banville's *The Book of Evidence*. Both Colm Tóibín and Colum McCann are writers whose work is frequently set outside of Ireland. In *The Heather Blazing*, Tóibín shows how both the political and the personal worlds become tangled in post-treaty Ireland, while *The Story of the Night* shows how the political and the sexual become entangled in contemporary Argentina. In Colum McCann's fiction, because his characters are restless and mobile, the location may shift suddenly, as is the case in *Songdogs*, a novel that takes place in Mexico, Ireland, and the United States. In *Ripley Bogle* and *Eureka Street*, Robert MacLiam Wilson has provided two moving and hilarious accounts of life in contemporary Belfast. As has been the case in poetry, women have contributed important and technically daring fiction. Anne Enright's volume of short stories, *The Portable Virgin*, is an original and hilarious take on the contemporary scene, while Deirdre Madden's *Remembering Light and Stone* is an Irishwoman's reflection of her life in Italy among expatriates. Emma Donoghue frequently focuses on the lives of lesbians though her most successful novel to date is *Slammerkin*, a historical novel about a servant girl who murdered her mistress in 1763.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Beckett, Samuel; Blasket Island Writers; Drama, Modern; Joyce, James; Literature: Twentieth-Century Women Writers; Poetry, Modern

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Eamonn Wall

Fitzgerald, Lord Edward

Most famous as the intended commander in chief of the Irish rebels in 1798, Lord Edward Fitzgerald (1763–1798) was arrested before the rebellion broke out and was mortally wounded by his captors; he became a legendary figure in Irish history in subsequent generations. Lord Edward was the younger son of the duke of Leinster, the premier Irish peer, and was the nephew (through his mother) of the earl of Richmond and the first cousin of Charles James Fox. The Fitzgeralds, like their English relatives, were prominent Whigs, and when he entered the Irish parliament in 1790, Lord Edward was firmly on the side of the reformist opposition. By that time he had served in several regiments of the army and had traveled extensively in Europe and North America. In the early 1790s he expressed support for the French Revolution (he had been educated in the principles of philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau), and he was expelled from the army in 1793 for having attended a revolutionary banquet while on a visit to Paris in 1792. In 1796 he joined the United Irishmen, which by that time had become a secret revolutionary and republican organization. He was briefly involved in their negotiations with France for an invasion of Ireland. Following the failure of the French expedition to Bantry Bay at the end of 1796, Lord Edward remained active in the movement, and in 1797 and early 1798 he was a prominent member of the Dublin leadership. In the late spring of 1798 he was among those who planned the details of the rebellion that eventually broke out on 23 May. He was frequently in contact with the spy Thomas Reynolds, and it was through information garnered from their network of spies that Dublin Castle arrested several United Irishmen leaders, Lord Edward included, shortly before the appointed date of the rebellion. He was captured on 19 May and died on 4 June from the wound he received on that occasion.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

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Fitzgerald, Thomas, Tenth Earl of Kildare ("Silken Thomas")

Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaly, tenth earl of Kildare (1513–1537), leader of the Kildare rebellion (1534–1535), was born in London and spent much of his youth in England. In February 1534, before his father, Lord Deputy Gerald Fitzgerald (ninth earl of Kildare), answered a summons to the Henrician court, he appointed Thomas as vice-deputy during his absence. By May the futility of Gerald's negotiations to preserve the Kildare dynasty's control over Ireland within the newly reformed Tudor polity was manifest. Rumors of Gerald's death and of attempts to lure Thomas to the court were rife. (Meanwhile, Thomas was in Munster soliciting support for the Geraldine cause from Conor O'Brien of Thomond.) Fearful that Thomas might be persuaded by the Irish council to go to court, his father warned him not to trust those councillors lest he should be captured. In early June, Thomas was summoned to appear before the Irish council. Guided by his father's advisors and backed by a guard of 140 horsemen, he dramatically resigned his position as vice-deputy and repudiated his allegiance to Henry VIII at a council meeting in Saint Mary's Abbey, Dublin, on 11 June. A Gaelic bard, de Nelan, invested him with the sobriquet "Silken Thomas" as his horsemen's quilted leather coats were elaborately embroidered with silk. Thomas proclaimed a Catholic crusade and initiated direct contacts with Charles V, Pope Paul III, and James V of Scotland.

The Kildare rebellion has sometimes been interpreted as a show of his dynasty's resistance to the Tudor

policy of increased government centralization. Alternatively, it has been viewed as an error of judgment by the Fitzgeralds, occurring at a time when Henry VIII was especially vulnerable as he wrestled with the divorce issue and the introduction of the Reformation.

Henry's reaction was to imprison Gerald in the Tower of London on 29 June. Late in July, Thomas's forces assassinated Archbishop John Alen of Dublin and thereafter wasted the rival Butler earldom and besieged Dublin until 4 October, by which time Thomas's father had died in prison (probably from natural causes) and Thomas succeeded as tenth earl. Henry's resolve to suppress the rebellion was evidenced by the arrival of a 2,300-strong army at Dublin in late October. Thomas was publicly proclaimed a traitor and was attainted by the English parliament on about 18 December. During the winter of 1534 to 1535 he engaged in sporadic ravaging excursions through the Pale and remained hopeful that a 10,000-strong army promised by Charles V would soon arrive in Ireland. Instead, losses and defections weakened his forces, morale was waning, and support dwindled. His campaign was dealt a fatal blow when his principal fortress, Maynooth Castle, surrendered to Lord Deputy Skeffington following a siege (18–23 March). Thomas sought refuge in Munster, where he held out for several months in vain hope of military aid from Charles V. On 24 August he surrendered to his uncle-in-law, Lord Deputy Leonard Grey, on the condition that he would be allowed to live, and was conveyed to London in September and imprisoned in the Tower. The attainder of Thomas and his uncles and their execution at Tyburn on 3 February 1537 precipitated the confiscation of the Kildare estates and left the Kildare Geraldines without a leader. Thomas's revolt removed the Kildares from their position of political dominance in Ireland and facilitated reform of the Dublin government, which was thereafter in the charge of an English-born governor backed by a garrison.

SEE ALSO Monarchy

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Mary Ann Lyons

Fleadh Cheoil

The Fleadh Cheoil (feast of music) was originally conceived in 1951 by the organization Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCÉ; known as Cumann Ceoltóirí Éireann at its inception in 1951 until it revised its name in 1952) as a yearly exhibition of traditional music. Although the event held in Mullingar on Whit weekend 1951 was not actually termed a fleadh, it established the model of a music festival, with competitions of music, song, and dance where medals, trophies, and other awards are given. The term *fleadh cheoil* was first used for the following year's competition in Monaghan town, and the 1951 attendance of 1,500 grew rapidly during the decade. For traditional musicians the Fleadh represented a means of bringing their music before the public, as well as an opportunity to exchange tunes. Spontaneous sessions in public houses and on the streets quickly became a singular feature of the Fleadh, drawing a progressively younger audience.

The very popularity of the endeavor provoked dissent within the traditional music community. Its proponents noted that the competition engendered by the Fleadh drew new musicians, greatly improved playing standards, and ultimately encouraged the popularization of traditional music, which previously had been the preserve of the few rather than of the many. Some lamented that the founding aims of CCÉ—the promotion of Irish traditional music in all its forms and cooperation with all bodies working for the restoration of Irish culture—were being lost and were ignored by many who attended the Fleadh. They further opposed the association of the Fleadh with music that was not indigenous, notably criticizing the balladeers singing songs far removed from the *seannós* (traditional Irish) style.

Yet it was the combination of the purist and the popular that produced the unique atmosphere of the festival as it moved annually across the country. By the 1960s it was a focal point of nascent youth culture in Ireland, drawing as readily from urban as from rural areas, seeking an Irish counterpart to music festivals held around the world. Drunkenness brought occasional public-order problems during the 1960s and 1970s,

but this involved a tiny minority. The event has also flirted with political involvement, and the 1971 Fleadh was cancelled in protest over the introduction of internment in the North. The attendance at the All-Ireland Fleadh Cheoil regularly draws more than 100,000 people. Now held on the August bank holiday weekend, its unique atmosphere remains a compelling draw for its competing musicians, music lovers, and tourists. The establishment of branches of CCÉ across the country—by 2000 there were 400 branches—brought about the introduction of county and provincial Fleadhanna Cheoil, which reproduce the All-Ireland format on a smaller scale and are attractions in their own right. Fleadhanna form an integral part of the cultural life of Irish communities across the world: Competitors from Britain, the United States, and Australia compete annually—and successfully—in the All-Ireland Fleadh Cheoil.

SEE ALSO Music: Popular Music

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Paul Rouse

Flood, Henry

Politician, and the leading Patriot spokesman of his generation, Henry Flood (1732–1791) entered the Irish House of Commons as MP for County Kilkenny in 1759, and subsequently sat for a number of borough constituencies. The most notable was Callan, Co. Kilkenny, which involved him in a tense, costly, and sometimes violent struggle for control with James Agar of Ringwood, resulting in a duel in 1769 in which Agar was killed. Meanwhile Flood achieved a considerable measure of fame as one of the most talented parliamentarians of his generation. His reputation was grounded on his exceptional skills as an orator, debater, and propagandist, but it was his advocacy of a Patriot program, embracing limited parliaments, a Protestant militia, and the curtailment of patronage, that gave it substance.

His decision to accept the position of vice treasurer in 1775 both alienated many of his Patriot colleagues in parliament and enmeshed him in an unhappy relationship with the Irish administration that cast him into the political wilderness for six years. His dismissal in 1781 freed him to press for legislative independence as the Irish parliament neared its crucial final phase, though his more radical position on the issue set him at loggerheads with Henry Grattan. Flood's successful agitation between 1782 and 1783 of a demand that the British parliament should renounce its right to make law for Ireland enabled him to supersede Grattan as the most popular Patriot politician in Ireland at this point. But his desire to prove himself on the imperial stage at Westminster meant that he devoted increasingly less attention to Irish politics thereafter. He made an exception for the issue of parliamentary reform, to which he made a strong commitment in Ireland between 1783 and 1785 and in Britain in 1790. Even this was insufficient to sustain his career, however, for though he made a number of impressive interventions, electoral difficulties and health problems ensured that he had become a figure of increasingly marginal political consequence for some years before his death in December 1791.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Grattan, Henry

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James Kelly

Foreign Investment

See Overseas Investment.



GAA “Ban”

The GAA ban rules, which varied in force and substance, ultimately decreed that anyone who played, promoted, or attended “foreign games” (cricket, hockey, rugby, and soccer), or who was a member of the British security forces, was prohibited from membership in the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). Further, no GAA club was allowed to organize any entertainment at which “foreign dances” (essentially all dancing unrelated to Irish traditional, folk, or country music) were permitted, and any GAA member who attended dances run either by the British security forces or by foreign games clubs was liable to be suspended for two years. Although it was in the five decades after independence that these rules were strongest, the very first ban rules were introduced in January 1885, within two months of the founding of the GAA; they banned athletes who competed in athletics meetings run by other organizations from competing at GAA meetings. A similar ban relating to clubs involved in field games was introduced in March 1886. Essentially, both rules were intended to increase the administrative and organizational power of the GAA in its struggle to gain control of sport in Ireland. Land agitation and political turmoil in 1887 brought the GAA to ban members of the police, though not the army, from joining the GAA. When political division almost obliterated the organization in the early 1890s, it moved to remove the police ban in 1893, and then its foreign games ban in 1896, in an attempt to draw new members. By the early 1900s membership had improved as interest in organized sport increased. Nationalist sentiment in the country also grew, and this brought the return of the ban rules—involving for the first time the exclusion of army, navy, and prison offi-

cers, and all who watched foreign games—this time with the stated intention of drawing a divide between Irish Ireland and those portrayed as “West British.”

The rules did not enjoy unanimous support within the association in the preindependence era, and there were almost annual attempts to have them weakened or removed—several of which failed only narrowly. After 1921 support for the ban hardened, and vigilance committees were established to police the rules, which were broadened to include a ban on “foreign music” between 1929 and 1932. Anecdotal evidence suggests that there was widespread evasion of the rules, and by the 1960s a serious campaign emerged calling for their elimination. The relative opening of Irish society in the 1960s, coupled with the televising of games from all sports, brought a reassessment of policy, and in 1971 the GAA voted to remove its ban on members playing foreign games and attending foreign dances. The ban on members of the British security forces was retained, and despite infrequent attempts at deletion, it remained until November 2001. The ban on the playing of foreign games on GAA pitches remained in place even after that date.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic Athletic Association; Sport and Leisure

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Paul Rouse

Gaelic Athletic Association

See GAA "Ban"; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic Athletic Association.



Gaelic Catholic State, Making of

Independence was followed by few institutional or social innovations—the main exception was the increased prominence given to traditional Irish or “Gaelic” culture and to the Catholic religion in public life. Given the extent to which the independence movement was inspired by ideas of cultural and religious identity, this was understandable, but the result was apparent state adherence to an exclusive interpretation of “Irishness” that embraced only the majority community.

Gaelic symbolism was extensively used in the formal and ceremonial aspects of government and traditional forms of art and entertainment were encouraged, but the greatest effort was devoted to the cause of reviving the Irish language. Language enthusiasts believed that the best hope for this endeavor lay with the primary (or “national”) schools. Beginning in 1922 the government implemented a policy of requiring all instruction of infant (elementary) classes to be in Irish. In the higher grades, as much instruction as possible was to be in Irish, and every incentive was offered to increase the total amount of Irish taught. Fianna Fáil Minister for Education Tomás Derrig was dissatisfied with the rate of progress in the national schools, and beginning in 1934 he reduced the time allocated to other subjects. Secondary schools were not subjected to the same requirements, but Irish was given significant prominence. In 1925 it became necessary to achieve a passing grade in Irish in order to pass the Intermediate Certificate, an examination usually taken at age 16. In 1934 the same regulation was applied to the final school examination, the Leaving Certificate. Secondary schools were also assessed for state grants according to the amount of instruction in Irish.

By the 1940s, teachers’ organizations had become critical of the fact that there was little educational devel-

opment other than that motivated by language revival, but the public and their representatives rarely discussed dissatisfaction. This may have been due to a commitment to the cause of language revival, or more negatively, a reluctance to be seen to be antinational. It may also have been because many jobs in the public service were reserved for Irish speakers. The one significant source of discontent was the Church of Ireland, whose members often felt culturally alienated and practically disadvantaged by the language policy. It was not easy for Church of Ireland schools to find teachers competent in Irish, and the general decline of educational standards made it more difficult for students to gain admission to universities or to secure jobs outside Ireland.

The state’s commitment to the Irish language was largely confined to the schools, but the influence of Catholicism was more pervasive, if in some ways more subtle. Cumann na nGaedheal, the party in government from 1922 to 1932, had a close relationship with the Catholic hierarchy, which had contributed to establishing the government’s legitimacy during the Civil War. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, Fianna Fáil was no less anxious to display its Catholic credentials. Notwithstanding the formal separation of church and state, state occasions were imbued with Catholic ritual, and Catholic moral and social ethics had a profound effect on social policy. The state had inherited a denominational education system and all political parties accepted that they should not interfere with this arrangement. Catholic social teaching of the period was deeply suspicious of the power of the state, particularly in areas of education, health, and family welfare. Successive Irish governments were content to minimize their involvement and to permit the development of a concept of social services that was heavily dependent on voluntary organizations. This arrangement led to a destabilizing conflict of interests when these services were reorganized in the postwar period.

Perhaps the most obvious and controversial influence of Catholicism was in the area of public morality. In 1925, after consultation with the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, the government took steps to circumvent the power to grant divorces that had devolved on the Irish parliament from Westminster. Given that courts were not empowered to grant divorces, either, this meant an effective ban on divorce in the Free State. Though some Protestant clergymen and lay people supported the measure, others argued that because divorce was permitted by their churches, the measure represented the removal of an existing civil right. The matter provided the occasion for a speech in the senate by the poet W. B. Yeats in which he famously set out the achievements of the Anglo-Irish community, claiming

Pilgrims to Croagh Patrick, 1948. The pilgrimage, honoring St. Patrick on the last Sunday of July, is a Christian continuation of the ancient pagan festival of Lughnasa. It continues to attract thousands of people. COURTESY OF THE HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF IRISH FOLKLORE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN.

that “we against whom you have done this thing are no petty people” (Brown 1985, p. 131).

Yeats and many of his fellow writers were also in the vanguard of opposition to the Censorship of Publications Act of 1929. This act was not draconian in its inception—it was intended mainly to prevent the free circulation of publications relating to contraception, an international concern at the time. However, the zeal of the Censorship of Publications Board established under the act led to the prohibition of many of the greatest works of modern Irish and world literature. These included Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World*, John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath*, Ernest Hemingway’s *A Farewell to Arms*, Samuel Beckett’s *More Pricks than Kicks*, and James Joyce’s *Stephen Hero*. Until its liberalization in the 1960s the severity of Irish literary censorship was internationally notorious.

Cumann na nGaedheal failed to address two of the greatest sources of anxiety to the Catholic hierarchy:

the widespread growth of unregulated dance halls and the question of contraception. In 1935 Fianna Fáil responded to these concerns with a regulatory Public Dance Halls Act and a Criminal Law Amendment Act that absolutely prohibited the importation and sale of contraceptives. It was a measure that was widely applauded, but one that also drew criticism from those who believed the power of the state should not be used to enforce Catholic values in matters of public health and private conscience.

The creation of a Gaelic and Catholic state reached its apogee in Eamon de Valera’s 1937 constitution, which established Irish as the first official language of the state and recognized the “special position” of the Catholic Church “as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens.” The Catholic ethos of the constitution was not purely symbolic: The text was deeply imbued with Catholic social theory and traditional values. The family was recognized as the fundamental unit of society, entitled as such to protection

from the state. The family was also recognized as the primary educator of the child, and the state was relegated to a secondary role. In the context of family values the constitution recognized the support given by woman "by her life within the home" and stipulated that no law permitting divorce would be enacted.

In the 1920s and 1930s opposition to the increasing identification of the state with Gaelic and Catholic culture was muted, sporadic, and unorganized. It is inaccurate to regard these measures as motivated solely by a desire to establish an exclusive national identity; nonetheless, that was one of the results. Perhaps the most overt example of the confusion of nationality and majority culture is found in the preamble to the constitution, which acknowledges "all our obligations to our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ, Who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial." This was not simply a statement of Christian piety, but an understanding of the nature of the state in the context of a specific historic tradition.

SEE ALSO Constitution; de Valera, Eamon; Divorce, Contraception, and Abortion; Eucharistic Congress; Language and Literacy: Irish Language since 1922; Jewish Community; McQuaid, John Charles; Mother and Child Crisis; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Protestant Community in Southern Ireland since 1922; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Secularization; **Primary Documents:** Letter on the Commission on the Gaeltacht (4 March 1925); From the 1937 Constitution; Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951)

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Susannah Riordan

Gaelic League

See Gaelic Revivalism: Gaelic League.



Gaelic Recovery

Gaelic Recovery refers here to three linked developments that occurred in Ireland between about 1250 and 1400: (1) the military and territorial revival of Gaelic Irish dynasties after a period in which the Anglo-Norman settlers had everywhere triumphed; (2) the revival of Gaelic literature and scholarship that took place after about 1330 and provided an ideological justification for the new Gaelic powers; and (3) the gaelicization over most of the country of the Anglo-Norman elites, with their assimilation in language and culture to their Gaelic neighbors. None of these processes has so far attracted a major study in depth.

REVIVAL OF GAELIC IRISH DYNASTIES

By 1250 Anglo-Norman settlement had spread over most of the level and open country suitable for agricultural settlement, except the northwest of Ireland, into which there had been only tentative advances. A more superficial occupation, with isolated castles and borough settlements, extended over forest regions such as the wooded mountains of the south, the wooded bogs of the midland plain, and the lowland forest of northern Wexford. After 1250, although colonial expansion continued along the north Ulster coast as far as Derry and the Inishowen peninsula, the drive into inland Ulster petered out, and almost everywhere else a new and militarily more efficient Gaelic opposition brought about the rapid collapse of colonial settlement and control in the forested regions, even those of eastern Leinster, which would appear to have been completely integrated into the colony. By 1260 the MacCarthy kings of Desmond had effectively ousted the colonists from the southwestern corner of Munster, and although their expansion seems to have then halted for a half century, with the coastal strip of west Cork remaining under Anglo-Norman control, it was to resume in the early fourteenth century. The settlements among the wooded bogs of the midlands also seem to have been destroyed in the 1260s, with the area reverting to effective Gaelic control. By the 1290s the O'Reillys (in the present County Cavan) and the O'Farrells (in County Longford) were slowly but steadily pushing back the colonial

frontier in those regions, while the outlying castles built during the first impetus of colonization had long since been abandoned.

The increasing legal discrimination (technically referred to as “the exception of Irishry”) against those of Gaelic stock may have played a part in alienating those Irish who had been prepared to be integrated into colonial society, but the major factor was certainly the improved weaponry and military techniques adopted by the Irish, with their efficient development of guerrilla techniques. After about 1280 the Irish in Ulster and Connacht also begin to employ heavily armed Scottish mercenaries from the western Highlands and Islands, the *gallowglass* (*galloglaigh*). The Bruce invasion dealt a shattering blow to the colony, while the deteriorating climatic conditions, which set in after 1315, weakened the tillage agriculture that was its economic base. The colonial frontier rapidly retreated everywhere. The Black Death of 1349, the first of a series of plagues, was a further blow to the urban and village communities. From the time of the Bruce invasion the O’Conor (Ó Conchobair) kingship of Connacht reemerged as a powerful political force, only to be destroyed by internal divisions at the end of the century, while the MacMurrugh (Mac Murchadha) kingship of Leinster revived as a center of resistance in the forest country of Counties Wexford and Carlow, although its conversion into a solid territorial power was the work of Art MacMurrugh (1376–1416). From about 1330 the Dublin administration began to formally recognize the occupation of lands by Gaelic lords in return for some sort of tribute, and some of the latter, such as the MacCarthy (MacCarthaigh) kings of Desmond, entered into much closer relations with the Dublin administration, receiving a large grant of lands in 1353 and actually entailing their lands in English legal form in 1365. Not all the new Gaelic rulers were the representatives of preinvasion dynasties: the Mageoghegans (Meic Eochagáin) of Westmeath were bandit chiefs who erected a lordship on the ruins of frontier manors, while one Gaelic dynasty, the O’Flynnns of Uí Tuirtre in east Ulster, having thrown in their lot with the colonists, found themselves ousted along with the latter by the expanding O’Neills. By 1400 a new stability of frontiers had been largely established, and the network of autonomous lordships that had come into existence was to survive largely unchanged until the Tudor reconquest.

GAELICIZATION OF THE ANGLO-NORMANS

The Gaelic Recovery could perhaps be seen as involving as much the gaelicization of the Anglo-Norman elites as a revival by the Gaelic ones. It seems to have begun in Connacht, where the settlers were a thin aristocratic

layer over a largely Gaelic population, and it is perhaps significant that elsewhere it seems to have come soonest in those areas where education, as it was, remained largely Gaelic. Its extension into the political sphere can be seen as a reaction to the centralizing policies of the English royal government—only briefly reversed during the Mortimer ascendancy of 1326 to 1331—which was hostile to baronial jurisdictions. Denied by English law the devolved powers that were necessary for their survival, the Anglo-Norman lords seized them for themselves. Their new situation also involved the necessity of entering into alliances, by marriage or fostering arrangements as well as militarily, with the surrounding Gaelic powers, to whom they became in varying degrees assimilated. Gerald, third earl of Desmond (d. 1398), although in 1367 to 1369 the official English governor of Ireland, wrote poetry in Irish, and his children seem to have been brought up in a Gaelic milieu. By 1400 the Dillons and Daltons on the Westmeath frontier had become completely gaelicized and passed outside royal control. Just as some of the Gaelic rulers, such as the Mageoghegans or the Fermanagh Maguires (Meig Uidhir), were “new men,” so the Dillons and Daltons were knightly families who had imposed their rule on their neighbors and former equals. The fourth (the “White”) earl of Ormond (d. 1452), although through much of his career the official representative of the English Crown and an important figure in England as well as Ireland, patronized Gaelic men of letters. He governed his own lordship in Kilkenny and Tipperary autonomously without reference to English norms, and he employed Gaelic lawyers (*brehons*) in doing so. Thus living in two worlds, he was a forerunner of the Kildares (1477–1534).

LITERARY REVIVAL

The third aspect of the Gaelic Recovery was the revival of the Gaelic learned and literary tradition. After a long period during which Gaelic literary activity had been largely confined to the writing of bardic praise-poems, the fourteenth century saw an upsurge of literary and antiquarian studies in which the greatest name was Seán Mór Ó Dubhagáin (d. 1372). Although much of the work of these scholars was politically motivated, in finding (or manufacturing) genealogies for the new Gaelic rulers and historical justifications for their territorial acquisitions or ambitions, there was also a genuine wish to recover and preserve the records of Gaelic Ireland and its culture before its disruption by the invasion. It was in this period that the great learned families of the succeeding period, such as the Mac Fírbíse (Mac Fírbísigh), O’Mulconrys (Ó Maolconaire), O’Duigenans (Ó Duibhgeanáin), and Magraths (MacCraith), emerged

into prominence and that many of the great surviving codices were written.

SEE ALSO Bruce Invasion; Gaelic Society in the Late Middle Ages; Magnates, Gaelic and Anglo-Irish; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence; Richard II in Ireland

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Kenneth Nicholls



Gaelic Revival

The Gaelic Revival, which aimed to extend the use of Irish Gaelic as a spoken language and a literary medium, was at the height of its popular influence in the first decade of the twentieth century and reached its artistic peak during the 1920s and 1930s. The revival drew together older men and women whose first language was Gaelic, and younger intellectuals, primarily from urban Ireland and from communities in Britain and the United States, who hoped to learn Gaelic because of a romantic notion of their linguistic heritage. Among this latter group were many who became leaders in the campaigns for independence from the United Kingdom between 1916 and 1922, and the cultural programs they instituted in the Irish Free State reflected one significant line of thought that emerged out of the revival. Moreover,

the creative and philosophical tensions between Gaelic enthusiasts and Irish artists who wrote in English had infused Gaelic and Anglo-Irish literature with vigor, sparking debates about the proper role of art in society and revealing the insular vision of some leading revivalists.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Gaelic had continued the decline that had begun before the Great Famine. Few postfamine writers or poets produced new literature in Irish, though recent research suggests that Gaelic literature was not as moribund as contemporaries believed. Until the last decades of the nineteenth century, however, publishers printed little Gaelic matter aside from the proceedings of antiquarian bodies and the translations of Gaelic works into English by scholars such as Eugene O'Curry and John O'Donovan. By the 1891 census fewer than 700,000 people out of a population of 4.7 million even claimed a knowledge of Gaelic, and only about 38,000 of them were monolingual Irish-speakers.

Three events prefigured the nascent revival. The first, in 1877, was the foundation of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (SPIL). In the following year the SPIL enlisted support from members of Parliament to make Gaelic a voluntary subject for intermediate-school students, though few availed of the opportunity for two decades. Second, between 1878 and 1880, Standish James O'Grady published his multivolume adaptation of ancient Gaelic epics, *The History of Ireland: The Heroic Period*, a work that attracted readers and later writers to an array of indigenous sources. Finally, another important fillip came in October 1881 in Brooklyn, New York, when the Galway native Michael Logan (Ó Lócháin) founded *An Gaodhal*, the first periodical published substantially in Gaelic.

THE GAELIC UNION AND GAELIC LEAGUE

What sparked the revival was a split in the ranks of the SPIL when some active members formed a new group, the Gaelic Union. In 1882 the Union founded what was until 1909 the most important bilingual publication devoted to Irish literature, *Irishleabhar na Gaedhilge* (the *Gaelic Journal*). Edited by a succession of enthusiastic scholars including David Comyn, John Fleming, Father Eugene O'Growney, Eoin MacNéill, Joseph Lloyd, and Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, the *Journal* published original works, manuscript material, folklore, and news about Gaelic and Celtic movements in Ireland and abroad. Significantly, in 1894 it became the property of the most important organization associated with the revival, the Gaelic League.

Eoin MacNéill founded the League in July 1893, eight months after Douglas Hyde's impassioned speech

“The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland” had inspired Eoin MacNéill to establish a popular linguistic movement. The organization gained footholds in urban centers such as Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, as well as in towns and villages in the western and southern Gaeltachts, districts that had native Irish-speaking majorities. At its peak between 1906 and 1908 the League included more than 670 Irish branches and several hundred more in émigré communities, and it claimed nearly 50,000 individual members at any given time. Although sympathy for Gaelic became widespread, the ability to speak and write Irish remained the possession of a relative few.

LITERATURE OF THE REVIVAL

The League did, however, play a critical role in encouraging new literature and Gaelic drama. Its publications committee produced the monthly *Gaelic Journal*, the weekly bilingual newspaper, *An Claidheamh Soluis* (The sword of light), and hundreds of pamphlets, books, and one-act plays. Individual branches, meanwhile, published ephemeral journals such as *Loch Léin* in Killarney and *An Craobh Ruadh* (The red branch) in Belfast. Annual competitions, particularly those at the national literary festival, the *Oireachtas* (founded in 1897), elicited folklore collections, historical essays, translations, and original poems, short stories, and plays. Much of the original work lacked merit, but older folk poets (such as Colm Wallace and Robert Weldon) and noteworthy emerging writers enjoyed success in *Oireachtas* competitions.

Revival writers faced complex issues as they established a modern literature after nearly a century with little innovation. Among the most important questions were: What relationship should they have with Irish writers using English? What use should be made of translations? Should authors subsume their artistic freedom to approach subjects from a specific political viewpoint? How should they overcome the dearth of indigenous models of novels and dramas? And which, if any, existing genres should they emphasize? Most revivalists were students of the language and drew on familiar English literary tropes or deferred to self-proclaimed native authorities. At times, such as when theater patrons rioted over John Millington Synge’s dramatization of peasant life in *The Playboy of the Western World* in 1907, Gaelic enthusiasts displayed an overweening provincialism, but revivalist writers tended to be open-minded toward their Anglo-Irish counterparts.

Broadly speaking, two philosophical camps developed. Some, such as Father Patrick Dinneen and Father Peadar Ó Laoghaire, adopted a “nativist” viewpoint—

looking almost exclusively to indigenous models and approaching subjects from generally conservative, Catholic, and nationalist perspectives. Others, such as Pádraic Ó Conaire, were open to a more “progressive” outlook—searching for themes and models that might challenge conventional perspectives. Within these categorizations further divisions emerged. Thus Dinneen’s advocacy of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century forms resonated with poets like Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (“Tórna”) and Osborn Bergin, and Ó Laoghaire infused his prose with the peasant idiom of his youth (the so-called “caint na ndaoine,” or speech of the people).

Ó Laoghaire’s ubiquitous presence as an essayist, translator, playwright, and novelist virtually ensured that most prose writers copied his style. Publication of his Faustian peasant tale *Séadna* (Words, 1904), the first Gaelic novel, should be viewed in this light as a landmark. Less influential but equally important for its incorporation of gritty realism into the novel was Ó Conaire’s *Deoraidheacht* (Exile, 1910). With its urban setting and vivid attention to detail, it stood as a largely solitary achievement until well after independence. It was Patrick Pearse (an admirer of Ó Laoghaire while editor of *An Claidheamh Soluis* and later the leader of the 1916 Easter rebellion) who anticipated the form in which experimental prose proved most successful in short stories, in his *Iosogán* (1905).

After 1922 leaders of the Irish Free State, including MacNéill, then minister for education, fostered the language through sometimes misdirected initiatives. The government imposed compulsory Gaelic instruction in schools, set up the publication office An Gúm, and endowed theatrical enterprises such as the Taibhdhearc na Gaillimhe. Much of what appeared in print or on stage, however, was derivative. Some original novels were published, such as Edward MacLysaght’s *Cúrsaí Thomáis* (The story of Tomás, 1927) and Séamas Mac Grianna’s *Caisleáin Óir* (Golden castles, 1924), but An Gúm also delayed potentially controversial works, such as Seosamh Mac Grianna’s *An Druma Mór* (The big drum, written in the 1930s, but not published until 1972). Meanwhile, Ó Conaire, Liam O’Flaherty, and Máirtín Ó Cadhain, among others, explored the short-story form, and playwrights such as Micheál Mac Liammóir infused the theater with creative energy, albeit drawing heavily upon translations. Perhaps the most lively literature of the 1920s and 1930s appeared in Gaeltacht autobiographies inspired by those revivalists who had sought out “authentic” representatives of the Gaelic tradition. Among the best known were those written or dictated by residents of the Blasket Islands—Muiris Ó Súilleabháin’s *Fiche Blian ag Fás* (Twenty Years A-Growing, 1933), Peig Sayers’s *Peig* (Peig, 1936), and Tomás Ó Criomhthain’s *An tOileánach* (The Islandman, 1929).

Assessing the impact of the Gaelic Revival is a matter of perspective. If the yardstick applied was whether Irish became the universal language of the people in Ireland, then it must be judged a failure. If, however, one also considers the symbolic importance of Gaelic to people in southern Ireland (and to a minority in Northern Ireland) and recognizes as significant the creation of a modern literature with a limited readership, then the revival was a defining period in modern Irish cultural history.

SEE ALSO Antiquarianism; Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Hyde, Douglas; Language and Literacy: Decline of Irish Language; Literature: Anglo-Irish Literature in the Nineteenth Century; Literature: Gaelic Literature in the Nineteenth Century; **Primary Documents:** From "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland" (25 November 1892); Letter on the Commission on the Gaeltacht (4 March 1925); "The End" (1926); "Pierce's Cave" (1933); "Scattering and Sorrow" (1936)

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Timothy G. McMahon

Gaelic Revivalism

THE GAELIC
ATHLETIC
ASSOCIATION

THE GAELIC
LEAGUE

MARCUS DE BÚRCA

TIMOTHY G.
MCMAHON

THE GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION

The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), which was responsible for reviving the ancient Irish field game of hurling and for codifying and popularizing Gaelic football, the modern version of the traditional Irish form of football, was founded in Thurles, Co. Tipperary, on 1 November 1884. The association was the earliest expression of the late-nineteenth-century Irish cultural movement that triggered the political revival that led, in turn, to the Easter Rising of 1916 and the establishment in 1921 of the modern Irish state now known as the Republic of Ireland.

The GAA was the brainchild of Michael Cusack, a Clare schoolteacher who campaigned for ten years beginning in 1874 for the reform of Irish athletics to enable all social classes to participate and for the revival of hurling, which was almost extinct mainly as a result of the famines of the late 1840s. Because Cusack had laid the organizational foundations in provincial Ireland, the new association was an instant success, spreading to most parts of Ireland in its first year. In its early years it concentrated on field and track athletics rather than on hurling or Gaelic football.

Despite its initial success, the GAA in its first fifteen years struggled to stay alive. Internally, it came under attack from two rival nationalist factions, the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) and the Fenian Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), with both attempting to gain control of it. Externally, it had to fend off a new unionist-dominated body, the Irish Amateur Athletics Association. At a stormy convention in Thurles in November 1887 the IRB gained control of the GAA, and the other delegates set up a rival body. The split was quickly healed through mediation by the GAA's charismatic patron, Archbishop Thomas Croke of Cashel, but Fenian influence on the GAA continued until 1901.

The decline in the GAA's fortunes during the 1890s was due to several factors. Feuding between the IRB faction and IPP supporters continued long after Croke's mediation and led to the resignation of the GAA president, Maurice Davin. The association's support for Charles Stewart Parnell after his involvement in a divorce case caused mass withdrawal of Roman Catholic clergy, hitherto an influential element. Continued domination of key posts by the IRB led to a steady fall in membership, which was aggravated by the GAA's failure to exploit its leading role in 1898 in the 1798 Rebellion centenary celebrations.

At the 1900 convention a group of mostly younger officials ensured the election of Alderman James Nowlan of Kilkenny as GAA president and of Luke O'Toole of Dublin as secretary. Displaced was Frank Dineen of

Limerick, who had served as either president or secretary since 1895, and who with Michael Deering of Cork had controlled the central council until Deering's sudden death before the convention. Nowlan retained the presidency for twenty years, and O'Toole the secretarial post for almost thirty. Unlike Dineen and Deering, neither was an IRB member; both belonged to a younger nationalist generation disillusioned by the Parnell split. Their elections marked a new, more competent GAA, determined to avoid the bitterness of the post-Parnell decade.

When in the early 1900s the Gaelic League's membership exploded, it brought into the GAA a new influx of members, too, and after the foundation in 1907 of Sinn Féin by Arthur Griffith, the GAA benefited from a growth in militant republicanism. Almost 300 of the participants in the Easter Rising of 1916 were GAA members. During the subsequent War of Independence (1919–1921) the association provided the backbone of what became the Irish Republican Army; many GAA officials, such as Michael Collins and Harry Boland, played leading roles in the rival underground government.

Peace returned in 1924 after five years of hostilities, and the GAA became part of the establishment of the new Irish Free State. With the appointment in 1929 of a dynamic new general secretary, Pádraig Ó Caoimh, the association began to prosper for the first time since the 1890s. Ireland's isolationism in World War II was turned to advantage by the GAA, and the 1930s saw record attendances at Gaelic games. Attendances fell steeply on the arrival of Irish television in 1961, but the ending in 1971 of the prohibition on GAA members playing or attending non-Gaelic games reflected a new mood of optimism in the association. Moreover, a radical streamlining of its administration followed a searching self-analysis by a commission, composed partly of non-members, which met from 1969 to 1971.

The 1984 celebrations of the GAA's centenary lasted for most of the year, beginning and ending in Ennis, the capital of Cusack's native Clare. The all-Ireland hurling final was switched from Dublin to Thurles, regarded as the cradle of the association. The importance of the GAA in the social life of modern Ireland was emphasized by some of the centenary events, which included a government reception, a history symposium at University College, Cork, and issuance of a set of commemorative postage stamps. The publication in 1980 of a history of the GAA was the first of many local histories.

In the years since 1984 the GAA has faced some major new challenges. Chief among them have been the growth of an urban society where Gaelic games have often been undervalued, the constant threat to GAA rev-



The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) proved highly successful in promoting Gaelic football and hurling after it was launched in Thurles in November 1884. Its lusty expansion was part of a general revival of cultural nationalism after 1880. More than a century later, GAA sporting fixtures remain extremely popular, as indicated by the vast crowd that turned out to watch the 1995 All-Ireland Hurling Final at Dublin's Croke Park. © MICHAEL ST. MAUR SHEIL/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

enue caused by soccer football beamed into Irish homes by television, and the implementation of a costly program to provide comfortable accommodation for family and corporate groups in the major stadia. In addition, the spread of commercial sponsorship to a basically amateur body built on voluntary effort has not been easy. Since the commercialization of the two football codes in Britain, it is difficult to see how erosion of the GAA's amateur codes can be postponed indefinitely.

Predictably, in a country where almost every activity has political undertones, the association has had its share of criticism from the start. The overlapping of politics and sport has concerned many who point to the GAA's inability to alleviate tension in Northern Ireland, where to be involved in the GAA is to be identified as a nationalist. Nevertheless, the association's contribution to modern Irish society has been impressive. In the van-

guard of the cultural renaissance in the late 1800s it brought color and sporting rivalry to a drab countryside traumatized by the Great Famine. In the early 1900s the GAA played a prominent part in the shift from cultural to political nationalism. In the political and military struggle from 1919 to 1921 it supplied many of the foot soldiers of the revolution as well as some of its finest officers. In a country always in danger of being swamped by foreign sporting cultures, the GAA has held its own.

To appreciate what the GAA has achieved, one needs only to contemplate what would have happened in its absence. Field and track athletics would be run from London, and Irish athletes would compete in the Olympics in the colors of other nations. The 2,000-year-old game of hurling would almost certainly be extinct. In place of Gaelic football, now Ireland's most popular outdoor game, soccer football would reign supreme. Thanks largely to the GAA, the mass exodus from the Irish countryside, now well-nigh unstoppable, was at least slowed for the greater part of a century.

SEE ALSO Cusack, Michael; GAA "Ban"; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Literacy and Popular Culture; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Sport and Leisure

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Marcus de Búrca

THE GAELIC LEAGUE

Founded in July 1893 by Eoin MacNéill to preserve and extend the use of Irish as a spoken language, the Gaelic League was the most important organization associated

with the Gaelic revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although the League failed to convince a significant percentage of the population to use Irish as their everyday medium of social intercourse, it raised public consciousness of Gaelic culture, engaged in campaigns to include Irish in school curricula, inspired a modern literature in Gaelic, and energized the nationalist movement in the years before 1916.

MacNéill's emphasis on spoken Irish appealed to many younger members of existing antiquarian societies, who felt that organizations such as the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language and the Gaelic Union lacked the dynamism necessary to safeguard Gaelic as a living language. Among these earliest adherents were the poet and folklorist Douglas Hyde, who had made a similar plea for spoken Irish during the previous year in a seminal speech to the National Literary Society in Dublin ("The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland"), and Father Eugene O'Growney, the professor of Irish at Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth. From 1893 until 1915, Hyde would serve as president and leading spokesman for the League, while O'Growney's five-part series of primers, the *Simple Lessons in Irish*, became important teaching tools in Gaelic League classes.

GROWTH AND ACTIVITIES

From its Dublin base the organization expanded quickly to other large cities and towns. By 1898, however, it could claim just eighty branches, and only a few of these were in the western and southern communities where Irish remained the primary language of home life. Thereafter, several factors combined to encourage more rapid expansion at the turn of the century, including growing anti-English sentiment fueled by the centenary celebrations of the 1798 rebellion and the outbreak of the Boer War; the hiring of paid *timirí* (organizers) to promote the language cause, and the advocacy of journalists such as Alice Milligan, Arthur Griffith, and D.P. Moran.

By 1906 enthusiasts had established more than 600 *crabhacha* (branches) within Ireland and several hundred more abroad. The League maintained at least one branch in every Irish county, but the highest concentrations of domestic branches were in counties with significant native-speaking populations and in the larger cities and towns, such as Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and Galway. Ironically, in those counties with high concentrations of native-speakers the League relied primarily on English-speaking town elites to lead their cause, and the organization only sporadically established lasting outposts in which native-speakers comprised the bulk of members. Similarly, outside of the Gaelic-speaking

districts the vast majority of people joining *craobhacha* were English-speakers with an interest in learning some Irish and otherwise participating in what they called the “Irish-Ireland” movement.

Precise estimates of total membership are difficult to calculate, but based on average branch size, it is likely that the highest annual total was about 47,000. Because most members participated actively for only a year or two before being replaced by new recruits, it is nevertheless likely that the overall membership was significantly higher—perhaps more than a quarter of a million—in the years prior to 1910.

Within their branches members engaged in a wide variety of social and intellectual activities. Typically, they held general meetings on Sunday afternoons, at which they discussed historical or contemporary topics, and on weekday evenings interested members also attended classes in language instruction, history, dancing, or singing. Leaguers engaged in numerous public campaigns to press educational authorities to incorporate Irish classes in the national and intermediate schools; and between 1908 and 1910 they coordinated a successful island-wide effort to force the senate of the new National University of Ireland to adopt a strict standard requiring all matriculating students to have some familiarity with the Gaelic language. At other times members also promoted causes that were apparently unrelated to their linguistic mission, including temperance crusades and efforts to “buy Irish” products crafted by native hands or in factories at home.

Craobhacha regularly sponsored an array of amateur entertainment, such as concerts, *ceilidhs*, and plays, in which members took leading parts. The largest such gatherings were regional *feiseanna* (festivals) and the *Oireachtas* (national literary festival), which included competitions in storytelling, oratory, poetry, prose, singing, and dancing. Festival prizewinners often attained local or even national celebrity as instructors and entertainers at branch functions. Some Irish-Ireland purists such as Moran lamented that many of these events mirrored the entertainment provided by music halls and popular theater, but they provided townspeople with amusement during an era when town life was otherwise quite drab.

The League, moreover, was instrumental in encouraging the publication of literature, news, folklore, and drama in the Irish language. At the time of MacNéill’s overture in 1893, O’Growney was editor of the most important Gaelic-related publication in Ireland, *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* (*Gaelic Journal*), which he put at the League’s disposal. Until it ceased publication in 1910, this monthly offered Gaelic poets and authors an outlet for their productions. Beginning in 1898 with

Fáinne an Lae (Dawn of day) and continuing with *An Claidheamh Soluis* (The sword of light), the League published weekly bilingual newspapers, which provided another platform to propagate the language cause. In addition, the League’s publications committee produced numerous original works, albeit of mixed quality, ranging from school histories and conversation guides to essay collections and novels. Thus many writers associated with the revival of Gaelic literature in the twentieth century, such as Father Peadar Ó Laoghaire and Pádraic Ó Conaire, published their early works under League auspices or received their first public recognition at League festivals.

ALL CREEDS AND ALL CLASSES?

Early League leaders hoped that their cultural program would bring together the fractious elements of Irish society, and they determined to keep their organization nonpolitical and nonsectarian in order to overcome the political and social divisions of the Home Rule era. But this aim seems in retrospect to have been merely a pious hope. Scholars believed traditionally that the organization consisted initially of upper-middle-class romantics, including both Catholics and Protestants, but that as the League grew, its increasingly politicized lower-middle-class Catholic membership discouraged Protestants from joining League ranks. Some have even concluded that the organization should be remembered primarily as a “school” for the nationalist revolutionaries who engaged in the Irish war of independence. Indeed, many revolutionaries were active in the League, including Patrick Pearse, who served as editor of *An Claidheamh Soluis* from 1903 until 1909. Also, members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood did engineer a takeover of the League in 1915, prompting Hyde’s resignation from the presidency and ensuring that the League would be an important component of republican efforts in the push for independence after 1916.

Recent research, however, has qualified this portrayal. For example, McMahon has determined that the membership of the League was more broadly based across class lines from its foundation than had previously been thought, and a committed minority of Protestants continued to participate in Gaelic activities until the mid-1910s. Furthermore, although nearly all members professed loyalty to some form of political nationalism, and although ardent revolutionaries were inspired by their association with the language cause, one should not overstate the politicization of the organization until after the takeover by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in 1915. Prior to that point efforts by politicians to use Gaelic platforms were usually rebuffed by League leaders and regular members alike.

When the IRB did capture the organization, the League had long been in decline, though it experienced a brief resurgence during and immediately after the war of independence. By the mid-1920s, however, the League had lost much of its earlier energy, and membership again tapered off as officials in Northern Ireland were intent on stamping that new state with a British identity, and as their counterparts in the Free State believed that the language should receive official sanction.

Although the League has kept a watchful eye on state policy toward the language since then and has continually encouraged Gaelic literature and arts through the annual *Oireachtas*, its major achievement belonged to the preindependence decades, when it secured a place of symbolic importance for the Gaelic language and Gaelic culture in modern Ireland.

SEE ALSO Blasket Island Writers; Gaelic Revival; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic Athletic Association; Hyde, Douglas; Language and Literacy: Decline of Irish Language; Language and Literacy: Irish Language since 1922; Literacy and Popular Culture; Pearse, Patrick; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Raiftearaí (Raftery), Antaine; **Primary Documents:** From “The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland” (25 November 1892); Letter on the Commission on the Gaeltacht (4 March 1925)

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Timothy G. McMahon

Gaelic Society in the Late Middle Ages

In the last hundred years before Henry VIII asserted Tudor control (c. 1430–1534), Ireland was English only

from Dublin to Dundalk—thirty miles south to north, twenty east to west—and even there, in “the Pale,” Gaelic speech and dress were conspicuous. “Beyond the Pale” were the increasingly gaelicized magnates: FitzGerald (Kildare, Cork, north Kerry); Butler (Kilkenny, Tipperary); Burke, also known as Mac Liaim Íochtar (Mayo); and Mac Liaim Uachtar (Galway). Various families of O’Neill held central Ulster, O’Donnell western Ulster, and with MacCarthy (southwest Cork, south Kerry) and O’Brien (Clare, west Limerick), they were the greatest of the Gaelic magnates.

Norman impact from earlier centuries survived fitfully, the north and west having remained heavily forested and most vigorously Gaelic, the south and southeast mixing and varying between English and Irish land, inheritance, and legal systems. Control of church appointments was divided similarly but was more polarized. In Ulster the English controlled the east coast dioceses and lands, whereas the rest was firmly in Gaelic hands. The O’Neills largely determined whether revenue would be collected, episcopal visitation would take place, and ecclesiastical punishment would be enforced west of the river Bann. Parish development dated only from the twelfth century, and Gaelic Ireland left the parish coterminous with family lands. Family control of dioceses and religious houses had dwindled from such reform efforts as followed the Norman invasions, but re-gaelicization meant its revival. English government rule sought to prevent “anyone of Irish blood, name, or nation” from holding major ecclesiastical office, but when William O’Reilly was chosen as minister-provincial of the Franciscan friars in 1445—the first native appointment to the two-hundred-year-old office—Henry VI (1421–1471) was persuaded to veto him, despite O’Reilly’s Oxford doctorate in theology. Pope Eugenius IV (1383–1447) then overruled the king, and O’Reilly proved to be a much-needed reformer. In the church hierarchy Gaelic dynasties increased, as did widespread indifference to clerical celibacy. The bishopric and archdeaconate of Clogher went from father to son time and again in the fifteenth century, shared between the intermarrying families of MacCawell (or Campbell) and Maguire. As to monasteries, the great Gaelic families widely treated them as personal property. Lay hereditary control of bishoprics and parishes continued as in pre-Norman times. The papal anger at this situation in the twelfth century was past; Gaelic abuses were in line with the spirit of the Borgia and comparable popes of the late fifteenth century. Yet some piety remained, as in the delicate fervent poetry of Pilib Bocht Ó hUiginn.

Gaelic landholding was nonfeudal. The overlord held “mensal” land—needed to maintain food, heat,





A sixteenth-century Irish chieftain's feast, depicting the MacSweenys of Donegal accompanied by their bard, harpist, and other entertainers. Derricke may have misinterpreted some of the activities at the feast, which he describes as "hoggishe." FROM JOHN DERRICKE'S *THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE* (1581).

style, and hunting-grounds for himself, servants, and dependants—while he lived. Another such area went to the ruling family from whom he was elected in the system called tanistry: the *tánaiste*, or heir apparent, would be chosen from the family, but the one elected was not by any means necessarily the eldest or even any son, legitimate or otherwise, of the existing king or chieftain. (The modern parliamentary term for deputy prime minister is *tánaiste*, which has definitely lost its connotation of right of succession.) The remaining land went to other branches of the family, excluded, where possible, from the succession. By the fifteenth century the results varied. In Munster, for example, MacCarthy of Muskerry held half of the available land himself, as mensal, while the ruling O'Neills of Ulster were challenged by their cousins descended from Aodh Buidhe (Yellow or Fair-Haired Hugh), who kept their lands almost independent of the rulers (the Clondeboy O'Neills). Neighboring chieftains and even Dublin viceroys entered into such disputes between kinsmen to win over what protégés and weaken what aspirants they could. The tenantry on the mensal land was of its nature short-term; a new chieftain might want new tenants. Freeholders beyond the limits of mensal land paid cows or a penny per acre to the overlord. Cow ownership was the symbol of wealth. Chargeable lands were about half the total area, and while rentable, they might also be

used to billet mercenaries during the fighting season. The mass of the population had little land, constantly subdivided under a principle of gavelkind, providing for all sons. Hopes for economic success depended on livestock ownership. A churl occupying insignificant land and owning no cattle had poorer economic prospects than a landless tenant from a landless family under the immediate protection of a landowning chieftain as his follower.

The norm of secular marriage meant a succession of spouses with easy divorce. The preference was for marriage to kinsfolk, often in defiance of church law forbidding marriage to third or closer cousins, or to relations acquired by a former marriage. Clerics were frequent products or partners in such cases, to the obvious detriment of church reform. The fosterage system, by which children were reared in another household, made fathers less hostile to rape or intercourse with their little-known adult daughters. Fosterage often resulted in closer political alliances outside family limits.

Local poets and historians were deeply attached to chieftains, with fine poetic results, sometimes perhaps prompted by homosexual sentiment (as James Carney and others suggest for Eochaidh Ó hEódhasa's ode to the Maguire [i.e., Hugh Maguire]). Harpers and musicians were court pets, readily adopted by Normans in the pro-

cess of gaelicization. Poets were greatly feared for their cursing powers, usually mistranslated as “satires” and doubtless of social consequence in their ridicule, but many instances were given of curses causing death within a short time. The brevity of normal life spans no doubt exacerbated the number of coincidences, but some are likely to have had serious psychological and even physical results.

SEE ALSO Bruce Invasion; Gaelic Recovery; Magnates, Gaelic and Anglo-Irish; Richard II in Ireland; **Primary Documents:** The Statutes of Kilkenny (1366)

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Owen Dudley Edwards

Georgian Dublin, Art and Architecture of

The term Georgian Dublin is used to describe the physical attributes of the capital city during the reign of the four Georges (1714–1830), a golden age in the architectural history of Dublin. The city’s population more than tripled in these years, and the urban area expanded even more dramatically, a process linked to the beginnings of outer suburbs and the social decline of the medieval core. But Georgian Dublin’s claim to fame rests on the quality and quantity of urban building, both public and private, that occurred in this period. Thanks to the city’s later stagnation, most of the building stock survived intact, if dilapidated, into the twentieth century. However, a very large part of it had been swept away by the 1970s, when its historical significance began to be appreciated.

The architectural distinction of Georgian Dublin rests on four elements: a small number of architectural-

ly sophisticated public buildings, a rather larger number of private palazzi, a series of speculative terrace (or row-house) developments of high architectural quality, and the strategic decisions of a precocious planning agency.

The first of the great public buildings was the new Parliament house in College Green, erected circa 1730. It was designed by a young Irish architect who had trained in London, Edward Lovett Pearce (d. 1733). The other keynote public buildings—the Lying-in Hospital, the Royal Exchange, the Public Theatre and Provost’s House in Trinity College, the new Custom House, the new Four Courts, the House of Lords, and the King’s Inns—were all designed by English- or German-born architects. But the rules of architecture were presumed to be universal, informed by the wisdom of “the ancients.” Designing a major building did not require local knowledge, and Sir William Chambers, perhaps the greatest architect associated with eighteenth-century Dublin, never visited the city. His protégé James Gandon (d. 1823), however, came and stayed. Gandon was responsible, among much else, for the riverside icons, the Custom House (completed c. 1790), and the Four Courts (completed c. 1800).

The gentleman-architects mixed public and private commissions. Richard Castle (d. 1751), designer of the Lying-in Hospital, is more famous for Leinster House, the largest of the several dozen aristocratic houses that were constructed in the eastern half of the city. Their cut-stone and sometimes austere exteriors belied the sumptuous plasterwork and marble-work of the interiors; the staircases and public rooms in these houses were designed for entertainment and conspicuous display. Fitting and furnishing these houses required the services of dozens of crafts and sustained an army of craftsmen.

The era of constructing massive detached houses was drawing to a close by the 1770s, by which time speculative brick-faced terrace-building for an upper-class and professional clientele had become far more important. Most, but not all, of the speculative building occurred on green-field sites to the northeast and southeast of the commercial city, on the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam estates. The former property had been assembled by Luke Gardiner I (d. 1755), a highly successful functionary and banker who, despite a low public profile, became one of the most powerful figures in Irish politics. Two northside aristocratic streets were his creation, Henrietta and Sackville (later O’Connell), and his method of urban development—tight proprietorial control over the appearance and social character of the principal houses—set the precedent for activity elsewhere, most obviously on the Fitzwilliam (later Pembroke) estate, which began with the laying out of Merrion Square in



Designed by architect James Gandon, the Custom House, Dublin, late eighteenth century, is an example of neoclassical Irish architecture.
 © ROYALTY-FREE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the 1760s and culminated in the boulevards of Ballsbridge half a century later.

The Wide Streets Commission was established as a parliamentary committee in 1757 and remained in existence for almost a century. Its initial remit was to gouge out a new street north of Dublin Castle; it evolved to become a citywide planning agency. Its principal achievements were the widening and reconstruction of Dame and Sackville Streets, the development of new streets to the south of the new Carlisle (later O'Connell) Bridge, and the completion of quays along the Liffey. Its moment of greatest activity—the 1780s and early 1790s—coincided with the preeminence of John Beresford (d. 1805), the driving force behind the Custom House project and much else. As important to the creation of Georgian Dublin as the marquis of Pombal had been in the reconstruction of eighteenth-century Lisbon, Beresford

combined cultural enlightenment with political reaction. He was the epitome of the landed gentry whose burgeoning rent rolls and parliamentary ambitions had funded the architectural splendor of the city.

The gentry's fashion for wintering in Dublin faded away after the union, and the demand for high-quality housing changed markedly. However, the rise of the professions and the expansion of the middle classes insured that the classical idioms, the terrace houses and brick facades, the fanlights and the marble chimney-pieces, were replicated on a more modest scale in the nineteenth-century city.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Country Houses and the Arts

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David Dickson



Gonne, Maud

Maud Gonne (1866–1953), lifelong nationalist activist, was born in England. Her father was an army officer and her mother died when she was five. The family then moved to Ireland, a country that Gonne adopted as her own. Educated privately at home, Gonne was given an unusual amount of freedom at an early age. In 1887 she went to France, where she published *L'Irlande Libre* (Free Ireland) and took part in the extreme nationalist Boulangist movement along with her lover, Lucien Millevoye, with whom she had two children, Georges (1890–1891) and Iseult (1894–1954). Back in Ireland in the 1890s, Gonne took part in the ongoing land campaign, focusing media attention on hunger and poverty in Donegal. In 1900 she founded Inghínidhe na hÉireann (Daughters of Ireland), a nationalist organization that concentrated on the teaching of the Irish language, support for Irish manufactures, and antirecruitment activities. In 1903 she married John MacBride, who had fought with the Boers against the British. Their only child, Seán, was born in 1904, and a year later, they were acrimoniously divorced. Thereafter, Gonne divided her time between her house in Normandy, where Seán was mainly reared, and Ireland, where she continued to campaign politically, presiding over the foundation of Inghinidhe na hÉireann's newspaper, *Bean na hÉireann* (Woman of Ireland) in 1908. She was closely associated with James Connolly and Arthur Griffith. The outbreak of the First World War found Gonne working for the Red Cross in France. The execution of John MacBride after the 1916 Rising elevated her nationalist status as a 1916 widow and enabled her to return to Ireland with Seán. In 1918 she spent time in Holloway gaol with Constance Markievicz and Kathleen

Clarke; she was also imprisoned during the Civil War of 1922 to 1923, in which she took the republican (antitreaty) side. Gonne was a lifelong republican and a tireless campaigner for prisoners' rights. Her autobiography, provocatively entitled *A Servant of the Queen*, was published in London in 1937. Many people know of Gonne only as the inspiration for some of W. B. Yeats's finest love poems, but though she was fond of "poor Willie," as she called him, she played a much greater part in his life than he did in hers.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Literary Renaissance (Celtic Revival); Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Women in Nationalist and Unionist Movements in the Early Twentieth Century; Yeats, W. B.

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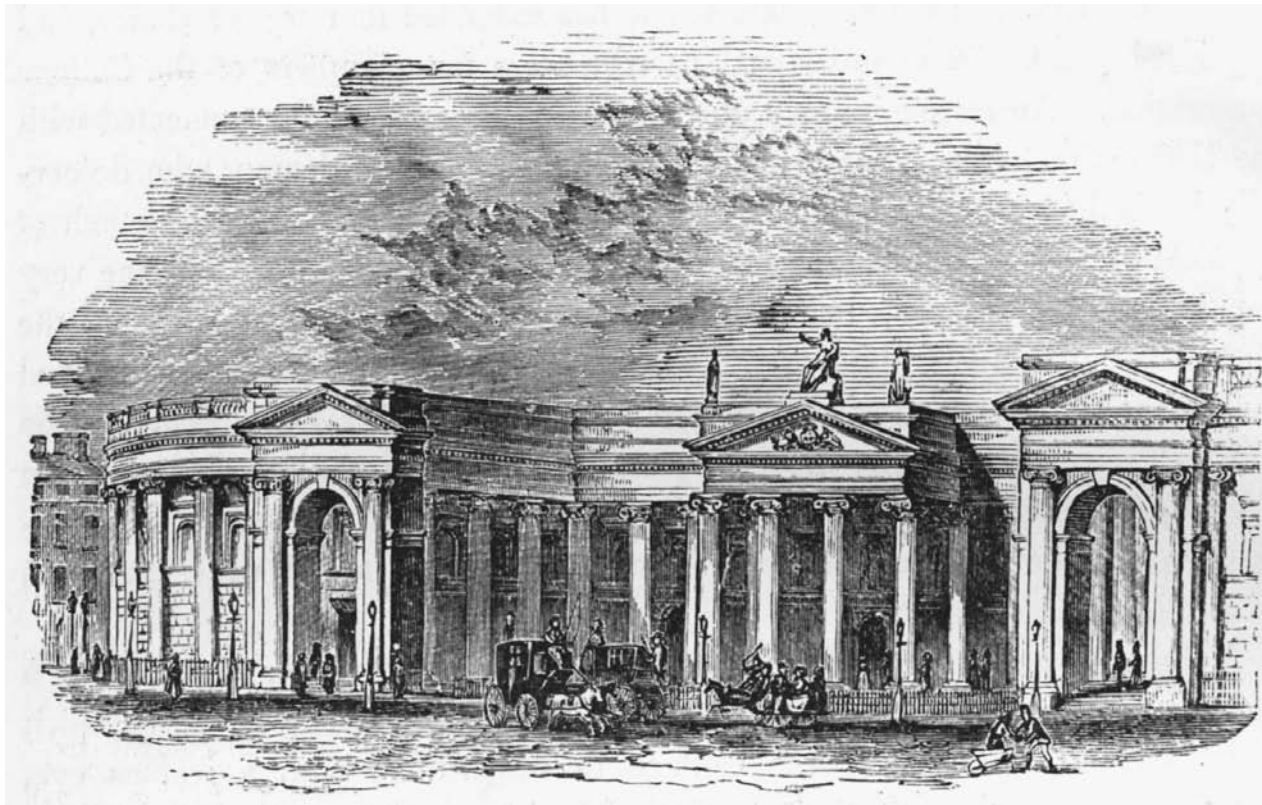
Caitriona Clear



Government from 1690 to 1800

Throughout the long eighteenth century (1690–1800) Ireland was governed by an executive in Dublin Castle answerable to the king's government in London and a legislature answerable to the Irish Protestant landed class, which came to be known as "the Ascendancy." This division of power was reflected in the judicial system, whose judges served at the Crown's pleasure but whose grand juries (responsible also for important aspects of local governance) were composed of leading members of the Ascendancy in each county. The government enjoyed military support from a garrison composed of British regiments paid for from Irish revenue and spiritual support from an established church, many of whose bishops were Englishmen.

The relationship between the executive and the legislature as marked by three distinct phases during this period. The first (1690–1769) followed the victory of King William III at the Battle of the Boyne and the re-emergence of a more assertive Protestant nationalism.



The Parliament House on College Green, Dublin, designed by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce in 1728 and completed in 1739. After the Act of Union the building was purchased by the Bank of Ireland. FROM MR. AND MRS. SAMUEL CARTER HALL, *IRELAND: ITS SCENERY, CHARACTER, ETC.* (1841–1843).

The executive consisted of a lord lieutenant (or “vice-roy”) and his staff (including a chief secretary) based at Dublin Castle, and the legislature consisted of the two houses of parliament—the House of Commons and House of Lords. The Irish parliament met regularly at roughly two-year intervals, having not met previously since the 1660s. The legislature, however, was severely constrained by the terms of Poyning’s Law (1494), which allowed the king and his ministers to amend or reject bills proposed from Ireland. The Declaratory Act of 1720 further weakened the position of Parliament. This act asserted the right of the British parliament to pass legislation binding on Ireland, and it provided the terms of reference for political debate in the country for the next sixty years. The executive in this period was notoriously weak, as the lord lieutenant did not reside in the country. Instead he only visited for the parliamentary session, and thus control of patronage and much of the power devolved to others. These power brokers came to be known as the “undertakers,” men who undertook to manage the business of government in return for being consulted about policy; they also had a large share of the government’s patronage at their disposal. Thus, for long periods the success of an adminis-

tration often depended on the whims of the most powerful political families, and the ability of the Crown to secure results depended on its ability to cajole as much as to negotiate.

This all changed in 1767 with the appointment of Lord Townshend as viceroy. Townshend decided to reside permanently in Ireland, creating a precedent that all future lord lieutenants followed. His decision resulted in the overthrow of the undertaker system, and control over patronage and policy returned to the executive. Helped by an efficient chief secretary, George Macartney, Townshend established a new system of management which involved supporting a “Castle party” in Parliament that could be relied upon to be loyal to the Crown. The cost, however, was high: Townshend was forced to resort to a system of parliamentary corruption and was eventually recalled in 1772. Dublin Castle became increasingly important in this second phase in the government of Ireland (1767–1782), and the holder of the office of chief secretary, the key administrative assistant to the viceroy who controlled most of the business, was central to its success.

Demands for a change in the constitutional relationship between Great Britain and Ireland grew in-

creasingly loud in the 1770s. A new spirit of patriot nationalism emerged, with its advocates unhappy about the subservient position of the Irish parliament. These demands reached their peak in 1782 with the granting of legislative independence, which was conceded reluctantly by the British government after it was forced through in the Irish parliament. The Declaratory Act was repealed, but there was no substantive change in the running of the government. The key political figure in the country remained the lord lieutenant, who dealt directly with the British cabinet on all questions of policy. Irish acts could still be vetoed by the English privy council, but this only occurred four times in the period from 1782 to 1800. The Catholic relief acts of the period (1778, 1782, and 1793) were all introduced at the instigation of the British cabinet and passed in Ireland despite much unwillingness in Parliament.

The ambiguous nature of the government of Ireland in this third phase (1782–1800) led to fears in London that Ireland would break away like the American colonies. This prompted the British prime minister William Pitt in 1784 to put forward his commercial propositions to link the countries economically so that they would be to all intents and purposes united. However, this was rejected by the Irish House of Commons, which viewed the proposals as an attack on their recently won independence. The Regency Crisis (1788–1789) only exacerbated these tensions. At a time of major constitutional turmoil created by the madness of the king, it seemed that the Irish parliament could not be relied upon to remain loyal. The French Revolution increased these fears and prompted Pitt and his ministers to consider introducing a legislative union with a view to ruling Ireland directly from London. War with France in 1793 made any attempts to alter the government of Ireland unpalatable, but the increasing political radicalism of the 1790s made change inevitable. The 1798 rebellion forced the British government to act. A new lord lieutenant, Charles Cornwallis, was sent to Ireland to quell the rebellion and introduce a legislative union. This was rejected in the Irish House of Commons in 1799, but every resource of the Crown was applied—including the use of bribery—and the union passed in 1800. It came into effect on 1 January 1801, creating the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The Irish parliament was abolished, and 100 Irish MPs took their seats at Westminster as the government of Ireland entered a radically different phase at the start of the nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO Act of Union; Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—

Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Grattan, Henry; Military Forces from 1690 to 1800; Penal Laws; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; Trade and Trade Policy from 1691 to 1800; **Primary Documents:** Yelverton's Act (1782)

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P. M. Geoghegan

Graces, The

The Graces comprised fifty-one concessions promised by Charles I on 14 May 1628 after protracted negotiations, primarily with representatives of the Old English (Catholic) community. In the bitter disputes that followed, however, the term tended to be used as a convenient way of referring to the substance of the two articles that dealt with the central question of land titles. The Old English, who felt threatened and alienated by official policies of land confiscation and religious discrimination in the previous reign, had for some time looked for assurances that their origins and proven loyalty entitled them to be treated on the same footing as their fellow English colonists rather than in the same way as their Irish fellow Catholics. They were also critical of the failure of the post-conquest administration to bring Irish administrative and judicial procedures into conformity with those of England and to guarantee due legal process.

Their opportunity to take positive action came some months after Charles's accession in March 1625, when the English government began preparations to wage war on Spain and confronted the problem of defending Ireland against counterattack. An offer by the Old English to raise forces to defend Ireland at their own expense was brokered by the courtier Sir John Bath of

Drumcondra, who argued forcefully that a demonstration of official goodwill was essential to the retention of Old English allegiance. The offer was rejected on the advice of the Dublin administration, which was reluctant to “put arms into their hands of whose hearts we rest not well assured” (Clarke 1968, p. 8). Fresh negotiations were aimed at securing Old English support for an enlarged standing army financed by voluntary taxation in return for concessions; they resulted in a royal offer to suspend the collection of recusancy fines and to do away with religious requirements for inheritance, appointment to public office, and legal practice. These proposals were presented to a representative assembly in Dublin in April 1627. They met with opposition from the Protestant episcopacy, who declared that to offer to suspend the collection of fines for nonattendance at divine service (recusancy) was “to set religion to sale” (Clarke 1968, p. 13). Less predictably, the offers were received coldly by the Old English, for whom the change of emphasis, from a policy founded upon trust to one redolent of distrust, confirmed their original suspicions that the government doubted their loyalty and inclined them in turn to distrust the sincerity of the king’s overtures. They reiterated their willingness to defend Ireland themselves.

The negotiations were transferred back to England, where eleven provincial representatives, eight Old English and three New English, concluded an agreement in May 1628. The demands made in this final phase reflected the experience of the previous three years of negotiations. The Old English agents no longer sought to persuade the administration to trust them, but rather to guard against the most likely consequence of its evident distrust, which was that the Crown would exploit the widespread deficiencies in titles to Irish land to expropriate them. Their chief demands, therefore, were for an act of limitation of royal title, by which the Crown would renounce all claims older than sixty years, and a supplementary act to secure titles in Connacht and Clare, where sixty years would not provide sufficient protection. The New English agents capitalized upon Protestant resistance to the original proposals to secure the withdrawal of Charles’s offers to suspend recusancy fines and to allow Catholics to qualify for governmental office by taking an oath of secular allegiance rather than the statutory oath of supremacy, which involved recognizing the king as supreme governor of the church and renouncing all foreign jurisdictions. They also took the opportunity to secure the indemnification of planters from the consequences of their widespread failure to introduce the stipulated number of settlers, make adequate arrangements for defense, and observe the prohibition against taking Irish tenants.

The fifty-one articles of the final agreement included many beneficial reforms of administrative practice

and legal process that went well beyond what the king had offered previously, but it was Articles 24 and 25, which contained new royal pledges to guarantee the existing distribution of land ownership by statute, that were of outstanding value to the Old English. The agreed price was a national contribution of 160,000 Irish pounds toward the support of an army of 5,000 men, to be paid over three years. Fatally, responding to the impatience of an administration that was now at war with both France and Spain, the representatives agreed that the money could be collected before the meeting of the Irish parliament which was to enact the promised bills. That Parliament was summoned so hastily that the mandatory procedures were not followed and the writs had to be recalled. This accidental delay proved decisive because time revealed that the government’s position was stronger than it seemed. The contribution continued to be paid. This was paid, partly because the alternative was the billeting of the enlarged army in private houses, but mostly because most of the other Graces did not require legislation and their benefits were significant. As the international situation improved and the danger of invasion receded, the army was reduced, the bargaining power of the Old English declined, and the administration was able to renege on the king’s promises.

THE DENIAL OF THE GRACES

When Viscount Wentworth came to Ireland as lord deputy in 1633 his objective was to maximize royal revenues, his intention was to convene a parliament and his difficulty was the outstanding Graces. If these were enacted, the most promising source of enhanced income, the king’s title to Irish land, could not be realized. Wentworth resolved the problem without scruple. He assured the Old English that the king’s promises would be honored, convened Parliament, secured assent to the revenue measures he needed, and, in November 1634, abruptly announced that “their two darling articles” would not be enacted. In the following years the consequences rapidly unfolded. Arrangements to plant Connacht and Clare were forced through, with no distinction made between Old English and native Irish proprietors. Defective titles were exploited to revise the conditions upon which land was held. Moreover, legal challenges to borough charters changed the future balance of parliamentary representation decisively to Protestant advantage. Within very few years, in short, not only were the property rights of the Old English seriously impaired, but the possibility of mounting political resistance was sharply reduced.

Nonetheless, when a new parliament was summoned in 1640 to assist the king in dealing with his re-

bellious Scottish subjects, circumstances conspired to favor the Old English. Wentworth's authoritarianism had also offended the New English, Charles's absolutist tendencies had aroused opposition in England, and a complex network of alliances took shape. The two colonial communities in Ireland entered into a parliamentary coalition, sealed by an agreement not to proceed with a bill for the confirmation of the plantation arrangements in Connacht and Clare. Having done so, they formed links with the English opposition, which in turn developed covert connections with the king's Scottish enemies. The immediate collective aim was to secure the impeachment of Wentworth, but the dominant Old English concern was to secure the enactment of the Graces. In April 1641, at a critical moment in Wentworth's trial, when impeachment was replaced by a bill of attainder, the king yielded to the demands of the Old English members of an Irish parliamentary delegation and ordered the Irish government to prepare a statute of limitations and a bill to revoke the plantation proceedings in Connacht and Clare. The government complied, while urging that this legislation be balanced by measures to compensate for the loss of revenue. Early in August, when it became known that the draft bills had received royal approval and were about to be returned for enactment without this condition being fulfilled, the Irish administration suspended Parliament until November. Before it met again, the Irish in Ulster had risen in rebellion. A minority opinion held that the way to prevent the outbreak from spreading to the Old English was to affirm the government's intention of having the Graces enacted, but it did not prevail.

SEE ALSO Old English; Rebellion of 1641; Wentworth, Thomas, First Earl of Strafford

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Aidan Clarke

Granuaile (Grace O'Malley)

Chieftainess, pirate, and Gaelic heroine, Granuaile or Grace O'Malley (c. 1530–1603) was born in County Mayo on the west coast of Ireland. Her father, Owen Dubhdara O'Malley, was chieftain of the barony of Murrisk. The O'Malleys, like their neighbors the O'Flahertys, traded with Spain, Portugal, and Scotland and were famous both as pirates and fishermen. As a teenager, Granuaile was married to Donal-an-Choghaidh (of the Battles) O'Flaherty, the heir or *tanist* of the O'Flaherty of Ballinahinch. The alliance gave the two families control of the western seas and all of Connemara. Granuaile bore Donal three children before he was murdered at the hands of rival clansmen, the Joyces. Denied the one-third of her husband's property accorded by Brehon (traditional Gaelic) law, Granuaile returned to O'Malley territory with 200 followers. From Clare Island, Granuaile began to make her own fortune by raiding ships en route to the English-controlled port of Galway, charging for navigational information, and extorting money for safe passage. In 1566 she married Richard-an-Iarainn (Iron Dick) Burke, chief of the Burkes of Carra and Burrishoole, heir to the title of MacWilliam, and governor of Rockfleet Castle. The marriage brought her control of all Clare Island and Clew Bay. Brehon law permitted divorce after one year of marriage, and Richard was accordingly dismissed. Granuaile retained possession of Rockfleet, the base of her enterprises. In 1574 an English fleet under Captain William Martin was sent to capture her fortress and to put an end to her forays. This expedition failed, but the Crown continued its efforts to subdue Connacht. Most Irish chieftains had already surrendered to the Crown, exchanging their Irish titles for English ones. The O'Malleys did so in 1576. Faced with growing English opposition and uncertain of their own power base, Granuaile and Richard Burke submitted to Sir Henry Sidney in the following year. It was a ruse for time; Irish attacks on English ships soon resumed. An unsuccessful raid on the earl of Desmond ended with Granuaile's imprisonment, though she was again released on the promise of good behavior. The pledge was also broken; in 1586 she was captured and her possessions were confiscated by Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connacht. In 1593 an impoverished Granuaile petitioned the queen for the restoration of her property, claiming that the lawlessness and discord that reigned in western Connacht had forced her and her family "to take arms and by force to maintain [my]self and [my] people by sea and land the space of forty years past" (Calendar of State Papers, Ireland. 63/170 No. 0204, quoted in

Chambers 1983). Summoned to defend herself in England, Granuaile met with Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich Palace. Particulars of the meeting are not known, but the queen was sufficiently impressed by the elderly Irishwoman to give her a pardon on condition that in the future she direct her “activities” against enemies of the Crown. Little is known of Granuaile’s later life, but a 1601 entry in the Calendar of State Papers reports that her galleys, presumably illegally engaged, were attacked by English patrol ships. It is believed that Granuaile died at Rockfleet Castle in 1603; her burial site is not known.

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Monica A. Brennan



Grattan, Henry

Politician, and the leading orator in the late-eighteenth-century Irish parliament, Henry Grattan (1746–1820) was brought into the House of Commons in 1775 by Lord Charlemont to reinforce the then somewhat depleted ranks of opposition MPs known as Patriots. Choosing at the outset to focus on financial issues, Grattan quickly demonstrated that he was possessed of exceptional oratorical skills. His penchant for “violent” language elicited disapproving comments from those who were the target of his criticism, but it earned him bouquets from his parliamentary colleagues and an increasingly politicized public. Grattan was a leading member of the Patriot interest that obliged the British government to remove long-standing mercantilist restrictions on Irish trade in the winter of 1779 to 1780. In April 1780, Grattan called on the Irish Commons to approve “a declaration of the rights of Ireland,” but two years elapsed before he was able to gain approval for such a declaration by taking advantage of a change in government at Westminster and the strong support of the Volunteers, a paramilitary body of Protestant citizens formed to aid in the defence of the kingdom. It was the greatest moment in Grattan’s career and ensured that the ensuing constitutional changes securing to the Irish legislature the right to make law for the kingdom of Ireland (“legislative independence”) would long be identified with him (“Grattan’s parliament”).

Unfortunately from Grattan’s perspective, a disagreement with Henry Flood as to whether the British parliament had renounced the right to make law for Ireland soured the public mood and generated a measure of bitterness between the two men that nearly culminated in a duel in 1783. Having lost the esteem of the public, Grattan sought to forge a working relationship with Dublin Castle, but he did not possess an eye for legal or administrative detail and soon gravitated toward opposition in the House of Commons. The Regency Crisis of 1788 through 1789, which provided the stimulus for the foundation of the Whig Club, more organized opposition, and the general invigoration of political discourse following the outbreak of revolution in France, created the environment in which Grattan could flourish once more. Now MP for Dublin city, his embrace of the cause of Catholic enfranchisement ensured him a leading place among the country’s moderate reformers. His advocacy of Catholic emancipation at the time of Earl Fitzwilliam’s controversial viceroyalty between 1794 and 1795 reinforced this image, but his inability to overcome the conservative vested interests, who were committed to upholding the values of “Protestant Ascendancy,” caused him to withdraw from Parliament in 1797. Wrongly suspected of complicity with the United Irishmen in the late 1790s, he was persuaded to make a political comeback in 1800 only by the threat of an Anglo-Irish union. His fruitless opposition to the Act of Union helped greatly to reinforce his identification with legislative independence among later generations, though he served in the united Parliament from 1805 until his death in 1820. A sincere and influential presence in the Whig Party, he worked unsuccessfully to promote Catholic emancipation conditional on the Crown retaining the power to veto appointments to the Catholic hierarchy. The emergence of a demand for the repeal of the Act of Union following his death ensured that it was as the progenitor of “Grattan’s parliament” that he achieved a measure of popular immortality.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Flood, Henry; Government from 1690 to 1800; Military Forces from 1690 to 1800

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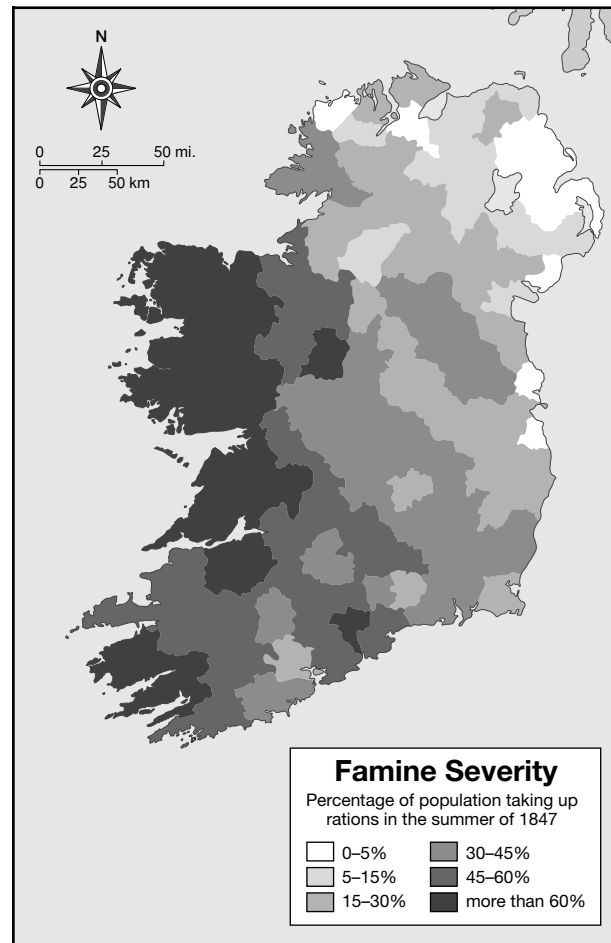
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James Kelly

Great Famine

The Great Famine of 1845 to 1850 was the most serious peacetime catastrophe to afflict any part of nineteenth-century Europe. The 1851 Irish census revealed that the population had fallen from the 8.2 million recorded in 1841 to 6.6 million; when estimates of natural growth in the early 1840s are taken into account, the “missing” amounted to some 2.4 million people, more than a quarter of the island’s population. Separating the number of emigrants from the dead is difficult, but research from the 1980s suggests that the total killed by famine and its associated diseases was around 1.1 million people.

The Great Famine was the consequence of a combination of structural and triggering causes. Although there was nothing inevitable about the onset of famine, by the mid-1840s Irish society was acutely vulnerable. The rural population had grown rapidly from the mid-eighteenth century as increasing British demand for imported foodstuffs had promoted a massive growth in Irish tillage production. From around 1815, however, this agricultural boom collapsed, leading to sharper landlord-tenant conflict, increasing evictions, and the ever-worsening impoverishment of the landless and land-poor peasant families who made up a substantial part of the rural population. The following decades also witnessed a sharp contraction of the cottage-based linen-spinning industry, which had spread rapidly in the west and center of Ireland. Many families now saw their earnings collapse and were thrown into greater dependence on the one subsistence crop that they could grow in sufficient quantities in their cottage gardens, or “conacre” land plots rented from larger farmers. While these adverse economic conditions led to a reduction in the rate of population growth and promoted a modest rise in emigration, the population of Ireland had by the early 1840s reached a density on cultivated land of around 700 individuals per square mile, among the highest in Europe. Over 1.5 million of the landless laboring poor had no other significant source of food than the potato; three million more from the cottier peasant class of families renting small plots of land were also very largely dependent on this subsistence food.



The fungal infestation of the potato blight reached Ireland from North America via the low countries and Britain in the fall of 1845. The disease was unknown and misunderstood, and no effective remedy was available to farmers until decades later. Accidental in its timing, the blight would produce an ecological catastrophe almost unparalleled in modern history. Up to a third of the Irish potato crop was lost in 1845. Mild and damp conditions favorable to the blight promoted its earlier appearance in 1846, when more than three-quarters of the crop was ravaged, leaving millions without their subsistence food or the seed vital to plant again in 1847. After a brief lapse the disease returned in 1848 and 1849, prolonging the famine crisis in many parts of Ireland. The blight faded in the early 1850s, but the potato never returned to the extraordinary levels of productivity witnessed before 1845. Further outbreaks in the early 1860s and in 1879 again threatened parts of Ireland with famine.

Much controversy surrounds the question of whether the failure of the potato crop alone was sufficient to produce famine in Ireland. Despite its economic



The poor-law system used to relieve destitution during the famine was woefully inadequate, and nowhere more so than in such western counties as Clare, where evictions raged. In this 1849 illustration the daughter of the poor-law official Captain Arthur Kennedy is distributing clothing to famished children in Kilrush. Kennedy himself publicly denounced evicting landlords; few other poor-law officials did so. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 22 DECEMBER 1849.

malaise, prefamine Ireland was continuing to export large quantities of grain and animal products to Great Britain, for the profit of landowners and larger farmers. Export of these higher-valued foodstuffs continued throughout the Great Famine period, to the outrage of many commentators who were convinced that Ireland was “starving in the midst of plenty.” However, the amounts of grain exported from Ireland in 1846 and 1847 amounted in food value only to around one-tenth of the loss occasioned by the potato blight. Even if exports had been prohibited, Ireland lacked sufficient food resources to stave off famine in this year. Furthermore, food imports to Ireland in 1846 to 1847, principally cheaper grains like maize and rice, were twice the volume of exports, and this proportion increased in the following years.

These aggregate figures mask an important truth. Food imports from the United States began to arrive in bulk only in the spring of 1847, after a “starvation gap” in the preceding winter when retention of the exported Irish grain would probably have kept many thousands alive. Moreover, even when imports did begin to arrive

in bulk, driving down the price of food in Ireland from by the summer of 1847 to half the levels of six months earlier, destitution had rendered thousands incapable of purchasing what was available on the market. In its later years (1848–1850) the Great Famine changed its character from a total food deficit crisis to a “crisis of entitlement,” in which mass unemployment, evictions, and physical vulnerability were more significant than aggregate food availability. As with all famines, human agency was central in determining the character and impact of the Great Famine.

The response of the British state to the Great Famine has been widely criticized. Sir Robert Peel’s Conservative government did react reasonably promptly, initiating public-works schemes and establishing local relief committees and a central Relief Commission in early 1846. Peel also ordered the secret purchase of 100,000 pounds worth of American maize in order to regulate Irish grain prices and to introduce a taste in Ireland for the foodstuff that he hoped would permanently replace the potato. However, like his successors, Peel also hoped that the free market would ultimately solve the Irish prob-

lem in the wake of his repeal of the corn laws (which imposed tariffs on imported grains) in 1846. Peel was replaced in June 1846 by Lord John Russell's Whig administration, which immediately gave greater control over famine policy to the ideologue Charles Trevelyan, the senior administrator at the British Treasury. Under pressure from the merchant lobby the new government withdrew from all interference in the food trade and Trevelyan reorganized the public works to eradicate what he perceived as widespread abuses of the system by the laboring poor and self-interested landowners. The consequence in the winter of 1846 to 1847 was spiraling food prices and an overstretched public-works system, which neither produced improvements to Ireland's infrastructure nor provided the destitute with sufficient earnings to feed themselves. Outbreaks of typhus and relapsing fever, promoted by the harsh conditions of this bad winter, killed many thousands of the malnourished on the public works or in their cabins. Belatedly acknowledging the scale of human suffering, the government decided to abandon public works for direct feeding of the destitute at local soup kitchens in the late spring of 1847. These soup kitchens provided only the bare minimum of subsistence, but more than three million rations were being issued daily at their peak and undoubtedly they kept many alive.

By the late summer of 1847 the government considered the famine to be over and replaced the soup kitchens with relief through the mechanism of the Irish poor law. This decision proved catastrophic, especially in the south and west. Many devastated localities were unable to raise the heavy local taxation required to support the masses of destitute, and landowners engaged on campaigns of wholesale eviction to reduce their tax burdens and clear land for livestock farming. The overcrowded workhouses rapidly became breeding centers for diseases that continued to ravage the uprooted poor. Despite appeals from philanthropists and relief officials for government aid, virtually no state assistance was granted in the latter years of the famine. This was not the result of a deliberate policy of genocide, as nationalists later claimed, but of a dogmatic belief that relieving the famine was the responsibility of landowners and that a measure of suffering was required to break Irish so-called dependency on welfarism and state aid.

From late 1846 emigration from Ireland took on a new and extraordinary character. Over one million fled Ireland during the Great Famine years, some with savings and hopes of a better life, but the majority as economic refugees. Most first took the short and cheap crossing to Britain, frequently bringing typhus with them into the slums of port cities, and often onto the converted cargo ships that carried thousands to Canada



Mass evictions were mostly confined to the western counties during the Great Famine, but there they created misery on an appalling scale. Clare was among the counties hit hardest by evictions, and in this 1849 illustration, Bridget O'Donnell and her children have just been thrown out on the roadside with barely enough clothing to cover them. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 22 DECEMBER 1849.

in 1847. This was by far the worst route, with up to one in five emigrants dying on these "coffin ships" or shortly after arrival. Direct passage to America became more common from 1848, and while conditions were better, they were still harsh and mortality was high. Irish Catholic immigrants frequently faced hostility and exploitation on arrival in Britain, Canada, and the United States; most tended to congregate in urban areas seeking laboring work wherever available.

The Great Famine was a national catastrophe, although mortality was most acute in the southern and western counties of Ireland. The indifference to mass suffering of most of the landlord class and the government (each of which blamed the other) unquestionably worsened the situation and resulted in large numbers of

unnecessary deaths. Unsurprisingly, it left a bitter memory within both Ireland and the extended Irish diaspora, which continues to this day.

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Peter Gray

Greatorex, Valentine

Valentine Greatorex (1629–1683), faith healer, was born into a Protestant family in the southern Irish province of Munster. He was educated locally, but first the death of his father and then the uprising of 1641 disrupted plans for his further education. He moved to England, where he came under the influence of German mysticism. The prospect of Protestants recovering what they had lost in 1641 to the Catholic insurgents in Munster persuaded him to return to Ireland. Distressed

by the cruelty and devastation of the Irish wars, he fell into deep depression, but his spirits seem to have revived with the fortunes of the local Protestants. For six years he soldiered in a local force, until about 1656, when he returned to civilian life.

The patronage of the Boyles, his landlords, and specifically of Roger Boyle, baron of Broghill, his former commander, earned Greatorex appointments as a justice of the peace, clerk of the peace in County Cork, and registrar for transplanting the Irish to Connacht. In these official capacities, he reputedly behaved with more moderation than other officials toward the Catholics. After Charles II's restoration he discovered and applied healing powers. At first, these were directed toward those in the neighborhood afflicted by scurvy, known as "the king's evil," but news of his powers quickly spread, and he was in demand to heal both notables and the humble. He attended a former comrade in the army, Robert Phaire, notorious for his religious and political radicalism, and also Broghill, now advanced to earl of Orrery and ruling Munster as lord president. Through Orrery he was introduced to other Anglo-Irish grandees and was invited to England in 1666. In London his doings were observed by theologians and scientists, including Robert Boyle, in an effort to decide the efficacy and significance of his cures. These activities, reported in pamphlets, added to his fame.

The ensuing controversy over his gifts exhumed Greatorex's past. Hostile parties suggested that he was psychologically disturbed, and that his behavior was in keeping with his unorthodox political and religious beliefs—the now discredited republican and sectarian views of the 1650s. His popularity threatened public order as patients flocked to his house, some having sailed from England. Even more ominous to ardent royalists was Greatorex's claim to the thaumaturgical role hitherto reserved for the monarch: that of therapeutically touching the afflicted. Others defended him as "a very sober, discreet, civil gentleman" (Beecher 1665, p. 5). Yet, at a time of political instability his activities were feared for their unsettling effects. His apparently magical powers were too reminiscent of the claims of the Catholic clergy, and questioned the rationalists' approach to miracles. His activities also coincided with a year of apocalyptic expectancy. In 1666 it was alleged that he had caused more conflict between laity and clergy "than anyone these 1000 years" (Duffy 1981, pp. 268–269). Aware of these controversies, he became more reticent about practicing his cures outside his immediate neighborhood, to which he retired in 1668. Thereafter nothing is known of his career.

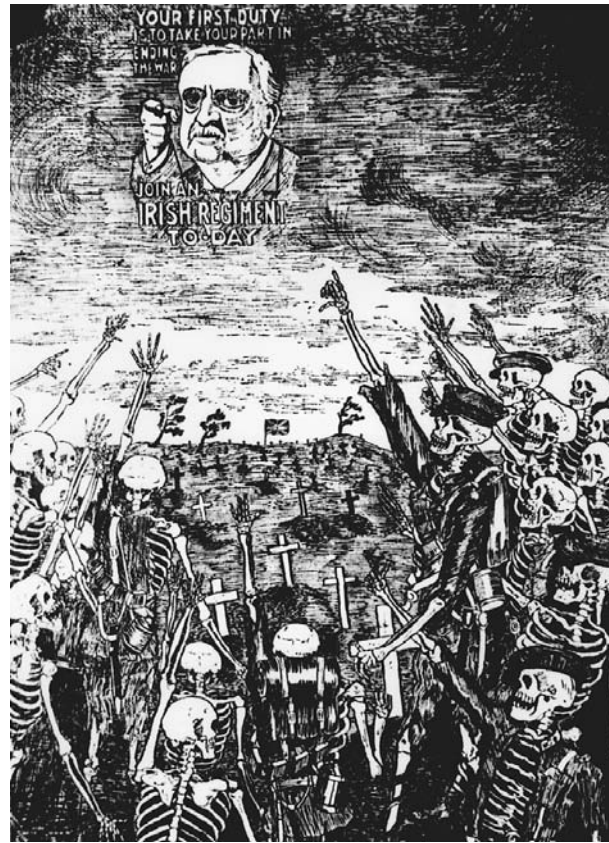
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Toby Barnard

Great War

War came to the United Kingdom on 3 August 1914. The leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, John Redmond, heard the cheers in the House of Commons that greeted the announcement of war, and responded by pledging the Irish Volunteers to defend Ireland. This, he hoped, would allow the British to remove their troops from the island. But from the start Redmond wanted more for his Irish Volunteers than an active part in home defense. On 11 September, when the British minister of war, Lord Kitchener, authorized the creation of an Irish division for his second New Army, Redmond saw his chance. He wanted to get War Office approval for turning the Sixteenth Division into an "Irish Brigade," a nostalgic misnomer that confused British officialdom. This was to be an Irish Catholic fighting unit officered by veterans of Redmond's Volunteers—in effect, it was to be led by supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party. On 20 September at Woodenbridge, Co. Wexford, Redmond committed the Volunteers to service abroad. In the ranks of the Volunteers reaction was swift. On 24 September 1914 advanced nationalists, who wished for more independence than Home Rule offered, met in Dublin under the leadership of Eoin MacNeill and broke with Redmond, splitting the Volunteers. The vast majority of the 180,000 Irish Volunteers stayed with John Redmond and reorganized under the name the "National Volunteers." For MacNeill and his ilk, the idea of fighting offensively for the British oppressor was too much to bear. The 6,000 or so Irish Volunteers who left with MacNeill, however, were men of considerable influence within the movement. In Dublin alone 2,000 joined MacNeill, including virtually all of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising.



By November 1916 some 150,000 Irishmen had donned a British uniform. But military casualties were catastrophic, and the British attempt to extend conscription to Ireland in 1918 set off a furious campaign of opposition joined by both the moderate Home Rule and the more militant Sinn Féin parties. But this poster pillories Home Rule leader John Redmond, whose words, "Join an Irish regiment today," prompt the war dead to rise in condemnation. COPYRIGHT © NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

RECRUITING

The creation of the Sixteenth (Irish) Division completed the triumvirate of volunteer divisions that recruited in Ireland during the First World War. The other two divisions were the Tenth and the Thirty-sixth. The Tenth was part of Kitchener's first New Army created in August 1914, and it consisted of reorganized regular army divisions. The Thirty-sixth (Ulster) Division was created for the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in September 1914 and was manned almost exclusively by members of the UVF until July 1916.

Recruiting in Ireland matched patterns seen in the rest of the United Kingdom. An initial rush sent more than 44,000 Irishmen into the armed forces by December 1914. After this first period, recruiting declined dramatically. Exceptions to this decline were in April and May 1915, when recruiting rose, probably in response

to the allied landings at Gallipoli; and then in October 1915, when the viceroy, Lord Wimborne, led a campaign to send “personal” recruiting letters to all eligible Irishmen. After April 1916 recruiting was virtually moribund in Ireland, although historians disagree on whether or not the Easter Rising was directly responsible for this phenomenon; indeed, recruiting rose in the month following the Rising.

Recruiters enjoyed the advantages of large publicity budgets and produced massive runs of colorful posters that exhorted people to take up arms for the allied cause. The major propaganda arguments for joining the British army focused (for southern Catholics) on defending the Catholic nation of Belgium and on Britain’s pledge of Home Rule following the war. In the North the argument was a simpler one that revolved around the idea of loyalty to the British empire and the Crown. No single argument seems to have made much difference to people enlisting—men joined the army for nebulous reasons of patriotism, loyalty to friends (units were often organized around local sports teams or neighborhood associations), or in order to have an adventure. The traditional recruiting hotbeds of urban poverty continued to provide a disproportionate number of recruits throughout the war. Statistically, unskilled laborers were the most likely men to volunteer, and skilled clerks and farmers’ sons were the least likely. There was no great variance in recruiting patterns around Ireland, though, predictably, the more urban provinces, such as Ulster, sent more men than the rural ones, such as Connacht.

ON THE FRONT LINES

The Irish divisions to which Irish recruits went—the Tenth, Sixteenth, and Thirty-sixth—all kept their distinctively “Irish” character until they were decimated in action. The Tenth was the first to be destroyed, at Gallipoli in the summer of 1915. The Thirty-sixth was the next to go: embarking for France with a more coherent unit identity than most other divisions, it faced its destiny at the Somme on 1 July 1916. Elements of the Thirty-sixth Division were among the only British army troops to reach their original objectives on that morning; however, unsupported by their fellow soldiers, regiments of the Thirty-sixth lost close to 80 percent of their strength. That the Somme battle coincided with the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 was not lost on Protestant propagandists in Ulster. For the first time, the Orange marches in July 1916 memorialized the men of the Thirty-sixth Division, and even today, Orange Lodges carry banners with pictures of the Somme on them during their July marches.

The Sixteenth Irish Division, set up as the nationalist and Catholic counterpart to the Thirty-sixth, embarked for France in the February of 1916. During the war Tom Kettle, ex-Home Rule MP and professor of economics at University College Dublin, and Willie Redmond (younger brother of John) both served as officers in the Sixteenth, and both lost their lives wearing the khaki of the British army. Kettle, who had volunteered for active service after the Easter Rising, died on the Somme in September 1916. The Sixteenth Division retained its “Irish” character the longest; despite suffering intensive casualties both at the Somme and in the Third Battle of Ypres, it remained a predominantly Irish division until it was destroyed during the German offensive of March and April 1918.

AT HOME

Although the 1916 Easter Rising marked a turning point in Irish domestic politics, the enduring focus of wartime worry between 1914 and 1918 was the possibility of conscription. Conscription had been applied in the rest of the United Kingdom in January 1916, and the vast majority of the Irish, opposed to its imposition in Ireland, were fearful that they too would soon be forced to join up. And indeed, after the German army successfully drove within 30 miles of Paris in March 1918, the British government decided to bring the military draft to Ireland. This was resisted by nearly all of the Irish nationalist organizations. Because Sinn Féin had maintained a consistent antiwar stance since August 1914, its leaders, especially Eamon de Valera and Arthur Griffith, gained significant national support when conscription was successfully resisted; in contrast, the Irish Parliamentary Party, a newcomer to the cause, was shown to be a band of hypocrites.

While urban civilians formed a large percentage of the recruits for the army, the war also brought increased prosperity to those city dwellers who stayed behind. The urban poor found work in munitions factories, frequently abroad, and as in the rest of the world, many women worked in factories for the first time during the war. In the countryside farmers benefited from higher prices owing to wartime shortages. Sinn Féin combatted the appeal of these economic advantages of war by pointing out the moral dangers of young people leaving Ireland for Britain’s factories, and by raising the specter of famine as food controls hit people’s larders in 1917 and 1918.

CONCLUSION

The Great War marked a watershed in Irish life. In 1914 the Irish Parliamentary Party dominated the political

landscape. In December 1918, one month after the war ended, Sinn Féin took power in the south in a democratic general election. One of the keys to Sinn Féin's electoral success was its propagandists' harnessing of antiwar sentiment in Ireland. Even as many Irish supported the war, there was growing frustration as Irish casualty rates grew, and a cleverly managed publicity campaign by Sinn Féin tarred the Irish Parliamentary Party as a group of murderers who were happy to see Irish men killed for a British cause. Although Sinn Féin's victory can be seen as a revolution, in fact, the election of a nationalist antiwar party following the devastation of the First World War was more of a natural evolution in Irish public opinion.

SEE ALSO Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Griffith, Arthur; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Redmond, John; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921

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Ben Novick

Griffith, Arthur

Founder of the Sinn Féin Party, signatory of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, and president of Dáil Éireann, Arthur Griffith (1871–1922) was born on 31 March in Dublin. Educated by the Christian Brothers and trained as a compositor, he pursued a career in journalism. With

William Rooney, he founded the *United Irishman* in 1899 and pressed for a compromise between revolutionary republicanism and the constitutionalism of the Irish Parliamentary Party. His series of essays, collected and published in 1904 as *The Resurrection of Hungary*, outlined the abstentionist policy of Sinn Féin (“Ourselves”); however, the party set up in 1906 to pursue Griffith's ideas foundered for a decade until the government and the public misidentified the rebels of the Easter Rising as “Sinn Féiners.”

Griffith then became increasingly involved in the struggle for independence, though he stood aside while Eamon de Valera assumed the leadership of the reformed party in 1917. In the first Dáil Éireann, Griffith served as minister for home affairs and, for eighteen months, as acting president, only reluctantly acquiescing in the campaign against the police undertaken by the Irish Volunteers.

Arrested in November 1920 and interned for seven months in Mountjoy jail, Griffith advised his colleagues from a distance, but his signal contribution came after his release. In the autumn of 1921, along with Michael Collins, he played a central role in the negotiations that led to the Anglo-Irish Treaty signed on 6 December. Although the treaty granted the twenty-six-county Free State control of its armed forces and police and fiscal autonomy, Griffith received criticism for also recognizing a separate Northern Ireland state and accepting the status of a Crown dominion. (Griffith believed that a boundary commission would rework the border and make the northern state untenable.) In December 1921 and January 1922, he, Collins, and their supporters argued that the treaty provided an opportunity for the Irish people to create their own future along “native” lines, putting the Sinn Féin ideal into practice. They carried the vote in the Dáil, prompting de Valera and the antitreaty deputies to withdraw. The remaining deputies elected Griffith president of the Dáil, and in that capacity he helped Collins to establish the provisional government of the Free State in 1922. Exhaustion overtook him as the Free State descended into civil war, and Griffith died of a cerebral hemorrhage on 12 August 1922.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Boundary Commission; Collins, Michael; de Valera, Eamon; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Great War; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; **Primary Documents:** Resolutions Passed at the Public Meeting which Followed the First Annual Convention of the National Council of Sinn Féin (28 November

1905); Address at the First Annual Convention of the National Council of Sinn Féin (28 November 1905); Resolutions Adopted at the Public Meeting Following the First Annual Convention of the National Council of Sinn Féin (28 November 1905); The Anglo-Irish Treaty (6 December 1921); Speech in Favor of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921 (7 January 1922)

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Timothy G. McMahon



Guinness Brewing Company

In 1759 Arthur Guinness established a brewery at Saint James's Gate in Dublin and Ireland's greatest business success story began. In 1778 Guinness began to specialize in porter and its stronger cousin, stout; by 1833 it was the largest brewery in Ireland and had begun to establish a crucial presence in the British market; by the 1880s it was the leading brewery in the United Kingdom; and by 1914 it was the largest in the world.

Technical excellence, concentration on manufacturing and product quality, and superb management skills combined to keep Guinness in a pre-eminent posi-

tion. In the 1930s it began advertising for the first time in response to a declining market in Britain. The timeless slogan "Guinness is good for you" was developed, promoting the health properties of stout. Witty and attractive cartoon posters established a brand awareness that was strengthened in subsequent decades by other innovative campaigns that made Guinness a globally recognized product. Because of its continuing dominance of the Irish market, the company did not advertise locally until the late 1950s, when a diversifying market and competition from British breweries in the newly opened Irish economy forced its hand. Beginning in the 1960s, Guinness was one of Ireland's leading advertisers, utilizing RTÉ, the new Irish television channel, the print media, and outdoor posters to great effect.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s the company expanded its product portfolio in response to changing consumer tastes, through the takeover of smaller breweries and trade agreements with other international brewers. Its innovative marketing strategy was epitomized by the success of the *Guinness Book of World Records*. In 1986 the chairmanship of the company passed from family hands for the first time, and in 1997 Guinness merged with GrandMet to form Diageo, a huge global corporation.

SEE ALSO Brewing and Distilling; Industry since 1920

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Donal Ó Drisceoil



Hagiography

The composition of hagiography (saints' lives) in Ireland begins with three major works that date from the mid- to the late seventh century, when the three major monastic foundations of Kildare, Armagh, and Iona had firmly established themselves and were expanding their territories and influence. The first is the *Vita Sanctae Brigidae* (Life of Saint Brigit of Kildare) by a monk whose name is given as Cogitosus. Cogitosus's life of Brigit dates from about 650 C.E. and has long been considered the earliest hagiographical work in Hiberno-Latin. Another life of Brigit, the anonymous *Vita Prima Sanctae Brigidae* (First life of Saint Brigit, so called because it is the first of Brigit's biographies recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*—the major collection of saints' lives first compiled by the Société des Bollandistes in Belgium in the seventeenth century), also has a claim for early composition, and there is a continuing debate over which of these two is the earlier. The relationship between these two lives has yet to be resolved, and while both seem to draw upon similar sources, their composition is different. Cogitosus's biography offers only a very brief summary of Brigit's birth, parentage, and early career in a conventional hagiographical manner and concentrates instead on a series of miracle stories (including the well-known story of how the saint hung her wet cloak on a sunbeam), leading to a lengthy description of Brigit's church and monastery. Cogitosus's aim seems to be the promotion of the monastic community as much as that of its founder and patron; the miracle stories underline Brigit's sanctity and divine power while the great size, wealth, and political and religious importance of her community are emphasized. The *Vita Prima*, on the other hand, offers a more lengthy series

of miracle stories and anecdotes, including the famous birth tale in which Brigit is the daughter of a nobleman and a slavewoman, whom he sells at his wife's insistence. The woman is bought first by a poet, then by a druid; the child is born on the threshold of the dairy at dawn and washed in new milk. Both versions mix biblical references and scripturally based miracles with folkloric material.

The work of Cogitosus was followed shortly by that of Muirchú, a monk of Armagh, who composed a life of Saint Patrick around 680 C.E. In his preface he refers to the hagiographical work of his "father" Cogitosus (no doubt meaning his spiritual father) and aims in his composition to do as Cogitosus did for his patron and founder. Muirchú's work contains more biographical material than does Cogitosus's and details Patrick's early life and mission to Ireland; however, much of it is based on legend rather than history, although he clearly used some historical sources, including Patrick's own *Confessio* (Confession). Nevertheless, Muirchú's life of Patrick became the basis for subsequent lives of Patrick. A contemporary document by a bishop, Tírechán, provides further hagiographical material but is a collection of memoranda concerning Patrick and a list of his foundations rather than any kind of biography.

The third great hagiographical work of the seventh century is the life of Columba (Colum Cille) by Adomnán, ninth abbot of Iona, written between 685 and 689 C.E. Adomnán's life of Columba represents Irish hagiographical writing at its finest; his work shows not only biblical influence but the influence of major continental writers, such as Sulpicius Severus and Gregory the Great, in both his hagiographical form and Latin style. While Adomnán incorporated both written sources and the oral tradition of Saint Columba in his life, much of the work also documents the history and constitution of the Irish church in its early days. The life is divided

into three parts: The first part tells of Columba's life and career, the second of his miracles and prophecies, and the third of angelic visions. Despite the legendary and folkloric material, Columba emerges in this life less as a magical figure and more as an historical personage. Like Muirchú's life of Saint Patrick, Adomnán's life of Columba became the basis for subsequent biographies of the saint in both Latin and Irish, culminating in the massive *Betha Colaim Chille* (Life of Colum Cille) compiled under the direction of the Donegal chieftain Manus O'Donnell in 1532. The works of Cogitosus, Muirchú, and Adomnán also reflect their respective communities' concerns with promoting the cults of their founders and establishing their territorial rights, thereby increasing their influence and income. Armagh and Kildare, both episcopal sees, rivaled one other for preeminence in the Irish church; Armagh and its founder saint, Patrick, eventually gained ascendancy.

The Irish church witnessed an expansion of monastic communities in the seventh and eighth centuries that led to an increase in hagiographical composition. This was aided in part by a renewal of asceticism and a spiritual reform led by a new order who called themselves *céili Dé* (culdees) or "companions of God," centered at the monastery of Tallaght. The lives of saints from this period emphasize the saints' ascetic practices and virtues of self-denial, individual prayer, and meditation; the life of the anchorite, alone in his cell with only God's creation for company, is valorized, as is the saint's spiritual guidance. Irish hagiographers often ascribed to their subjects a strong empathy with the natural world and its creatures; the saints of the sixth and seventh centuries had shown this affinity with nature and wild animals, and this characteristic continued in the hagiography of the reform period, finding also new expression in the religious poetry of the time. Devotion to the saints was also an important ideal in this movement, and two major martyrologies, the *Martyrology of Tallaght* and the *Martyrology of Oengus*, are associated with the *céili Dé*.

During the eighth and ninth centuries more hagiographical texts began to appear in the vernacular, including the Old Irish life of Brigit (*Bethu Brigte*), which dates from the late eighth to early ninth centuries, and the Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick (*Vita Tripartita*) of the late ninth century, which represents the last major Patrician text of the Irish church. The Tripartite Life marks another change in the characteristics of Irish hagiography—it exhibits a strong concern with the rights and property of Patrick's church rather than with spiritual teaching. The lives of the saints from this period onward follow suit in showing such interest in their saints' churches, and the miracle stories become more fantastic

and flamboyant to demonstrate the power of the saint, who appears much the same as a saga hero.

The majority of the lives written in the vernacular are in Middle Irish; many are direct translations from Latin originals and date from around and after the twelfth century. But dating is notoriously difficult, since the manuscript versions of the lives of the saints, in both Latin and Irish, cannot be dated with confidence before the late twelfth century. This is partly owing to the incursions of the Vikings in the late eighth to the tenth centuries, but also to the ravages of later eras. From the sixth century Irish monks had traveled to Europe as pilgrims and missionaries, and a few, such as Saint Columbanus in the late sixth to early seventh centuries, founded several monasteries in France, Germany, and Switzerland. Many Irish monks fled to these continental Irish monasteries in the wake of the Vikings, taking their manuscripts with them. Irish hagiographical writing continued, however, both in Ireland and in Europe—the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (Voyage of Saint Brendan), one of the most widely read works of the Middle Ages, was composed on the continent around the tenth century, probably by an Irish monk in exile, and was later translated into several vernacular languages.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Irish church moved closer to conformity with the continental church and participated in the reform movement that was associated with the Benedictine abbey at Cluny. This paved the way for new orders, such as the Cistercians, to enter Ireland. One of the main leaders of this movement in Ireland was Máel-Máedóc Ua Morgair, or Saint Malachy; an account of his life was composed after his death in 1148 by his friend, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. Although the great heyday of Irish saints and Irish hagiography had passed, the lives of the saints remained an important part of Irish history and identity. As the Normans became increasingly absorbed into Irish society and culture, Irish literature and learning rebounded. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the major collections of saints' lives—the *Codex Insulensis*, the *Codex Salmanticensis*, and the *Codex Kilkenniensis*—were compiled. The *Book of Lismore*, a private collection made for Finghín MacCarthaigh *Riabhach* (MacCarthy Reagh) and his wife Catherine, containing lives in Irish, was compiled in the late fifteenth century.

The English conquest in the sixteenth century, however, halted further hagiographical production. The traditional historians of Ireland tried to continue the task of preserving and copying existing manuscripts, while Irishmen hoping to join the priesthood had to journey to Europe for their training. In the early seven-

teenth century the Irish ecclesiastics on the continent, alarmed that their national history was threatened with extinction, began to collect and publish Irish manuscripts; the main proponents were Henry FitzSimon (c. 1566–c. 1645), Luke Wadding (1588–1657), Peter Lombard (c. 1555–1625), and Stephen White (1574–1646). At the College of Saint Anthony in Louvain, a group under the leadership of Hugh Ward (1590–1635), encouraged by Luke Wadding and assisted by Stephen White, undertook a major plan for a *Thesaurus Antiquitatem Hibernicarum* (Thesaurus of Irish antiquities). The first object was to collect at Louvain as many Irish historical sources as possible, including hagiographical sources, both from Europe and from Ireland. This task was discharged by John Colgan (1592–1658), Patrick Fleming (1599–1631), and Michael O'Clery (d. 1645). The mission of collecting and copying in Ireland all the manuscripts in Irish pertaining to religious history fell to O'Clery, who between 1626 and 1642 assembled and transcribed a prodigious number of manuscripts, many of which contained hagiographical material. The third volume of the whole design, published at Louvain in 1645, contains the lives of Irish saints whose festivals fall within January, February, and March; the second volume, published in 1647, contains documents pertaining to Saints Patrick, Brigit, and Columba. Both were edited by Colgan. Another collection of lives in Irish was copied by Domnall Ó Dineen in 1627, possibly for the Irish scholars at Louvain, though it remained in Ireland.

From the collections of Irish material made by these scholars and from the great Latin collections, most of the modern editions of Irish hagiography were made. The O'Clery collections now reside in the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels. Several manuscripts that remained in Ireland found their way into the collections of antiquarians, such as Sir James Ware (1594–1666) and Sir Robert Cotton (1570–1631), and from thence went eventually to the British Library and the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford (including the great codices under the Rawlinson collection). Other manuscript sources reside in the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin and the Royal Irish Academy. The study of Irish hagiography has gained added impetus not only from modern editions but from advances in the study of the language and history of early Ireland; a large body of scholarship has appeared in recent years, making these texts accessible to the modern reader and returning them to their rightful place in Irish literary and religious history.

SEE ALSO Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Hiberno-Latin Culture; Monasticism in the Early

Middle Ages; Religion: The Coming of Christianity; Saint Patrick, Problem of; **Primary Documents:** From Muirchú's *Life of St. Patrick* (c. 680)

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Dorothy Ann Bray

Health and Welfare since 1950, State Provisions for

Ireland evolved from an economically backward, insular, and largely agricultural country to one of the richest nations in the world by the close of the twentieth century. Over the final quarter of the century the welfare state, which began to develop after the World War II, slowly matured from a residual system catering largely for the poor and the working class to a comprehensive one. Elsewhere in Europe, politically strong labor movements gave momentum to the development of welfare states during postwar reconstruction.



Noël Browne, minister for health from 1948 to 1951, waged a crusade against the widespread scourge of tuberculosis. He and members of his department presided over the construction of numerous specialist sanatoria that, together with the arrival of BCG vaccine, aided greatly in the eradication of the disease during the 1950s. As this photograph indicates, "fresh air" was prized in these sanatoria. © FR. BROWNE S.B. COLLECTION/IRISH PICTURE LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

However, the Ireland of 1950 was still predominantly a rural society, with the urban working class making up less than a quarter of the workforce. The Catholic Church's social teaching, which favored a minimal welfare state, was heavily influential in the formation of policy. Initial government plans in the late 1940s proposed comprehensive social insurance and an outline national health service, both closely modeled on the recommendations of the United Kingdom's Beveridge Report (1942). However, far more timid proposals were actually implemented, in contrast to the Beveridge-style welfare state developed in Northern Ireland.

The setting up of new Departments of Health and of Social Welfare in 1947 marked a shift from local to central government as the driving force in social provision. (*Social welfare* is the term customarily used to de-

scribe both social security [social-insurance] and parallel means-tested welfare payments.) The Department of Health's ambitious hospital-building program of the 1940s and 1950s put in place a modern hospital infrastructure. The new social-insurance system (1953) rationalized previously fragmented social-security provisions into a single national scheme, but the middle class, the public service, and farmers remained outside its scope. Social-insurance pensions were not introduced until 1961. The social-insurance system closely followed the U.K. model, with flat-rate payments rather than the earnings-related benefits of continental Europe.

The Catholic Church backed the medical profession in strongly opposing a proposal for free medical care for mothers and children, in a clash that led to the fall of the government in 1951. This victory by church and medi-

cal interests helped to fix a model of mixed public and private medical care that continues in the early twenty-first century. However, in spite of initial church misgivings that such a scheme would “lower the sense of personal responsibility and seriously weaken the moral fiber of the people” (Barrington, 1987: 235), free hospital care for the low- and middle-income groups was introduced from 1956. Public-sector medical consultants retained a right to private practice. The state-run Voluntary Health Insurance Board set up in 1957 helped to underpin private hospital care. In 1991 the entire population was made eligible for free hospital care as public patients. Encouraged by speedier access to treatment for private patients, however, almost half the population were insured for private hospital care in 2000. A segregated system of free family-doctor care for the poor through dispensary doctors was abolished in 1972. Public patients now have a choice of family doctor and are treated in general practice alongside private patients.

As the more prosperous Ireland of the 1960s modernized, urbanized, and opened up to the outside world, the philosophy of a minimalist welfare state was replaced by a new emphasis on developing and expanding social services. Catholic Church influence began to wane, ironically as the post-Vatican II church now favored an active approach of expanding welfare provision and tackling poverty.

The 1970s was a decade of expansion for social welfare. Among the new payments introduced were retirement pensions at sixty-five, invalidity pensions, and death grants. The old-age-pension age was reduced from seventy to sixty-six. A uniform safety net called supplementary welfare replaced discretionary assistance dating back to the poor law. Social-insurance cover was extended to the middle class. The changing family was reflected in new schemes of unmarried mother’s allowance, deserted wife’s benefit, and deserted wife’s allowance, modeled on payments to widows. In the 1990s these became the gender-neutral “one-parent family payment.”

Since joining the European Union (EU) in 1973, Ireland has become more exposed to social-policy influences from outside the U.K. European Union laws, in particular those prescribing equal treatment for men and women, and EU-funded social programs have been important in shaping policy. Up to the 1980s Irish women’s workforce participation was very low. Indeed, before 1973, women public servants lost their jobs on marriage. Ireland’s social-welfare system, as in the United Kingdom, was designed around a male breadwinner. Payments to men included additions for a dependent wife and children. Up to 1986 married women’s benefits were severely curtailed until the Euro-

pean Directive (79/7/EEC) on Equal Treatment for Men and Women in Social Security ended formal discrimination against women in the welfare code.

As women’s workforce participation increased dramatically during the economic boom of the 1990s, a vigorous debate raged about state assistance toward childcare costs. Although tax relief for childcare costs was the favored option of the trade unions, the government was wary of ignoring low-income parents and of alienating full-time parents. So the chosen form of childcare subsidy, implemented from 2001, was to grant substantial increases in the social-welfare child benefits paid to all families.

Across the Western world the recession of the 1980s and changes in the dominant ideology led to moves to contain costs and to curb the welfare state. In Ireland the recession of the 1980s was particularly deep and was exacerbated by a crisis in the public finances. Health spending was restricted, and the number of hospital beds was reduced. The policy shift toward community-based care and away from large institutions brought even sharper reductions in the number of psychiatric beds.

In spite of cutbacks elsewhere, during the 1980s social-welfare benefits improved in real terms alongside a steep growth in spending as unemployment soared. The Commission on Social Welfare (1986), which conducted the first systematic review since the late 1940s, argued for benefit levels that would be adequate relative to incomes elsewhere in society. It also recommended simplified and rationalized payments to the different categories of recipients, along with comprehensive social insurance. Subsequently, social-insurance cover was extended to the self-employed, to part-time workers, and to newly recruited public servants.

The lowest rates of welfare payments were increased significantly, bringing them closer to incomes from work. To encourage movement from welfare to work, rather than cutting or limiting existing benefits, complex new benefits for the reemployed were introduced. Continued improvement in welfare provision in Ireland took place at the same time as the welfare restrictions of the Thatcher years in the United Kingdom. This brought Irish social welfare payments ahead of those in Northern Ireland for the first time.

Traditionally, services for people with disabilities depended heavily on state-aided voluntary-sector initiatives. From the 1980s however, EU training funds helped to expand day places for people with disabilities, such as in sheltered workshops. The 1990s saw the first systematic assessment of needs in relation to people with mental handicaps, along with significant funding to expand services.

The difficult economic conditions of the 1980s gave birth to a new form of social partnership. From 1987 on, a series of detailed economic and social programs were negotiated between government and the social partners, initially embracing employers, trade unions, and farmers. From 1996 on, social partnership expanded to include organizations of the unemployed and other community interests. A trade-off between modest pay rises and tax cuts has been at the heart of these national agreements. This has tilted the balance more toward tax reductions than improved public services. Social-service spending has grown but has not matched the exceptional rise in GNP experienced in the 1990s. But specific improvements in services (for example, free hospital care for all) were negotiated as part of these agreements. Influential working groups on specific topics set up under the social partnership have helped to shape the details of social policy.

From small and slow beginnings after 1945, Ireland had developed a modern welfare state by the close of the twentieth century. Flat-rate social-insurance benefits and a substantial private health-care sector have yielded an Irish welfare model closer to U.S. and U.K. systems than to those of northern Europe.

SEE ALSO Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; European Union; Farming Families; Mother and Child Crisis; Social Change since 1922; **Primary Documents:** Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951)

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Eithne Fitzgerald

Heaney, Seamus

Born on 13 April 1939, Irish poet, playwright, critic, and translator Seamus Justin Heaney (1939–), received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1995 for the lyrical beauty and integrity of his work. The eldest of nine children, Seamus Heaney was born thirty-five miles northwest of Belfast on the small farm of "Mossbawn" near Castledawson, Co. Derry, Northern Ireland, where his father raised cattle. A gifted student, in 1957 Heaney entered Queens University, Belfast, where he was influenced by the poetry of Ted Hughes and Gerard Manley Hopkins and by Anglo-Saxon literature. Heaney married Marie Devlin in 1965 and published his first volume of poems, *The Death of a Naturalist*, in 1966. Childhood memories, disappointments, fears, and losses that are buried in the land and language and must be "dug up" by the poet are central to *Death of a Naturalist* as well as to his subsequent books, *Door into the Dark* (1969) and *Wintering Out* (1972). During the late 1960s, while teaching at Queens University, Heaney—a constitutional nationalist—became involved in the civil-rights movement for Catholic equality in Northern Ireland. He later moved his family from Belfast to Glanmore Cottage in County Wicklow in 1972. While in Wicklow, Heaney worked as a freelance journalist and published his most highly regarded book, *North*, in 1975. *North* was Heaney's most profound historical and mythological exploration of the violence in Northern Ireland. The Heaneys relocated in 1976 to Dublin, where they still reside. During the 1980s Heaney began teaching at Harvard University and helped to launch the Derry-based multicultural art alliance Field Day Theatre Company. Ancient Irish poetry as well as writers as diverse as Wordsworth and Dante and James Joyce and Patrick Kavanagh informed Heaney's *Field Work* (1979), *Sweeney Astray* (1983), and *Station Island* (1984). *The Haw Lantern* (1989) revealed the influence of contemporary eastern European writers and the increasing internationalization of Heaney's work. The pastoral gave way to the political and the transcendent, and the earthy language of his early work became more abstract and translucent in *Seeing Things* (1991), *The Spirit Level* (1996), and *Electric Light* (2001). These global shifts are recorded in Heaney's prose collections *Preoccupations* (1980), *The Government of the Tongue* (1988), and *The Redress of Poetry* (1995). However, it was the Derry dialect of his youth that inspired Heaney's highly acclaimed translation of *Beowulf* (1999) and reconfirmed his position in the pantheon of Irish poets.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Poetry, Modern; **Primary Documents**: “Punishment” (1975)

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Rand Brandes



Hiberno-English

Hiberno-English, or Irish-English as it is sometimes called, is a variety of English strongly influenced by the Gaelic that was spoken by most of the Irish population until well into the nineteenth century. Other formative influences were the Englishes of the Planters who came to Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from the southwest of England, and from Scotland in the case of the north of Ireland.

Formal study of the dialect has had a relatively late start. In the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, Hiberno-English was associated with what is called the “stage Irishman” in the theatre and periodical cartoons of the times, which depicted the Irish as subhuman figures of fun. The Irish accent, called a “brogue” even in the time of Jonathan Swift, was something which educational systems tried to eradicate in the children of the Irish, whether in Ireland or abroad. In the early years of Irish independence the new state tried to focus on the restoration of Gaelic, and paid little attention to Irish use of English. With the advent of postmodernism and postcolonialism, attitudes to Hiberno-English and other World Englishes have changed radically across the globe. From the late decades of the twentieth century especially, scholars through books, surveys, and dictionaries have recognised its distinctiveness, and tried to describe Hiberno-English.

Hiberno-English has a distinctive phonology; for example, a dental pronunciation of *t* and *d*, which leads to pronunciation sometimes transcribed as ‘trouble’ (trouble), vocabulary (e.g., words derived from the Gaelic such as *boreen* [little road]), grammar and syntax,

(e.g., “I’m after washing the dishes” to indicate the recent past), and is particularly noted for its witty and expressive use of images and tropes (“He’d mind mice at a crossroads” [O’Farrell 1980, p. 28]). It is not surprising that writers, especially dramatists, were the first to recognize the potential of Hiberno-English, beginning with Shakespeare’s colorful portrayal of McMorris (*Henry the Fifth*). Nobel prize winners W. B. Yeats, Samuel Beckett, and Seamus Heaney, and other famous writers such as James Joyce, J. M. Synge, Sean O’Casey, and Brian Friel, have used it to great effect in their works. New Irish poets and fiction writers as well as playwrights, continue to use this vibrant dialect today.

In spite of Ireland’s new confidence, Hiberno-English is declining. The Gaelic past is further removed in time; education and Ireland’s new cosmopolitanism have also been responsible. What remains, especially in informal situations, is the pronunciation, recurrent words, and grammatical expressions, and continuing invention of new idioms and images.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Language and Literacy: Decline of Irish Language; Language and Literacy: Irish Language since 1922; Middle English Literature

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Patricia A. Lynch



Hiberno-Latin Culture

The coming of Christianity to Ireland in the fifth century brought about many changes in Irish society, one of the most profound being the introduction of the Latin language. Ireland had never been a part of the Roman Empire and therefore had never acquired the apparatus of Roman government, which included Latin as the everyday lingua franca not only of administrators but also of the population at large. The Rome that Irishmen revered was, in the words of the great Irish missionary Saint Columbanus, not the Rome of the Caesars but the Rome of the Saints Peter and Paul. Within a century of receiving formal Christianity, however, Irish scholars had acquired a remarkable mastery of Latin, but it was the Latin of the Bible and the church fathers rather than of Virgil. The image of Ireland as a haven of classical Latin literature (and even of Greek) in the decades following the fall of the Roman Empire has been greatly exaggerated, but the reality, while more modest, is no less impressive in its own way. Whether the initial impetus owed anything to the activities of the first continental missionaries, led by Bishop Palladius, is impossible to say; that Gallican mission has left no traces, either in surviving manuscripts or in any texts associated with Palladius and his followers. The only fifth-century writings to survive, Patrick's *Confessio* and letter, left no mark on later Irish writings in Latin, except insofar as Patrick's works display a mastery of what has been called biblical style by its discoverer, David Howlett, and that biblical style was to become a distinguishing feature of later Hiberno-Latin prose compositions. It is reasonable to suppose that there was continuity of Latin literacy from the fifth century on, but the hymn in praise of Patrick traditionally attributed to his disciple Secundinus (*Audite omnes amantes*) is now believed to be late sixth-century in date, and the work of Colmán Alo (of Lynally, Co. Meath, d. 610) rather than the fifth-century Secundinus. It already attests to a respectable grasp of Latin language and metrics. A possible rival in terms of dating is the remarkable poem *Altus prosator* (Ancient creator), a sort of "Paradise Lost" ascribed to Columba (Colum Cille), founder of the monastery of Iona (d. 597). However, that work is believed by modern scholars to be of seventh-century date.

It is only with the figure of Columbanus, originally of Bangor, Co. Down, later founder of monasteries in Gaul and Italy (d. 615), that the first real evidence emerges of substantial writings in Latin by Irishmen. Six of his letters survive, along with a number of poems, sermons, and two monastic rules. He mentions two mentors by name, the British writers Finnian (Uen-

nianus) and Gildas; the latter's *De excidio Britanniae* has left definite traces on Columbanus's prose style. The evidence of surviving manuscripts makes clear the debt to British teachers in the formative stages of the Irish Church, but Columbanus's complete mastery of Latin, in a variety of different prose styles, as well as his command of both quantitative and stressed meters, demonstrates for the first time the full range of native Hiberno-Latin skills. This range finds expression in prose and verse compositions throughout the seventh century: saints' lives and instructional literature, biblical commentaries and Latin grammars, canon law and handbooks of penance, besides a rich variety of poems devoted to biblical learning and computistics (the mathematics required to calculate the date of Easter), devotional hymns, and hagiography. One of the earliest of these compositions in date, Cummian's letter on the Paschal question (632/633), is remarkable for its rich patristic sources (i.e., the writings of the church fathers—some of them unique) and for the collection of ten different Easter tables (the mathematical tables used to calculate the date of Easter) on which its author was able to draw. Sometime in the mid-seventh century the arrival in Ireland of Isidore of Seville's writings spurred a massive production of Hiberno-Latin writing on every imaginable subject, and across the full spectrum of the monastic curriculum. Newly acquired grammatical texts from late antiquity led to a surge of renewed interest in that field also, and Irish writers perfected a new type of instructional handbook, the elementary grammar, for use with beginners in Latin, which led in turn to more advanced study using exegetical grammars. By combining the methods of biblical exegetes and Latin grammarians in one text, Irish teachers perfected an instructional technique that was clearly very successful. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the remarkably uniform language of these different authors. Though scholars have happily used the term *Hiberno-Latin* to describe the language of Irish texts from this period; in fact, Irish Latin was indistinguishable in grammar and syntax from its continental counterpart—a testament to the efficacy of teaching in Irish schools.

Alongside the ordinary expressions of Latin culture in Ireland, however, there was also the extraordinary: the so-called *Hisperica famina* (Western sayings) make their appearance in the mid-seventh century. A "culture fungus of decay" (as one scholar, Eoin Mac Neill, described them), these bizarre colloquies are a pastiche of the pedantic hypercorrectness of some of the grammarians, and they mock the high-falutin' language and vocabulary of the schools. They are probably not to be taken too seriously (and may not be Irish at all in origin). Another exotic flowering of Irish Latin culture, however, definitely is a native concoction: The bizarre

writings of Virgilius Maro “the Grammarian” are an extraordinary rodomontade (bluster) of mock learning that pokes glorious fun at the pomposities of the self-same schoolmen. The fun was probably well intended, but Virgilius Maro’s more exuberant pronouncements made their way into the works of seriously minded computists and biblical commentators, with the result that continental men of learning, when they came face to face with such oddities in the eighth century, tended to look askance at Irish learning.

What most impresses, however, is the sheer quantity of Hiberno-Latin writings in the seventh and eighth centuries and the range of their subject-matter. Hiberno-Latin authors drew on a huge variety of Late Latin, biblical, and patristic sources, in addition to unorthodox writings like the commentaries of the heresiarch Pelagius, and a remarkable number of biblical apocrypha nowhere else available. They also began to gloss their Latin texts in the vernacular, very quickly passing to full texts in Old Irish. The most remarkable example of this phenomenon is the Cambrai Homily (probably mid-seventh century), a bilingual Latin-Irish text combining excerpts from the gospels, Pauline Epistles, and Gregory the Great’s gospel homilies, with a parallel text in Old Irish whose language is extraordinarily archaic. The oldest known manuscript with bilingual Latin-Irish glosses dates to about 700, but the most famous is the Würzburg codex of about 800 containing Pauline epistles with a huge number of glosses in both Latin and Old Irish. This probably belonged to Clemens Scottus, master of the palace school at Aachen in Charlemagne’s time, who ended his days at the shrine of the Irish saint Kilian in Würzburg.

Hiberno-Latin scholars enjoyed a very good reputation when they traveled across Europe, following in the steps of Columbanus. The eighth century saw the appearance on the continent of men like Dicuil (author of a remarkable cosmographical work, *Liber de mensura orbis terrae* [Book on the measurement of the earth], as well as computistical and grammatical texts), Dungal of Pavia, Muredach Scottus “most learned of all men” (in his own estimation, at any rate), and Joseph Scottus, friend of Alcuin. Even more remarkable, however, was the generation of scholars that followed them in the ninth century, especially Sedulius Scottus of Liège and his circle of friends, and the most famous of them all, Iohannes Eriugena (“Irish-born”). These men were the superiors of their continental contemporaries not only in terms of Latin learning but also in their knowledge of Greek. Eriugena in particular was by common consent the finest intellect of his generation. In their Latin poetry (and Greek poetry too in Eriugena’s case) Sedulius and Eriugena demonstrated a complete mastery of

the language. Sedulius too, with his “Handbook for Princes” (*De rectoribus Christianis*), also established a genre that was to have lasting influence in the area of political philosophy. In Eriugena’s case his philosophical works (especially the *Periphyseon: On the Division of Nature*) reveal a mind that had no equal in Europe in his time, and a unique grasp of Greek philosophy.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture; Brehon Law; Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Hagiography; Manuscript Writing and Illumination; Monasticism in the Early Middle Ages; Saint Patrick, Problem of; **Primary Documents:** “Columbanus to His Monks” (c. 600)

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Dáibhí Ó Cróinín

High Crosses

First named as such in *The Annals of the Four Masters* in the year 957, these stone crosses reach a height of up to 20 feet. More than two hundred survive, many bearing panels illustrating biblical scenes, and they were sculpted from sandstone, granite, or limestone by master craftsmen who occasionally inscribed their names but never their status (e.g., monk or layman). The crosses were probably copied from (smaller) examples in other media, including wood and metal, and may originally have been painted.

They were erected at two different periods—the ninth/tenth century and the twelfth. A few examples may be earlier, but the normally accepted eighth-century dating for the Ahenny group of crosses in counties Tipperary and Kilkenny is now being challenged in favor of the ninth. The earlier group is characterized by a ring (“Celtic cross”) which probably combined a structural function (preventing the arms from snapping off) with a cosmic symbolism, making Christ’s Crucifixion at the center of the circle the crucial event in the history of the universe.



Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise (early tenth century), an example of early Christian sculpture. © GERAY SWEENEY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The ring first developed in the Mediterranean area, and it was probably Rome that provided the ultimate inspiration for the biblical carvings and the unusual idea of applying them to the surface of a cross. While the interpretation of some of the figured panels is controversial, the identifiable scenes—like similar continental frescoes—portray stories from the Old and New Testaments and the lives of the desert fathers Paul and Anthony. Though the subjects selected for illustration differ from cross to cross, they generally concentrate on showing how God helps the faithful in time of danger, and illustrate the life, passion, death, and resurrection of Christ. The crosses are also decorated with sophisticated geometrical patterns of bosses, interlace, and so forth, whose symbolic meanings remain enigmatic.

Crosses of the earlier group are located on eastern and northern monastic sites, as well as in the midlands where inscriptions deciphered in the 1970s and 1980s reveal patronage from successive Uí Néill high kings in the erection of the crosses. Similar patronage from the O'Connor high kings of Connacht was involved in creating crosses of the later group at Tuam, Co. Galway, and the O'Brien dynasty and others were instrumental

in raising further examples of this later group in north Munster, where they were probably associated with the religious reform movement of the twelfth century. These later crosses frequently bear high-relief figures of Christ and an ecclesiastic.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture; Sculpture, Early and Medieval

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Peter Harbison

Hillsborough Agreement

See Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Hillsborough Agreement).

Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party

1870 TO 1891 DONALD E. JORDAN,
JR.

1891 TO 1918 MICHAEL LAFFAN

1870 TO 1891

The Home Rule movement that animated Irish political life for over forty years began with the formation of the Home Government Association in May 1870. It was an inauspicious beginning, a meeting of forty-nine mostly Conservative Protestants in Dublin, but it came at a propitious time for Irish nationalism. The Fenian rising of 1867, although a failure in its immediate goal of winning Irish freedom from British rule, had focused the attention of the Irish and British public on Irish grievances and compelled both British political parties to address those grievances, if for no other reason than to satisfy moderate nationalist aspirations while discrediting the radical ones of the Fenians and their supporters. In this environment Isaac Butt, the driving force behind the formation of the Home Government Association, was well situated to attempt to bring the disparate elements of Irish nationalism together.

A former Tory, an opponent of Daniel O'Connell, and a man committed to the propriety of parliamentary politics and to a continued constitutional link with Britain, Butt had distinguished himself by defending Fenian prisoners following the 1867 rising. At the time of the setting up of the Home Government Association he was president of the Amnesty Association, which he had founded in the previous year to advocate amnesty for Fenian prisoners, and was leader of the Irish Tenant League, also established in 1869. Within the Home Government Association he was able to bring together, albeit briefly, Conservatives who had become disillusioned with the union with Britain because of the disestablishment of Church of Ireland, Liberals, constitutional nationalists, and Fenians around a loosely defined platform of federalism within the United Kingdom. The Conservative Protestants and landlords were the first to bolt, realizing quickly that any form of Home Rule for Ireland would threaten their ascendancy over politics and the land. Butt's hope for a comprehensive and inclusive nationalist organization was never realized because Catholic nationalists soon dominated the association, bringing with them commitments to land reform

and denominational education, along with the sanction of the Catholic hierarchy.

Throughout its three years of existence the Home Government Association remained little more than a Dublin-based organization whose primary role was to coordinate the activities of local Home Rule bodies. It had no central executive and refused to endorse candidates for election or advocate causes other than Home Rule, although Butt understood that Home Rule and land reform were inseparable. Nonetheless, a series of by-election victories for candidates professing allegiance to Home Rule demonstrated the growing strength of the movement and the ability of cadres of Fenian-inspired local nationalists, often in tenuous collusion with sympathetic priests, to turn out the vote. In November 1873 more than 800 delegates met in Dublin for a conference during which the Home Rule League was founded to replace the Home Government Association. Like its predecessor, the new league was a single-issue, inclusive organization with few resources and a desire to preserve a fragile unity under the banner of Home Rule.

THE FORMATION OF THE HOME RULE PARTY

Two months later, the growing strength of the Home Rule movement was demonstrated when fifty-nine candidates professing Home Rule sympathies were elected to seats in the House of Commons. At least half of these MPs were former Liberals who had responded to the changing political climate, but whose allegiance to Home Rule was not always firm. Soon after the election, forty-six of the Home Rule MPs established the first formal Irish political party, the Home Rule party, agreeing to work together to promote Irish reform legislation in Parliament. As its chairman, Butt had no authority to enforce discipline, and with the Tories controlling a secure majority in the House of Commons, there was little incentive to do so. Furthermore, ever-respectful of parliamentary decorum and willing to give the Tories a chance to propose reform for Ireland, Butt urged patience at a time when the countryside and a radical cadre of MPs were not inclined to do so. To Butt's dismay, Joseph Biggar, MP for Cavan, Frank Hugh O'Donnell, MP for Dungarvan, and John O'Connor Power, MP for Mayo, initiated a practice of using parliamentary procedures and interminably long speeches to obstruct legislation as a means of bringing attention to Irish grievances. They were soon joined by Charles Stewart Parnell, who in 1875 had been elected MP for Meath.

During the 1877 session of parliament Biggar and Parnell took obstructionism to new levels, and in so doing, gained attention and support in Ireland and within the Irish community in Britain while further dis-

tancing themselves from Butt and the moderate majority within the Home Rule party. The obstructionists' case that Ireland's voice must be heard in the House of Commons was strengthened by the disinterest of the Tory government in reform legislation for Ireland and the consequent failure of Butt's strategy of giving the government a chance. In August 1877 the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, a more radical and working-class organization than its Irish counterpart, replaced Butt with Parnell as its president, signaling a shift in public opinion that would soon sweep Ireland as well. Although Butt remained in control of the Home Rule party until his death in May 1879, Parnell demonstrated a command of parliamentary procedures and the ability to gauge and exploit popular opinion that would lead him quickly to the leadership of the party and the nation.

PARNELL AND THE LAND WAR

Parnell's obstructionism and growing popularity attracted the attention of influential Fenians, who had broken formally with Butt in August 1876 but were facing the reality that their dream of an armed insurrection against Britain was on hold, if not dead. Foremost among them were Michael Davitt, recently released from Dartmoor prison after serving seven years for arms running, and John Devoy, who had also been imprisoned for Fenian activity before emigrating to New York City, where he was a journalist and an active member of Clan na Gael, the U.S. wing of the Fenian movement. Together they worked out the details of an alliance between Parnell and the Fenians, dubbed the "New Departure." It called for an aggressive but constitutional campaign for land reform leading to peasant proprietorship through compulsory purchase, and for Irish self-government. Although a limited version of an alliance between Fenians and constitutional nationalists had been operating in the west of Ireland since 1873, the alliance proposed in 1878 brought with it the dynamic leadership of Parnell and Davitt at a time when a deteriorating economy was radicalizing the Irish countryside. Moreover, it carried with it the potential of linking effectively for the first time the land and national movements in a united campaign.

Between 1879 and 1881 the campaign for Home Rule was on hold while the immediate needs of tenant farmers for relief and the campaign for a permanent solution to the land question dominated the political agenda. The passage of the Land Act in 1881, the subsequent arrest of Irish National Land League leaders, including Parnell, and the suppression of the league in October 1881 brought an end to the first phase of the land movement. This end was formalized in May 1882 with the

"Kilmainham Treaty," by which the league leadership was released from prison after Parnell agreed to curtail the land agitation in return for assurances that tenants in arrears with their rent, who had been excluded from the Land Act, would become eligible to take advantage of its provisions. Although the first phase of the Land War had not moved the campaign for Home Rule forward appreciably, it had demonstrated the potential of a mobilized rural Ireland to force concessions from a Liberal administration.

Accordingly, when in October 1882 Parnell replaced the Irish National Land League with the Irish National League, Home Rule was fixed at the head of its program. The Land League goal of peasant proprietary was included, but rather than being brought about through compulsory purchase, it was now to be accomplished through amendments to the purchase clauses of the Land Act of 1881. In keeping with this focus on parliamentary activity, Parnell sought and received assurances that the new league would be controlled by the parliamentary party and would serve its agenda. To a considerable degree, between 1882 and 1885 the National League was an organization waiting for an opportune time to mobilize the Irish countryside again. That opportunity came with the general election of 1885.

Anticipating a general election, the parliamentary and local leadership moved quickly to form league branches, with the number growing from 242 in January 1884 to 592 a year later. By the time of the general election in November–December the league had more than 1,200 branches, many of them formed solely to act as electoral agents for the Irish Parliamentary Party. In this role they functioned splendidly, mobilizing an electorate that had more than tripled as a result of franchise reform enacted in 1884. The local branches sent delegates to carefully orchestrated county conventions where they chose preselected candidates, assured that the newly enfranchised voters completed the required forms and paid their poor rates in order to be enrolled on the voters' register, and transported voters to the polling places. Parnell insisted that the general election in Ireland be fought on the single issue of Home Rule. When the polling ended, Home Rulers had secured eighty-six seats—eighty-five in Ireland and one in Britain. They had taken all but eighteen constituencies in Ireland, sixteen of those in Ulster, with the remaining two being those allotted to Trinity College, Dublin. Parnell's eighty-six supporters matched exactly the total that separated the victorious Liberals from the defeated Conservatives, thus ensuring that a Home Rule bill would be presented in the upcoming session.

THE FIRST HOME RULE BILL AND ITS AFTERMATH

Although Liberal Prime Minister W. E. Gladstone did not consult with the Irish members as he prepared his Home Rule bill, the measure that he presented to the House of Commons on 8 April 1886 went a long way toward satisfying the aspirations of Parnell and his party. The Government of Ireland Bill of 1886 proposed to create an Irish parliament and executive with responsibility for the domestic affairs of Ireland, although the government could neither support nor discriminate against any particular religion. In addition, it would have limited control over revenue and trade, while the Royal Irish Constabulary would remain controlled from Westminster, along with defense, foreign and colonial affairs, and the powers and prerogatives of the Crown. No special provisions were made for Ulster, although the antidiscrimination provisions were clearly designed to ease Protestant concerns that Home Rule would mean "Rome Rule." Nonetheless, concerns for the religious and economic position of Protestants and for the allegedly special circumstances of Ulster featured prominently in the parliamentary debate, as did the question of whether Ireland warranted or could be entrusted with self-rule. On 8 June the bill was defeated on its second reading, forcing the resignation of the government and the dissolution of Parliament. In the subsequent general election the Conservatives were returned to office.

The Home Rule debate had solidified the alliance between the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Liberal Party. It had also demonstrated that there was a political consensus that reform was needed in the governance of Ireland. The new Conservative government was committed to reform, seeing it as an alternative to Home Rule and as a means of undermining Parnellism in Ireland. Conservative policy toward Ireland over the next six years has been characterized by L. Perry Curtis as one of "coercion and conciliation." Its primary architect was J. Arthur Balfour, Irish chief secretary from 1887 to 1891. His tenure of office began amid falling agricultural prices in Ireland which, along with a renewed militancy unleashed by the failure of the Home Rule bill, brought unrest and a restoration of the land movement that Parnell had succeeded in keeping under wraps during the previous four years. The government responded with the Criminal Law and Procedure Act of 1887 that gave the authorities emergency powers to deal with unrest, and especially with the proponents of the Plan of Campaign that had been declared in October 1886 by prominent Parnellites, although not endorsed by Parnell himself. The government also introduced the Land Act of 1887, which allowed leaseholders to take advantage of the provisions of the 1881 Land Act and for the first

time enabled tenants in arrears with their rents to have them judicially reviewed and reduced, even if those rents had been fixed by the land courts established in 1881, something previously not possible. This was soon followed by the Land Purchase Act of 1888, which increased the funds available for tenants to purchase their holdings. As Virginia Crossman has pointed out in *Politics, Law, and Order in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, Balfour's intention was to criminalize the land movement and the National League while bestowing some of its objectives from a supposedly benevolent government.

This process of criminalization of the land movement ran parallel with a judicial commission established by the government in 1888 to look into allegations made by *The Times* that Parnell and his associates in the Land and National Leagues were connected with, if not responsible for, agrarian and political crime in Ireland. Although the initial claims by *The Times* were proved to be based on forged letters, the commission heard extensive testimony and reviewed numerous documents that demonstrated the degree to which criminal acts were associated with the land and national movements. However, it was not able to establish direct connections between crime and the leaders of the movements. Although historians are not of one mind as to the degree of damage that the commission's proceedings did to Parnell, in the short term he seemed vindicated in the eyes of the Liberals, who renewed their overtures to him to pursue the alliance and to plan for a new Home Rule bill.

THE FALL OF PARNELL

To all appearances, Parnell seemed again to be in full control of the party and the Home Rule movement. The agrarian agitation associated with the Plan of Campaign was on the decline, thanks in large part to Balfour's coercion efforts as well as to the popularity of his land-reform measures. This enabled Parnell to reestablish Home Rule at the top of the agenda and to do so in the context of a revival of the alliance with the Liberals, who understood their dependence on the Parnellites if they were going to be restored to government at the next general election. In mid-December 1889, just weeks after the commission had issued its final report, Parnell and Gladstone met at Hawarden, Gladstone's estate, to plan a new campaign for Home Rule. Five days later, Captain W. H. O'Shea filed for divorce from his wife Katharine, naming Parnell as the correspondent. The full impact of this action was not apparent for nearly a year, during which time Parnell continued to command loyalty within the party and within Ireland. However, when he failed to offer a defense after the divorce petition went to trial in November 1890, Parnell's position

and the Liberal alliance, on which his hopes for Home Rule rested, quickly deteriorated.

Immediately, Gladstone, pressed by British Non-conformists who formed the core of Liberal support, withdrew his support from Parnell and made it clear that both the alliance and quite possibly his own leadership of the Liberal Party would collapse if Parnell did not stand down from the leadership of the Irish party. Confronted with the prospect that the very foundation of the Home Rule campaign would be destroyed, forty-five Irish MPs split from Parnell in December 1890, leaving him with twenty-eight loyalists. This bitter split, which was to remain in effect until 1900, quickly spilled over into the Irish countryside, where in a series of by-elections in 1891 Parnell's defenders were defeated. Parnell campaigned vigorously, increasingly appealing to the more radical elements in the land and national movements from whom he had distanced himself over most of the previous decade, while at the same time condemning Gladstone and the Liberals with whom he had formulated political strategy since 1882. This campaign, during which Parnell vilified the very policy and strategies that he had been responsible for, undermined much of his authority in Ireland and weakened his already fragile health. He died on 6 October 1891 at the age of forty-five. With Parnell gone, the Liberal connection was salvaged, resulting in subsequent Home Rule bills in 1893 and 1912.

SEE ALSO Butt, Isaac; Davitt, Michael; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Ladies' Land League; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Local Government since 1800; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Plan of Campaign; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Sullivan Brothers (A. M. and T. D.); **Primary Documents:** Resolutions Adopted at the Home Rule Conference (18–21 November 1873); Speech Advocating Consideration of Home Rule by the House of Commons (30 June 1874); On Home Rule and the Land Question at Cork (21 January 1885); On Home Rule at Wicklow (5 October 1885); On the Home Rule Bill of 1886 (8 April 1886); The Irish Parliamentary Party Pledge (30 June 1892)

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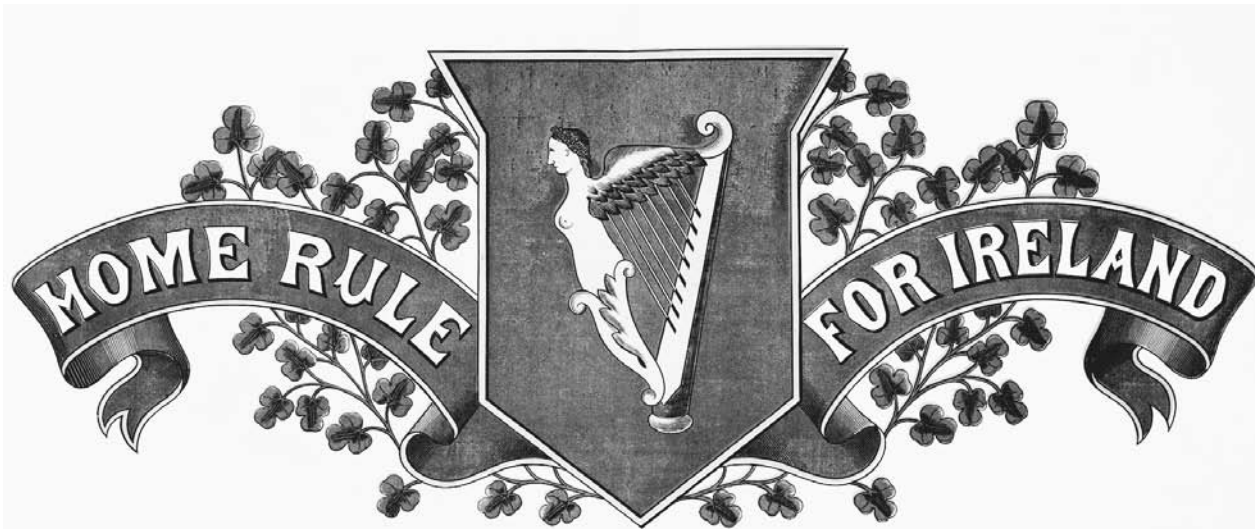
Donald E. Jordan, Jr.

1891 TO 1918

Between 1890 and 1891, a large majority of Charles Stewart Parnell's colleagues (forty-five out of seventy-three) sacrificed their leader in an effort to preserve his policy of an alliance with Gladstone's Liberal Party, a move known as the Parnell split. The result shattered the Irish Parliamentary Party. The willingness of the Irish MPs to do so has been seen as base ingratitude and as subservience to the demands of British politicians. It has also been seen as a backhanded compliment to the party's maturity and as proof that it had transcended its earlier role of a support group for one dominant individual. Under Parnell's leadership the Irish party had been characterized by unity and discipline, but for the next quarter century it would be marked by feuds and factionalism.

In three bitter by-elections that followed the split, almost two-thirds of the electors voted against Parnell's candidates. The dispute was not ended by his early death in October 1891, and rival nationalists contested the following general election with an exceptional degree of bitterness. Nine Parnellites and seventy-one anti-Parnellites were elected. Despite the disarray among his Irish allies, Gladstone introduced a new Home Rule bill in 1893. This measure passed the House of Commons, but its rejection by the Lords effectively ended prospects of Home Rule for the foreseeable future.

The party remained divided for nearly ten years, and the dominant anti-Parnellite faction was in turn weakened by disagreements over policies and personali-



Despite the defeat of the first Home Rule bill in 1886 and the disastrous split in the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1890, Home Rule long remained the goal of most Irish nationalists. The Home Rule banner of 1892 shown here signaled Gladstone's second attempt to win a parliament for Ireland (in 1893), but the House of Lords threw out the bill by a crushing majority. © PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE/TOPHAM-HIP/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ties. In particular, John Dillon adhered to the Liberal alliance and urged centralized control of the movement, while Tim Healy believed in independent opposition and a policy of decentralization.

In 1900 the party was reunited under the chairmanship of John Redmond, the leader of the minority Parnellite group, but new divisions soon emerged. Two of the leading Home Rulers soon quarreled with the leadership of Redmond and Dillon, his long-serving deputy; Healy and his followers were expelled in 1900, and William O'Brien resigned three years later. They would later join forces with other, more radical critics of the party.

A ONE-PARTY NATION

Yet until after the outbreak of the World War I the squabbling elements of the Home Rule movement encountered no serious opposition in nationalist Ireland. New ideas flourished and new movements gained widespread support, among them the Gaelic Athletic Association, the Gaelic League, and the Transport Workers' Union. Such groups displayed the vigor and inspired the commitment that had been associated with Parnellism in its prime. But in political terms nationalist Ireland remained a one-party nation, and most parliamentary candidates were returned unopposed. On rare occasions Home Rulers fought battles with unionists, above all in marginal Ulster constituencies, but the relations between the two parties more often took the form of a cold war in which each side recognized the other's sphere of

influence. From time to time dissident nationalists challenged the party's official leadership, but with the exception of O'Brien's following in County Cork they posed no serious threat.

This enduring ascendancy was made possible by the party's strengths, in particular by one basic fact: in many respects it reflected accurately the dominant elements and interests in nationalist Ireland. Its MPs tended to come from a lower social class than their British counterparts, the party paid close attention to local needs and demands, it was intimately involved in agrarian matters, and it displayed a formidable ability to infiltrate—and sometimes absorb—other bodies that might have endangered its position. This pattern was displayed with particular clarity after O'Brien formed the United Irish League in 1898. The menace that was posed by this new grouping provided a stimulus to the reunification of the Home Rule movement in 1900, and within a few years the party had taken over the league.

Redmond was forced to modify his personal taste for a policy of conciliation with British governments and Irish unionists, and Dillon's views proved to be more influential. He feared that Home Rule might be killed by kindness, as Conservative politicians hoped, and he believed that the party should distrust measures that could distract attention from the ultimate objective of a Dublin parliament. Home Rulers tended to be wary of reforms by Conservative governments, such as the Local Government Act of 1898 and the Wyndham Land Act of 1903. Even Liberal measures, such as old age pensions, could breed a dangerous degree of contentment as

well as risk posing financial problems for a future Home Rule administration.

A change of government made relatively little difference to the party's general strategy; in the 1906 general election the Liberals won a massive overall majority and consequently were independent of Irish support. Many Liberals saw Irish Home Rule as a liability, associating it with the failures of Gladstone's last governments, and preferred to concentrate on other problems. An Irish council bill was proposed as a halfway house to Home Rule, but the measure was rejected by a convention of the United Irish League. Gradually nationalists became disillusioned with the party's failure to achieve Home Rule, and the alliance with the Liberals seemed to have brought a Dublin parliament no nearer. Two MPs resigned their seats, and one of them ran unsuccessfully for reelection in 1908 as a Sinn Féin candidate.

The party's fortunes were transformed by the political crisis of 1909 to 1911. The radical "People's Budget" was deeply unpopular in Ireland, but it opened new opportunities by provoking a conflict between the House of Commons and the Lords. Two general elections were held in 1910, and both of them resulted in deadlock between the main British political parties. Redmond made the most of his strong position, first assisting Asquith's government to break the power of the House of Lords and then prevailing on it to introduce a third Home Rule bill—which would not be subject to a veto by the Lords. There was widespread dissatisfaction at the inadequacy of the powers that would be devolved to Dublin under this scheme, but at least most Irish nationalists were confident that Home Rule was now unstoppable and that it would become law in a few years' time. The Parliamentary Party regained, briefly, its lost support.

RIVAL FACTIONS

Deprived of their protection from the House of Lords, the Ulster unionists felt desperate and resorted to radical measures; if necessary they would abandon political and parliamentary methods and fight to avert the threat of Home Rule. Ultimately they formed a paramilitary force, the Ulster Volunteers, and threatened rebellion if Home Rule were to be implemented. They were supported and incited by the Conservative Party, whose frustration in opposition was reinforced by outrage at what it regarded as a corrupt deal between Liberals and Home Rulers.

With victory in sight Redmond's main task was to prevent his allies from diluting their Home Rule proposals even further. Most nationalists were dismayed by

the unionists' recourse to military measures, fearing that decades of Irish constitutional activity would be undone and that the scorn that radicals felt for "Home Rule tactics" might be vindicated. Such views formed the background to the formation of the Irish Volunteers, a paramilitary force that was modeled on the unionists' rival private army. Nominally under the leadership of Eoin MacNeill, this body was from the outset influenced by the revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood.

As both British parties inched their way toward a compromise settlement in 1913 and 1914, Redmond yielded to government insistence that he should agree to some form of partition. This would grant Home Rule to "nationalist Ireland" but would exclude the largely unionist areas in northeast Ulster for a fixed number of years. However, no agreement was reached on the area to be excluded (what was "Ulster"?) or on how long such exclusion should last. Negotiations in Buckingham Palace between the party leaders failed to break the deadlock, and only with the outbreak of the First World War did British and Irish politicians escape an impasse that might have resulted in rebellion or civil war.

THE END OF THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

Redmond pledged his support to the British war effort, but he also continued his efforts to ensure that Home Rule would become law. This was achieved in September 1914, although with the crucial qualifications that the act would come into effect only when the war ended and when amending legislation had been passed to deal with Ulster.

Nationalist Ireland celebrated its historic victory, but the events of August through September 1914 marked the beginning of the end of the Home Rule movement. Redmond soon went beyond his assurance that Irish forces could defend the island against German attack, and he urged members of the Irish Volunteers to join the British army and fight abroad. This action provoked a split with the original founders of the force, and the strength of his position was revealed when over 90 percent of the Volunteers followed the party leadership rather than side with its radical critics.

But the war became unpopular as the stalemate continued, month after month, year after year, and as the death toll rose steadily. Fears grew that conscription would be imposed on Ireland, particularly after January 1916 when it came into effect in Britain. One result of a ban on emigration was that large numbers of unemployed or underemployed young people were obliged to remain in the country, and many of them became restive. The unionist leader Edward Carson joined a coal-

tion government in London while Redmond, perhaps unwisely, chose not to do so. And as Home Rule seemed to be no nearer, despite the famous victory of September 1914, fears of deception and betrayal became more widespread.

The Easter Rising of 1916, although aimed at the British, was also a devastating blow to the Irish Parliamentary Party; Redmond's claim to represent Irish nationalists now seemed less plausible. Republicans had seized the initiative, and despite the failure of their rebellion, their courage commanded the respect of enemies such as John Dillon. The insurrection was followed rapidly by new Home Rule negotiations—a halfhearted attempt to achieve a wartime settlement. Redmond felt obliged to make a new concession: the surrender of two counties with nationalist majorities, Fermanagh and Tyrone, to enlarge the excluded area of four unionist counties. This provoked much heart-searching among Home Rulers and precipitated revolt and defections by some of the party's followers in Ulster. A convention of northern nationalists supported Redmond's proposals, but he was soon faced with yet further demands and the collapse of the negotiations. It seemed to many people as if republican rebels had provided moderate politicians with one last chance to achieve Home Rule and that this opportunity had been squandered. The party's morale never recovered from the failure of the 1916 negotiations.

In the course of the following year the Redmondites began to encounter serious opposition from more radical nationalists. A motley coalition of Volunteers, Sinn Féiners, and others contested a by-election in North Roscommon and won a decisive victory. This triggered the emergence of a relatively united mass republican party, Sinn Féin, which defeated Home Rulers in a series of by-elections, spread rapidly throughout most of the country, and totally outclassed the battered Parliamentary Party. The Redmondites had been unchallenged for decades throughout much of the country, and their party machinery had fallen into disuse; they proved to be an easy target when at last they encountered a formidable opponent.

SINN FÉIN

Except for its leaders, the new party was comprised overwhelmingly of converts from the Home Rule cause, and one natural consequence was that many of the political skills it revealed were acquired from its opponents. Despite its republican program, Sinn Féin embodied some of the qualities of the old Parnellite movement—in particular an ability to associate with violent men while engaging in political measures. This

had been a feature of Parnell's early career and also of the last year of his life, but it was a pattern that the party had abandoned in recent decades.

Redmond's death in March 1918 seemed to symbolize the collapse of the movement that he had served and led for so long. The party succeeded in winning three by-elections in the early months of the year, but it was once more caught off balance when a new crisis erupted. The British government's decision to impose conscription on Ireland provoked immediate and widespread indignation among all Irish nationalists, together with a willingness to resist this threat by force. Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers seized the opportunity that had been presented to them, claiming that only they could provide the radical response that was needed. The Parliamentary Party was reduced to implementing Sinn Féin tactics and withdrawing its members from Westminster as a protest against the conscription act. Republican leaders were arrested shortly afterward, whereas their Home Rule allies in the fight against conscription were left unscathed. This appeared to vindicate its opponents' taunt that the party was superfluous; its members were no longer sufficiently menacing to be worth putting in jail.

When a general election was held in December 1918, at the end of the war, the party was disorganized and defeatist. Its demand for Home Rule no longer satisfied a newly radicalized nationalist electorate, yet the British government made it clear that, in the circumstances of the time, there could be no question of implementing devolved government as laid down by the 1914 act. The party had nothing to show for the nominal achievement of Home Rule and had little or nothing left to fight for. It could do no more than look back to its past achievements and warn that its opponents' policies would lead to disaster.

In the election campaign the Home Rulers were outclassed by Sinn Féin supporters' displays of discipline, enthusiasm, personation, and intimidation—all qualities the Parliamentary Party had revealed frequently in the past. Its disarray was revealed by the abandonment of twenty-five safe nationalist constituencies, which Sinn Féin won without a contest. Only in Ulster did Home Rulers perform respectably—because only there had they faced serious, sustained opposition, and only there had they needed to be efficient in amassing votes. The overall result was that Sinn Féin won seventy-three seats, the unionists twenty-six, and the recently dominant Home Rule party a mere six. Four of these were secured as the result of an antiunionist voting pact with Sinn Féin.

NATIONALIST PARTY

Under the new name the Nationalist Party, the Irish Parliamentary Party of Parnell and Redmond survived in Northern Ireland for another fifty years. In the rest of the country it died in December 1918 and—except by historians—was soon virtually forgotten. Such neglect is unfair. Over decades the party displayed skill, patience, and resilience; it built on the politicization of Irish nationalist society, which Daniel O’Connell had begun in the 1820s; and it helped to secure fundamental changes in landholding, housing, education, and other areas. It also helped to consolidate democratic values and habits, transmitting them to a new generation of politicians who simultaneously repudiated and emulated many qualities of their defeated opponent.

SEE ALSO Congested Districts Board; Davitt, Michael; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Great War; Griffith, Arthur; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Pearse, Patrick; Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Redmond, John; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; United Irish League Campaigns

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Michael Laffan

Hume, John

John Hume (1937–), civil-rights activist and nationalist leader, was born in Derry city on 18 January. He was educated at Saint Columb’s College, Derry, and at Maynooth. Returning to Derry, he became a schoolteacher and a leading credit-union organizer, and he was prominent in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. In 1969 his displacement of the Nationalist Party leader Eddie McAteer as Stormont MP for Foyle marked the emergence of a more articulate and professional nationalist politics. In 1970 Hume cofounded the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), which combined civil-rights activists, Belfast laborists, and elements of the crumbling Nationalist Party; Hume became deputy leader under west Belfast MP Gerry Fitt. In 1974 Hume was minister for commerce in the power-sharing executive established under the Sunningdale Agreement. The Ulster Workers’ Council strike convinced Hume that an internal Northern Ireland settlement was impossible; the Irish Republic must act as guarantor. In 1979 Hume became SDLP leader and was elected to the European parliament; he emphasized the role of European integration in resolving territorial disputes. In 1983 he became Westminster MP for Foyle. During the 1980s Hume was immensely popular in the Irish Republic, where he was nicknamed “Saint John.” His calls for peace and reconciliation were inspiring if repetitive (wags mocked his “single transferable speech”). Hume proved extremely effective at rallying external support for the SDLP through extensive contacts in Europe and the United States. Helped by the desire of the British and Irish governments to contain Sinn Féin after the 1981 hunger strike, Hume played a decisive role in securing the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. Beginning in 1988 Hume entered intermittent negotiations with the Sinn Féin leadership. He was widely criticized for lending respectability to Sinn Féin, but these contacts proved crucial in developing the Northern Ireland peace process of the 1990s. Hume led the SDLP in the negotiations that produced the 1998 Belfast Agreement, and he received the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize (jointly with David Trimble). Thereafter Hume became less prominent; he stayed out of the new executive and resigned his Northern Ireland Assembly seat in 2000. Sinn Féin increasingly overtook the SDLP in popularity among Northern nationalists; Hume’s leadership, always autocratic, grew increasingly tired. He resigned as SDLP leader after party setbacks in the 2001 Westminster election. Despite occasional accusations of egoism and insensitivity toward unionists, he was a figure of great political and moral stature and

the most effective twentieth-century Northern nationalist leader.

SEE ALSO Adams, Gerry; Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: The United States in Northern Ireland since 1970; Trimble, David; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

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Patrick Maume

Hunger Strikes

Hunger striking was not purely a phenomenon of the early 1980s in Northern Ireland. After a visit to fasting republican prisoners in 1978, the primate of all-Ireland, Cardinal Ó Fiaich, commented that “they prefer to face death rather than submit to be classed as criminals. . . . Anyone with the least knowledge of Irish history knows how deeply rooted this attitude is in our country’s past.” The cardinal recognized the two essential elements of hunger strikes: historical resonance and contemporaneous grievances. A sense of continuity and symbolism was important to republicans. Already, twelve republicans had starved to death for their beliefs in the twentieth century, most recently Michael Gaughan (1974) and Frank Stagg (1976). Gaughan’s coffin was draped with the same tricolor flag that had been placed on the coffin of the legendary hunger striker Terence MacSwiney in 1920. Hunger striking, a practice that flourished in pre-Christian times in Ireland, derives from the ancient Brehon (Gaelic Irish) laws that recognized and strove to regulate the rite of “fasting against a person of exalted state in order to enforce a claim against him.” The debtor had three options: to concede the claim, to mount a counterfast, or to let the hunger striker starve himself to death. None of these are congenial, as events in 1980 and 1981 were to demonstrate.

THE STRIKERS’ CAMPAIGN

The contemporaneous grievance centered on prison status. Republicans believed that their struggle was political, not criminal. In an effort to bring them into the political process the British authorities granted them special-category status in 1972. This enabled them to run their own regime and strengthen their organization inside the prison to such an extent that there were fears that the prisons were being used as extensions of the militant republican campaign. Concerned that political violence was not being contained and that political concessions had not weaned republicanism away from violence, the British secretary of state, Merlyn Rees, reverted to a policy of “criminalization” in March 1976. Essentially it meant that there was no distinction between those imprisoned for “normal” crime and those fighting for a nonexistent republic. When they lost their special-category status, the prisoners embarked on a blanket and no-wash protest in which they refused to wear prison clothing or to clean out their cells. Only when these tactics failed did they resort to the ultimate protest—the hunger strike.

Criminalization was a serious political error for three reasons. In the first place, it denied republicans the respectability they felt they had earned in a legitimate and heroic struggle for Irish freedom. They had been practicing a form of social republicanism inside the ghettos whereby they had appropriated the role of the guardians of the law. In those circumstances, they asked rhetorically, how could they be criminals?

Secondly, the prisoners distinguished the sacrificial ideology of their campaign from the revolutionary ideology of the military campaign, linking themselves to the 1916 rebels who had risen not to win but to die. And their campaign was steeped in martyrology and religious symbolism, demonstrated in the grafitto in west Belfast of a dying hunger striker comforted by the Virgin Mary that bore the caption “Blessed are those who hunger for justice.” The hunger strikers were portrayed in crucified postures, with the barbed wire of the prisons transformed into Jesus’s crown of thorns, and the H-Block blanket (their only piece of “clothing”) into a burial shroud. These religious motifs tied them into the heart of the Catholic psyche and broadened the dimensions of the campaign.

Thirdly, the campaign both diluted and strengthened the republican leadership. The decision to hunger strike had been made by the prisoners alone, against the advice of the outside leadership, who felt that it was distracting attention from the “war.” But it brought onboard another layer of support. Some of the prisoners’ relatives had formed a Relatives’ Action Committee (RAC). Over the next few years the RACs, distributed

across Northern Ireland and often independent of Sinn Féin, developed a mass movement that offered an alternative to a seemingly pointless military campaign. The strength of that movement is illustrated by comparing the numbers who protested when the first hunger striker, Bobby Sands, began his fast (about 4,000) and those who attended his funeral march (approximately 70,000). It could be seen too in the results of Northern Ireland's local government elections of May 1981 (following Sands's death). If all candidates identifying with the hunger strikes had joined together in one group, they could have become the fifth-largest party. There was a constituency to be nurtured, a fact acknowledged in an editorial in the newspaper *Republican News* in September 1982: "While not everyone can plant a bomb, everyone can plant a vote."

The first hunger strikes began on 27 October 1980 in protest against prison conditions and status. The second group began on 1 March 1981. In both instances seven volunteers were selected initially. The timing and the numbers were significant: The first strike was to culminate at Christmas (though it was called off on 18 December because the prisoners believed, wrongly, that they had extracted the necessary concessions), and the second at Easter. The seven strikers corresponded to the number of signatories to the 1916 proclamation. They believed themselves to be the revolutionary vanguard and sacred keepers of the nation's history. Bobby Sands, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) leader imprisoned in the Maze, was the first to die on 5 May 1981. By 20 August another nine republican prisoners were dead, and the rest ended their protest on 3 October. The whole business polarized the community as never before. It threatened to make constitutional nationalism redundant inside Northern Ireland; it deprived Fianna Fáil of victory in the Republic's 1981 general election when two hunger strikers were elected to the Dáil; it caused tremendous tension between the British and Irish governments; and it aroused an inordinate amount of international attention, much of it embarrassing to the British government.

INTERNATIONAL REACTION

The hunger strikes above all gave republicans what they wanted by making politics a straightforward confrontation between them and the British government in which every other party was rendered irrelevant or powerless. There is no doubt that the strikes discommoded the political and religious establishment. A survey of sixty-four newspapers in twenty-five countries conducted by the *Sunday Times* (31 May 1981) concluded that world opinion had begun to shift away from the British government and in favor of the IRA. In the Unit-

ed States, the home of so many descendants of the Great Famine Irish, the Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAI), a U.S. support organization for the republican cause, raised \$250,000 in the first half of 1981 (compared with an average of \$110,000 every half-year for the previous seven years). In short, the hunger strikes contributed to a fundamental reevaluation of the conflict: Republicans moved into political mode while retaining the armed struggle, and the British and Irish governments, with the active support of the Reagan administration, embarked on much closer political and security cooperation that culminated in the Anglo-Irish Agreement in November 1985.

SEE ALSO Irish Republican Army (IRA); Loyalist Paramilitaries after 1965; Politics: Impact of the Northern Ireland Crisis on Southern Politics; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

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Paul Arthur



Hyde, Douglas

Poet, scholar, and politician, Douglas Hyde (1860–1949) was born on 17 January at Castlerea, Co. Roscommon, and became a leader of the Gaelic revival and, from 1938 until 1945, president of Ireland. Hyde earned a law degree from Trinity College, Dublin, and collaborated with Anglo-Irish writers such as W. B. Yeats and Lady Augusta Gregory, but his greatest achievement was his contribution to the preservation of the Irish language and literature.

He attained wide fame as president of the Gaelic League, the cultural nationalist body founded by Eoin MacNéill in 1893 in answer to Hyde's seminal speech "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland." Good-natured and witty, he was equally at home testifying before government commissions and appearing at

League festivals and meetings. In 1905 and 1906 he made an extensive tour of the United States, raising more than 10,000 pounds for the organization. Under his leadership, language enthusiasts successfully pressed the educational authorities to include Gaelic as a voluntary subject in the primary and intermediate school curricula and to make a knowledge of Irish a matriculation requirement at the National University of Ireland after 1913.

Hyde continually contended with factionalism in League ranks and, after 1910, with an increasingly vocal cadre of nationalists. When they associated the organization with calls for independence in 1915, Hyde resigned and applied himself to his post as professor of modern Irish at University College, Dublin.

Hyde's scholarship, though marked by a lack of philological training, testified to his skill as a folklorist and synthesizer of the first rank. He published several groundbreaking works, including the folklore volumes *Leabhar Sgéulaigheachta* (1889) and *Beside the Fire* (1890); the *Love Songs of Connacht* (1893), which inspired subsequent writers, including Yeats, Gregory, and J. M. Synge; the monumental *A Literary History of Ireland* (1899); and, with Gregory, the *Songs Ascribed to [Anthony] Raftery* (1903). In the 1920s he helped to inaugurate the Irish Folklore Society and established an Irish studies journal, *Lia Fáil*.

Hyde received numerous public accolades, including cooption into the Free State Senate in 1925 and ap-

pointment to the Irish Academy of Letters in 1931. His highest honor, however, came in 1938 when he was elected to the largely ceremonial position of president of Ireland. He died on 12 July 1949, having invigorated indigenous interest in Gaelic literature and established the Irish language as a symbol of national identity, if not as a practical medium of everyday discourse.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Revival; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Literacy and Popular Culture; Literature: Gaelic Literature in the Nineteenth Century; Pearse, Patrick; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Raiftearaí (Raftery), Antaine; **Primary Documents:** From "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland" (25 November 1892)

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Timothy G. McMahon



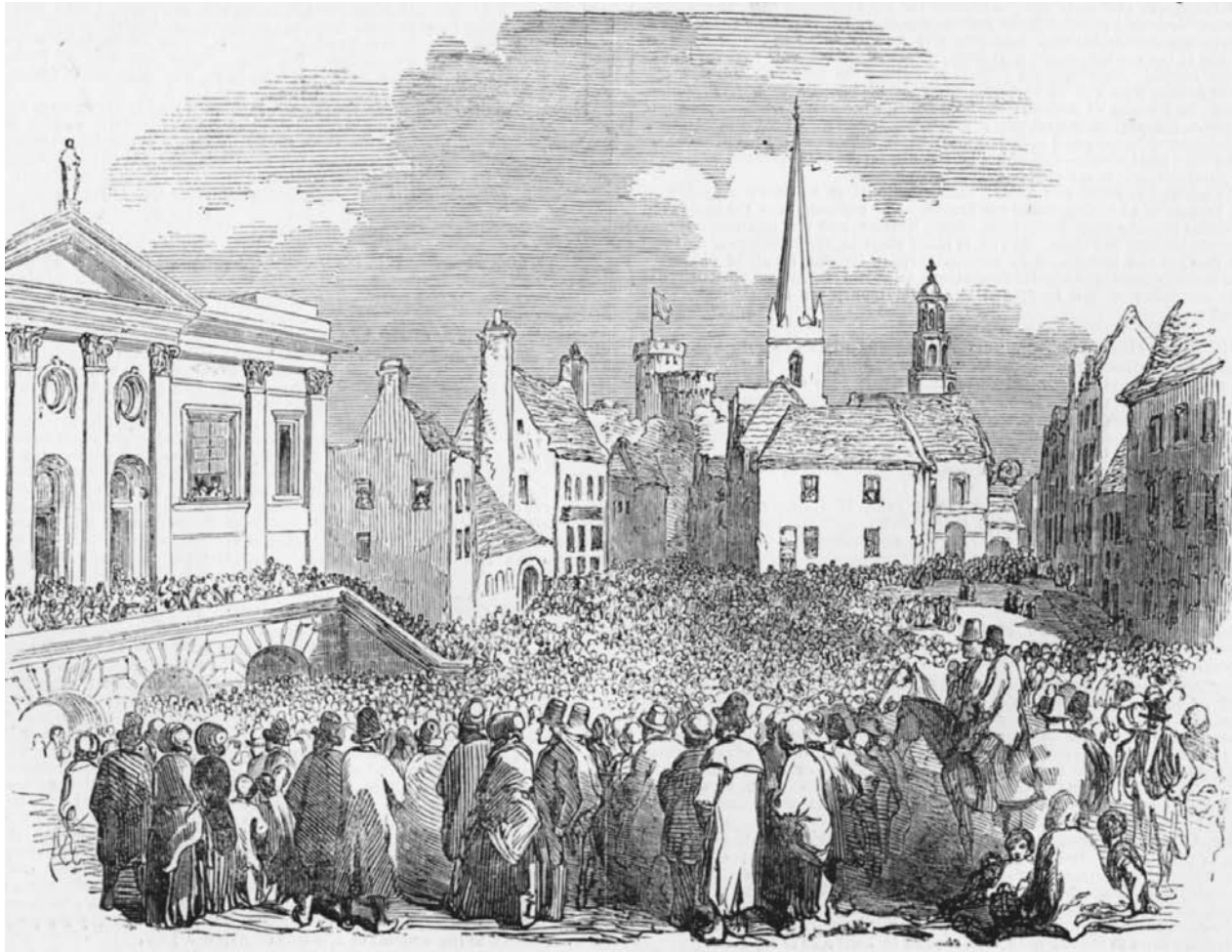
Independent Irish Party

The Independent Irish Party of the 1850s, also known as Independent Opposition, marks an intermediate stage in the evolution of Irish party politics. Daniel O'Connell had utilized his fellow repeal MPs to constitute one of the interest groups on the Whig side of the House of Commons, and from 1835 to 1840 this had won him influence over government policies and patronage. The thirty-five repealers returned in 1847 after O'Connell's death but had no effective leader and did little to disturb Lord John Russell's Liberal government during the worst years of the Great Famine. That catastrophe brought to the forefront the clash of interests between landlords and tenant farmers. By 1850 campaigns for tenant right were afoot in Ulster and in the southeast, led by Presbyterian and Roman Catholic clergy respectively. Charles Gavan Duffy, running the *Nation* in greatly changed circumstances, saw in the tenant movement a substitute for the more heady nationalism of preceding years and gave it the oxygen of newspaper support. He was joined in this by several other newspaper proprietors. Duffy led the way in the organization of a conference in Dublin in early August 1850 at which representatives from all over the country formed the Irish Tenant League and adopted the program of the three Fs—fair rent, free sale, and fixity of tenure. The intention was to return to Parliament at the next election with a group of MPs pledged to make satisfactory legislation on the landlord-tenant relationship a condition for supporting any government on any issue. Two considerations gave credibility to this strategy: The party system at Westminster was in such flux that any solid block could exercise some bargaining power; and Parliament was in the process of enacting new franchise legis-

lation for Ireland that would give the vote to many farmers.

Matters were greatly complicated a few months later when the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales provoked a popular reaction that induced the government to introduce the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. This proposed restriction on religious freedom was viewed by Catholics in Ireland as a reversion to the penal laws and up to twenty Irish Catholic MPs were outspokenly opposed to the measure. As they fought against the progress of the bill, a sympathetic journalist dubbed them "the Irish brigade," and many of them—including George Henry Moore, John Sadleir, and William Keogh—gained wide prominence. Their tactics included voting against the government on issues other than the offending legislation; this was a remarkable departure for a group drawn from the repeal and Whig/Liberal ranks, since it involved voting with the Tories. The opposition of the Irish brigade made a large contribution to the destabilization of the ministry, leading to its resignation in February 1852 and the accession of a caretaker Tory government under the earl of Derby.

At a conference in Dublin in late August 1851, a few weeks after the enactment of the ecclesiastical titles legislation, the Catholic Defence Association of Great Britain and Ireland had been formed. The brigadiers were prepared to take their cause to the country and seek support for their stance. At this juncture the radical MP for Rochdale, William Sharman Crawford, brokered an agreement between the tenant-right and Catholic campaigners whereby the latter agreed to support a diluted version of the Tenant League's demands in return for cooperation at the next election. It was not a happy union, but rivalry at the hustings would have been disastrous for both. At the fiercely fought general election of 1852 most constituencies were offered a candidate or



The year 1850 saw a flurry of tenant-right meetings in both the north and the south, such as the great one at Kilkenny shown here. Largely a reaction to continuing mass evictions, the movement endorsed the “three Fs”—fair rents, fixity of tenure, and “free sale” of the tenant’s interest in his holding. The Independent Irish Party of the 1850s benefited from the popularity of tenant right. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 5 OCTOBER 1850.

candidates advocating both tenant right and Catholic rights, and many of the new voters risked the wrath of their landlords to support this compelling combination. At a conference organized by the Tenant League in September 1852, forty of the newly elected MPs, including all the brigadiers, pledged to hold themselves “perfectly independent of and in opposition to” any government not adopting tenant-right policy. Subsequently, about half of the group took a similar pledge with regard to Catholic rights.

The pledged members united to vote with the majority that ousted the Tory government on 17 December. The next administration was a Peelite-Liberal arrangement with Lord Aberdeen as prime minister. He had opposed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act and had no need to give concessions on policy in order to make himself

attractive to Catholic interests. His accession marked the end of the titles conflict and vindicated the opponents of the legislation. This meant that for those pledged MPs who were tactical refugees from the Whig-Liberal camp, the new government was very much to their liking, and about twenty of them at once became reliable supporters. This they did without any government undertakings on tenant-right policy and so in contravention of their pledges. Two of them went further and accepted office in the new administration: These were John Sadleir and William Keogh, who were denounced as renegades and subsequently became two of the most reviled figures in nationalist demonology.

Duffy fought to maintain the coherence of the much reduced Independent Party and was supported by Moore, Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam, several

newspaper proprietors, and the Tenant League. The pro-government MPs were supported by another faction of the Catholic leadership elite, most notably Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin. He was intent on doing business with the administration, and he used his contacts with Liberal-Catholic MPs most effectively to influence government policies affecting the church. The policy of independent opposition would in Cullen's eyes leave Irish Catholic interests unprotected. He used ecclesiastical authority in what opponents saw as an oppressive fashion to undermine clerical activism on the other side, and the resulting grievance helped exacerbate the conflict to the point that in 1854 Frederick Lucas of the *Tablet* appealed to Rome against Cullen, inevitably in vain. Support for the party gradually ebbed away, and in 1855 Duffy sold his interest in the *Nation* and left to start a new career in Australia. Agricultural prosperity had blunted the enthusiasm of farmers for agitation. The 1857 general election was a tame affair. The Independent Oppositionists entered it with about a dozen MPs and came out with the same number, and mostly the same personnel. Cooperation between Tories and Independent Oppositionists was noticeable at the 1857 elections. In office in 1858 and 1859, the Tories made various overtures to Catholic interests and seemed to be less inimical to the secular power of the papacy than were the Liberals. In a vote of confidence in the government on 31 March 1859 the identifiable Independent Oppositionists split seven against six. This marked the end of any pretense to coherence, but the Independent Oppositionists lost no ground in the general election of 1859, and as a faction in Irish politics they endured until 1874. The aspiration to the status of a party had been much less enduring. The punishment of the Liberals for the Ecclesiastical Titles Act had been the main success of the party, and once that had been secured with the accession of Aberdeen, there no longer existed the extraordinary provocation that had induced instinctive Liberals to break the conventions of parliamentary conduct. The remnant that tried to function after 1852 had an extraparliamentary organization in the shape of the Tenant League—that last met in 1858—but little else by way of party structure and no commanding leader. Even the most devoted of the Oppositionists adhered to conventional assumptions about the independence of the individual MP. The party machine was more than a generation away.

SEE ALSO Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

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R. V. Comerford

Indian Corn or Maize

Indian corn and meal were imported into Ireland as relief food for the poor during periods of shortages in the first half of the nineteenth century. Indian corn is derived from maize; Indian meal is the ground product. Maize is grown in warm climates such as Mediterranean countries and the southern states of North America. It is resistant to drought, gives a high yield per acre, and matures quickly. Maize has acquired the reputation of being the poor man's cereal; however, in societies where maize is the subsistence crop, the poor are vulnerable to the vitamin-deficiency disease pellagra.

Pellagra is caused by a deficiency of niacin (nicotinic acid), one of the B vitamins. Maize meal is a poor source of niacin, and what is present is in an unavailable form. Niacin can be synthesized in the body from a protein called tryptophan, but the principal protein in maize (zein) contains little tryptophan. Thus a diet composed essentially of maize is deficient in available niacin and is incapable of synthesizing the missing vitamin. The consequence is pellagra, a disease characterized by diarrhea, dementia, and dermatitis.

Maize first plugged food shortages in Ireland during the subsistence crisis of 1799 to 1801, when potato and grain yields were poor. Maize was imported again in the distressed year of 1827. When the potato harvest failed in 1845, Sir Robert Peel, the British prime minister, engaged Baring Brothers and Company to purchase the first consignment of Indian meal, worth 100,000 pounds, from the United States. Large imports followed: 7,000 tons in 1845, rising to a peak of 632,000 tons in 1847.

Initially, the population hated Indian meal. Early consignments were stale and improperly ground, and cooking was inadequate. The hard corn required steel grinders, and such equipment was not at first available



The enormous food deficit during the Great Famine would have been greater still if Indian corn or maize, ground into meal, had not been imported in large quantities. In later periods of distress, such as 1879–1880, Indian corn was used again, as shown in this 1880 sketch of women carrying home sacks of meal from a relief committee in County Galway. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 20 NOVEMBER 1880.

in Ireland. The consequence was painful intestinal disorders among a populace unused to Indian meal; the irritation to the digestive system and its yellow color earned Indian meal the name “Peel’s brimstone.” When milling techniques improved and hunger intensified, Indian meal was more readily accepted, and many families subsisted solely upon it for prolonged periods. There is no direct evidence that pellagra was widespread during the Great Famine, but conditions suggest that it is likely, though its symptoms were masked by the many other diseases rife at the time. After the famine Indian meal gained a place in the more varied diet of the laboring classes until the end of the nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Famine Clearances; Great Famine; Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 and the Gregory Clause; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Potatoes

and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century

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E. Margaret Crawford

Industrialization

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, industrial activity in Ireland was substantial and geographically widespread. The 1821 census of Ireland indicates that more than 40 percent of men and women who stated their occupation were “chiefly employed in trades, manufactures, or handicraft.” Of the provinces, Ulster, predictably, had the highest percentage (55%), followed by Connacht (43%), Leinster (33%), and Munster (24%). Six counties outside Ulster had a greater proportion of their population in trade, manufacture, or handicrafts than in agriculture. Within all the provinces there were further great disparities and in some east Ulster baronies the percentage of workers engaged mainly in trade, manufacture, or handicraft might exceed 70 percent, but even in the west of the province, some baronies had about a half of their populations so concentrated.

From the 1820s to the end of the nineteenth century, however, the process of industrialization in east Ulster accelerated, and this led by the 1850s to a much clearer industrial demarcation of this area from the rest of Ireland. Indeed, until the 1830s Dublin and Cork led Belfast in a range of industries, most notably in brewing, distilling, flour milling, and shipbuilding, but also in others such as engineering and foundries, tanning, woolen manufacture, glass-making, and paper-making.

Cork was and remained much more a commercial than an industrial city, as reflected in the significant presence of merchants on the city council. Nevertheless, the optimistic view expressed in the 1790s that the commercial significance of the city would soon rival that of Liverpool could not have been more ill founded. In fact, the nineteenth century was one of widespread stagnation, and the 1901 population figure of 76,000 was some 5 percent less than that of 1821. Even if nineteenth-century Cork lost its dynamism, it remains the case that at least 20 percent of its male and female population was engaged in manufacturing. Census data show that on the eve of the famine 8,000 men worked in manufacturing; this had fallen by a quarter in 1851, and the figure declined still further to 4,000 in 1901. The number of women in manufacturing remained much more stable in the long term: 3,500 in 1841 and around 3,000 in 1901. There was a sharp, if short-lived, increase (to over 5,000) recorded in the 1851 census, which reflected a postfamine revival movement in cottage-based manufacturing in, for example, lace-making, net-making, and knitting.

Before the development of large-scale brewing and distilling in the later eighteenth century, sugar refining was Dublin's most significant capital-intensive industry, in which the firms catered to a countrywide market. In general terms the industrial development of eighteenth-century Dublin evolved from commercial activity, where goods were manufactured for the home market from raw materials drawn either from within Ireland itself (e.g., woolens) or were imported (as with silk or iron). During the eighteenth century, Dublin was the predominant economic and social center for the whole of Ireland, and to a considerable extent this derived from the dependence of Ulster's rapidly growing linen industry on Dublin as a financial center, marketplace, and port. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, this dominance began to look less secure.

In Dublin, traditional industries like cabinetmaking and carriage manufacture declined, as did clothing, the last apparently a victim of a determination to retain outdated techniques. Few manufacturing industries developed to provide substantial employment to the "deposed capital" in the nineteenth century. There was some growth in engineering, especially relating to the railways, as well as in food and drink. A small number of large firms stand out. Among these are the Quaker biscuit manufacturer W. and R. Jacob, formerly of Waterford, which opened a factory in Dublin in 1851. The firm demonstrated an early commitment to mass-production methods and became a public company in 1883; by the beginning of the twentieth century it employed more than 2,000 workers. Dominating the

manufacturing sector in Dublin was Guinness, established in 1759, but its output still lagged behind Beamish and Crawford of Cork in the early nineteenth century. The trend in Irish brewing was to install much larger units in a smaller number of urban centers. Guinness rose to prominence not only because of its distinctive product but also through its high-quality management, technical innovation, and successful marketing. The firm exploited the British market, and as the transport system improved the market within Ireland increased. In both markets consumers increasingly favored high-quality stout. Decades of expansion led to the conversion of Guinness into a public company in 1886. Between that date and 1914, dividends on ordinary shares rose from 15.4 to 35.7 percent. Some members of the Guinness family entered the peerage. Firms like Jacob and Guinness, however, were very much the exception to the rule; indeed, apart from food and drink, much of the south and west of Ireland had very little industry by the early twentieth century.

LINEN IN THE PROCESS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Leading the industrialization process in the north of Ireland was the linen industry. Within Ireland, linen production developed from a thoroughly rural and widespread activity into a much more localized but strikingly successful example of factory-based industry centered on the Belfast area. However, factory techniques did not become widespread in spinning until the 1830s and in weaving until the late 1850s and 1860s.

The influence of Huguenot immigrants who arrived in 1698 has been shown to have been exaggerated. In fact, the industry had been growing for several decades before that. In the 1640s and 1650s substantial surpluses of linen yarn were sent from Ulster to England to be woven. A combination of cheap land, the chance to take refuge from religious persecution, and the opportunity to take advantage of the evident yarn surpluses all combined to attract migrants from the north of England and Scotland in the later seventeenth century. The earliest known reference to a significant linen industry in Ulster comes from the 1680s; from this period through the eighteenth century access to the English market was the main stimulus to Irish linen industry, especially following the abolition in 1696 of duties on flax, yarn, and cloth imported into England from Ireland. Further encouragement for Irish linen came with the formation in 1711 of the Trustees of the Hempen and Flaxen Manufactures of Ireland known as the Linen Board. The main tasks of the board were to oversee and operate the regulations governing linen duties, to promote quality control in production, and to make determined efforts through financial incentives to

spread the industry more widely outside Ulster. The board continued to function until 1828, but it lacked the expertise to ensure that its grants were used in the most cost-effective way. Even so, the most balanced assessments of the board's activities have judged it to be mildly positive, and linen dominated the manufacturing sector in both Ireland and Scotland by the later eighteenth century. During the course of that century a number of significant and related developments can be identified, each of which contributed to the subsequent transition to factory production. These included the following: (1) changes in bleaching and finishing technology and the emergence of the large-scale bleachers and drapers; (2) the move away from Dublin as the main entrepôt in the Anglo-Irish trade, and the associated switch to direct exports from Ulster; and (3) the impact of the short-lived factory-based cotton industry, whose appearance coincided with the final phase of domestic spinning in the linen industry.

Taken together, these developments were crucial in the acquisition of skill, the accumulation of capital, the refinement of credit and banking networks, and the introduction of factory techniques. Ultimately, they contributed enormously to the emergence of northeast Ulster as the premier linen-producing area in the world and also to the rise of Belfast as an example of spectacular urban growth and very much a symbol of successful industrialization. Most of the flax produced for the Irish linen industry before the 1860s was grown on farms in the north of Ireland. Having been prepared, the flax was spun and wound onto bobbins by women and children, then woven into cloth by the farmer-weavers and perhaps their older children, who would then take it to market. Although the farmer-weaver predominated, by the late eighteenth century the journeyman weaver working for a variety of middlemen was increasingly in evidence and was typically provided with board and lodging and paid a wage, or, if married, he was more likely to work in his own home. One important consequence of the growth of the linen industry, often under landlord patronage, was that it stimulated competition for land, drove up rent levels, encouraged subdivision of holdings, and increased population pressure. In 1841, for example, County Armagh was the most densely settled county in Ireland.

The techniques for flax spinning and weaving remained fundamentally unaltered before the 1820s, and the same is true for the marketing arrangements for selling the webs. The brown (unbleached) linen webs were sold through a large network of brown linen markets. At the markets, some held weekly, others monthly, jobbers could supply weavers with yarn, and drapers and bleachers purchased weavers' webs. If the drapers

played a key role in organizing and marketing the cloth, the bleachers were responsible for initiating profound long-term changes in the industry. Sometime during the eighteenth century, mechanical power was applied to bleaching, thus making it the first process in the industry to experience mechanization. From the late 1780s, following Bertollet's discovery of the bleaching properties of chlorine gas, it became possible for bleaching to be carried on throughout the year. Bleachers and their agents made more frequent appearances at brown linen markets in order to buy webs for their bleach-greens (on which linen was laid on the grass to be bleached). At the same time it is clear that bleachers might supply yarn to weavers and also play an important role in the export of linen across the Irish Sea and beyond. These changes in the scale and function of bleachers had fundamental long-term significance because bleachers turned into drapers and linen merchants provided some of the earliest machine spinning and weaving.

The linen trade contributed much to the development of an embryonic credit structure based on bills of exchange. In the absence of formal banking facilities credit networks evolved directly between northern bleachers and Dublin, and between English merchants and bankers. As direct shipments from Ulster to Britain increased, the intermediate role of Dublin declined: in 1710, 88 percent of Irish linen exports to Britain had been shipped through Dublin, but by 1780 that proportion had fallen by half. A reflection of the growing importance of the industry and the reorientation of trading links was the construction in 1785 of the White Linen Hall in Belfast. This in turn led to a further decline in the proportion of linen sent to Dublin, even from such major markets as County Armagh, which traditionally had strong links with the capital. Research in the 1980s into the late eighteenth-century business community has shown that although the construction of the Linen Hall was originally advocated by drapers, other merchants quickly came forward and used the hall's management committee in order to organize shipping arrangements and the discounting of bills of exchange. This same group of merchants has also been identified as the driving force behind the formation of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce in 1783 and of the Belfast Harbour Board two years later. These developments contributed considerably to the emergence of Belfast as a leading commercial center.

COTTON AND THE TRANSITION TO FACTORY-BASED PRODUCTION

The role of Belfast as a center of textile production was transformed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries by the cotton industry, and its origins as a factory town may be said to date from this period. The need to import raw cotton, coal, and machinery meant that the Ulster cotton industry tended to be concentrated in coastal towns such as Belfast, Bangor, Larne, and Carrickfergus, although it also spread inland. In origin the region's cotton manufacturers were from a range of backgrounds, including haberdashery and, significantly, linen bleaching and drapery. The industry was stimulated by the wars with France and by the Linen Board, which provided, *inter alia*, some thirteen grants for cotton-spinning machinery in 1782. In 1797 the board was authorized to grant up to £350 to firms wishing to purchase steam engines. The principal type of cotton produced in Belfast was muslin, a finer and lighter product than calico, though the latter was also made. The area's experience with the manufacture of fine linens ensured a ready supply of skilled labor that could easily move into muslin production.

Another factor that contributed to the switch to manufacturing muslin rather than linen was the ease with which muslin could be bleached, making it an attractive business for the small enterprise. The rise of the large bleaching businesses forced many smaller concerns out of business, but some of them were able to turn to muslin bleaching. The Ulster cotton industry was heavily reliant on imported technology, which often proved extremely troublesome to install and maintain. Belfast did not really begin to acquire a textile machine-making industry until the 1830s and 1840s, and this was in response to the growth of flax spinning. Although the cotton industry failed to lead to the development of textile machine making, it certainly helped to stimulate credit networks and banking facilities.

Banks began to develop partly in response to demands of the cotton industry, but it was the linen industry that was of much greater significance for the region and its banks in the long run. The main reason for this lies in the contraction of the cotton industry in the late 1820s and 1830s and the introduction of factory-based wet spinning of flax at the same time. However, the ascendancy of Belfast within the Irish linen trade has been shown to predate the coming of joint-stock banking and the inauguration of regular steamship services (both in the mid-1820s). For the triennium of 1820 to 1822, six ports accounted for 98 percent of Irish linen exports, and the share of Belfast (43%) was double that of Dublin. Particularly striking were the links between Belfast and Liverpool: the latter had taken a mere 8 percent of Irish linen exports, but fifty years later the proportion was 61 percent.

The advent of the wet-spinning process provided cotton spinners with an attractive alternative in the

years after 1825, when trade was depressed. Those with a great deal of fixed capital already committed in Ireland thus had an opportunity and a strong incentive to move into power spinning. For these reasons, then, it is no surprise that two of the first entrants into power flax spinning were a bleacher and a cotton manufacturer, and this in turn helps us to appreciate the technological and organizational developments in Ulster textile industries that had taken place since the late eighteenth century. Bleachers like the Murlands of Castlewellan in County Down integrated backwards into spinning, building their first mill in 1828 and their second in 1836. This set a pattern for several other bleachers such as the Richardsons at Bessbrook in County Armagh and the Adairs at Cookstown in County Tyrone. The Murlands' enterprise was an early example of factory flax spinning in the countryside using a mixture of water and steam power. The Mulhollands, by contrast, were the first to open an entirely steam-driven mill in Belfast, and their move was the first of several made by former cotton spinners who now converted to flax. By 1834 twelve mills had been built or converted and a further nine were in the process of construction. Such a rate of expansion had never been achieved by the Ulster cotton industry. Provincial production of linen was responsible for the growth of industrial villages in many parts of Ulster, especially in the period 1830 through 1870. Although most of these were in the east, some—like Sion Mills in County Tyrone, developed by the Herdman family from 1835—were in the west.

The major factor underpinning the expansion of factory spinning (and, later, factory weaving) was the growth of export markets, especially the United States. Over 40 percent of Ulster's linen exports went to the United States by the late 1850s. Textile machine making emerged soon after the advent of power spinning and by the mid-1830s was beginning to make a noticeable impact on the local economy, lessening dependence on imported technology. Mill construction continued apace, with only brief interruptions in commercial crises such as that of between 1847 and 1848, so that by 1850 there were sixty-nine spinning mills in Ireland, the vast majority of them in Ulster. One consequence was a massive increase, perhaps a doubling, in the demand for flax during the 1840s.

The advent of mill-spun yarn had an adverse effect on those households involved in hand spinning. Here both demand and wages declined drastically, and this had an adverse effect on the viability of households, especially in peripheral areas of northwest and southwest Ulster. Before the Great Famine the decline of the linen industry in these areas led to deindustrialization and emigration. To a limited extent the impact of decline

was offset by the growth of embroidery and sewing trades, which, though present from the late eighteenth century, grew rapidly from about 1830 to the 1850s. Organized largely by Scottish firms, working through agents resident in Ulster, this work perhaps served as a brake on depopulation as well as a more genteel alternative to mill work for young girls of “decent” family.

Commentators on the eve of the Great Famine were well aware of the pace of growth of Belfast, and that such growth was unprecedented. Within the Chamber of Commerce by the 1820s, although textile interests (cotton, linen, and wool) were dominant, there were also representatives from shipbuilding and engineering, tanning, distilling, printing, and, among many from the service sector, members drawn from accountancy, banking, and insurance. No group lobbied more energetically on behalf of Ulster business from the later eighteenth century and the chamber continued to grow in membership, and in the range of businesses in which members were involved, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Acutely aware of the significance of Britain as a source of raw materials and intermediate goods, especially the coal and iron that underpinned industrialization, and as a market for manufactured goods, the chamber lobbied hard for more regular and cheaper cross-channel transport and postal services and for lower port dues.

From the 1820s the chamber lent its support to the promotion of railways in Britain and Ireland as well as to improvements in mail services between Belfast and the west of Ireland. It attached great importance to free trade across the Irish Sea and declared in 1834 that “it is now generally admitted that had a free intercourse existed between this country and England since the Union such as now exists that our manufactures would be at present further advanced than they are.” This comment points to an increasingly important characteristic of the industrialization process in Ulster: it was perceived to be underpinned by the Act of Union of 1800. Many businessmen, especially in the larger export-oriented firms, were Protestant and the view that industry and trade were dependent on the British connection resulted in a strong and militant unionism in the business community. Indeed, Ulster unionism could scarcely have become the force it did from the 1880s to partition without the financial support and leadership from industrialists and merchants. The chamber also intervened in many other areas of public policy. Thus in December 1846, in the face of the “great national calamity” of the famine, it called for the “suspension of the use of grain in Breweries and Distilleries whereby the food of more than five millions of people is daily consumed in the United Kingdom.”

The mechanization of flax spinning was of fundamental importance in extending the industrialization process in northeast Ulster. The low wages of handloom weavers, together with the technical deficiencies in the power weaving of the fine linens in which Ulster specialized meant a considerable delay in the widespread adoption of power looms. However, the labor supply was dramatically curtailed through death and emigration in the late 1840s, and as a consequence wages rose by some 20 percent to 30 percent between 1848 and 1852. This particular problem was compounded as late as the early 1850s because weavers’ were to some extent locked into seasonal agricultural work. Under these circumstances the pressure to refine power loom technology intensified during the 1850s, and necessary improvements were made just in time for Ulster to reap huge benefits from the unprecedented demand for linen occasioned by the “cotton famine” during the American Civil War of 1861 to 1865.

In many ways the American Civil War period was a crucial one for the Ulster linen industry, with much new investment. A number of spinning and bleaching firms integrated weaving into their operations, but there were now more opportunities for specialist, single-process, weaving enterprises to develop. In fact, the number of looms in both types of enterprise was almost exactly equal by 1875, though there was a marked tendency for the specialist firms to increase their share of weaving capacity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the same time a relatively small number of large, fully integrated firms developed and became the giants of the industry between the 1860s and 1914. This process was accelerated by the decision, first taken by the York Street Flax Spinning Company in 1864, and soon by many others, to adopt a joint-stock form with limited liability. It was also aided by an immense expansion of bank credit, by the availability of flax increasingly imported from Europe, and by the development of a textile-engineering sector, which by mid-century also competed successfully in American and European markets.

The transition to factory production in the linen industry was the most significant feature of industrialization in nineteenth-century Ireland and led to a much greater role for Belfast in both manufacturing and services. Linen was also an industry subject to economic fluctuations, with frequent downturns in business leading to short-time working and unemployment in, for example, 1879, 1886, 1893, 1904, 1908 through 1909, and 1912. The majority of workers in the linen industry as a whole were women, but the diversification of the economic base in Belfast meant that men increasingly found work, and relatively high wages, in engineering

and shipbuilding. The two shipyards Harland and Wolff, established in the late 1850s, and Workman Clark, set up in 1879, though subject to considerable short-term fluctuations in output, grew over the long term. From the 1880s to the First World War they came to epitomize the success and self-confidence of industrial Belfast. Good business connections, bank assistance, design flair, highly skilled labor, and a massive expansion in world seaborne trade and travel, all combined to underwrite growth. On the eve of the First World War employment at Harland and Wolff had reached 14,000. Other industries such as rope making and various branches of engineering developed as spin-offs and helped to sustain expansion when the rate of expansion of the linen industry slowed. By 1911 these sectors, together with textiles, accounted for some 40 percent of total employment in the city. While three-quarters of the working population of Belfast was described as industrial, much of it in factory production and employed by medium-sized and large firms, the proportion in Dublin was just over half, and much of this was in craft industries or in unskilled occupations. For example, less than 20 percent of the work force of Guinness, Dublin's largest employer, was skilled. The population of Belfast grew from 19,000 in 1801 to 387,000 in 1911, and increasingly the city depended on a labor force born outside its boundaries: Less than 40 percent of the population had been born inside the city in 1901. Belfast was also exceptional in Ulster terms. Derry, the province's second city, had no comparably dynamic industrial base; rather, it developed a specialization in shirt making, collar making, and embroidery, mostly using female labor.

The industrialization process in Ireland conformed to a pattern of regional growth and decline often observed in Europe since the eighteenth century. Dependence on overseas trade led to an increasing concentration of industry in the northeast in general and Belfast in particular. The economic problems following the 1914 through 1918 war inflicted permanent damage on the staple industries and helped to ensure that Northern Ireland after 1920 would never have the economic self-confidence of pre-1914 Ulster and would, moreover, always have a substantial unemployment problem.

SEE ALSO Banking and Finance to 1921; Brewing and Distilling; Factory-Based Textile Manufacture; Industry since 1920; Rural Industry; Shipbuilding; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail; Women and Children in the Industrial Workforce

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Philip Ollerenshaw

Industry since 1920

Because conditions in the nineteenth century favored free trade, manufacturing in southern Ireland became concentrated in food and drink, using raw materials

from the dominant agricultural sector. Food and drink formed the bulk of exports, and Britain was the prime export market. As independence approached, the only part of Ireland that had experienced anything akin to an industrial revolution was the northeastern corner, where Belfast was the chief linen manufacturing region of the world and its shipyards were among the largest in the world—and both industries depended almost exclusively on foreign demand.

PROTECTIONISM

The nationalist perspective of Irish economic history had stressed the need for manufacturing industry and the use of tariffs to achieve that aim. Yet, the new Irish government avoided any radical departures in policy, concluding that prosperity depended on agriculture. While some farsighted steps were taken to develop the infrastructure for industry, such as the Shannon Electricity Scheme, the Cumann na nGaedheal government was reluctant to burden agriculture with higher prices—a likely outcome of industrial protection.

This changed radically with the election of Eamon de Valera's government in 1932. Fianna Fáil was happy to use the adverse impact of the worldwide Great Depression on Irish agricultural exports to launch its avowedly protectionist policy of industrial development. The objective was partly nationalistic—to keep Irish production in Irish hands—but also to provide employment and reduce emigration. Extensive use was made of tariffs, quotas, import licenses, and other protectionist instruments. There was also a wide extension of state-sponsored bodies producing industrial goods and commercial services.

Strong protectionist policies were maintained until the 1960s. Sizeable increases in manufacturing output and employment were achieved in the 1930s, but there was little further progress during and after the Second World War. The speed and scale of protectionism had evoked a plethora of undersized firms that often were engaged only in the assembly of imported parts of products for sale on the small home market. Most of these firms had neither the competence nor the resources to attain an efficient scale of operation by exploiting export markets. Foreign enterprise was frowned on, but because of the scarcity of Irish firms with the ability to run large enterprises, many foreign suppliers were allowed to establish plants to preserve their Irish sales. Such foreign subsidiaries, however, were generally prevented by their parent firms from competing in overseas markets.

THE OUTWARD-LOOKING STRATEGY

The limits of protectionism became widely recognized during the 1950s. A new outward-looking strategy evolved, though it took some time to reach its full flowering. The main ingredients were the provision of capital grants and tax concessions to encourage export-oriented manufacturing; the establishment of a new state-sponsored body, the Industrial Development Authority, to attract foreign, export-oriented firms to Ireland; and the dismantling of protectionism in return for greater access to foreign markets.

While the outward-looking strategy worked well in the 1960s when world economic conditions were favorable, it ran into problems following the first global oil crisis in 1973. Most of the output growth had come from new foreign enterprises. In the case of indigenous manufacturing, once the dismantling of protectionist policy began in earnest after 1966, there was no further rise in employment until the end of the 1970s, and between 1980 and 1988 indigenous industry shed more than one-quarter of its workforce. Neither was there much improvement in the share of output exported. The adverse situation of industry was exacerbated in the 1980s, when the flow of foreign enterprise fell and nearly 10,000 jobs were lost in such firms.

The Telesis report of 1982, commissioned by the government, documented the fragility of indigenous industry and the excessive dependence on foreign enterprise. It recommended a modification of the outward-looking strategy to give priority to building up a select number of large Irish companies to serve world markets. These new directions of policy scarcely had time to take effect before a further review was initiated, culminating in the Culliton report published in January 1992. The central message of the Culliton report was that industrial-development strategy goes well beyond industrial policy as traditionally conceived. The report called for reform of the tax system, further improvement in the physical infrastructure, and the adaptation of education and training to meet the needs of industry.

The period since the late 1980s has seen a dramatic improvement in industrial performance, with the volume of manufacturing gross output in the South rising nearly fourfold from 1986 to 2000; by 2000 it was seventy times greater than when the state was founded. Employment was slower to recover, but between 1993 and 2000 total manufacturing employment rose by more than one-quarter—a remarkable achievement at a time when it was falling in most other European countries. A big revival in new foreign enterprise has spearheaded the recovery. At the end of the 1990s foreign firms accounted for three-quarters of manufactur-

ing gross output and for nearly half the employment. Their presence is particularly noticeable in electronics and computing, where all of the world's household names in these industries, including Microsoft, IBM, Hewlett Packard, and Intel, have major production facilities in Ireland.

While foreign enterprises have led the way, there has also been a distinct improvement in the performance of native industry. Particularly encouraging has been the emergence and growth of indigenous electronics firms specializing in sophisticated niche areas of the market. By 1999 native firms were exporting an average of one-third of their output. As recently as the mid-1980s the bulk of their exports went to only one market, the United Kingdom, but at the end of the 1990s three-fifths went further afield. It is too soon to say that indigenous industry is firmly established on a new long-term growth path; nevertheless, the success of the 1990s gives solid ground for hope.

NORTHERN IRELAND

The recent industrial progress in the South contrasts sharply with the economic picture in Northern Ireland. From the 1920s onward, manufacturing employment fell substantially in Northern Ireland owing to the secular decline in the two major industries, linen and shipbuilding, in which the North's initially strong manufacturing base was concentrated. Both industries were adversely affected by the Great Depression. Linen was also subject to long-term negative changes in consumer tastes and habits, so the industry never recovered fully following the Great Depression. The Second World War brought about a revival of activity in the shipyards, but this was not sustained beyond the early postwar years. As with the shipbuilding industry in the United Kingdom generally, competition from low-cost countries and unstable demand led to long-term decline, but the impact of these forces was exacerbated by weak management, shown particularly by an inability to adapt to changing market conditions and changing techniques of production.

Attempts to provide replacement industries in Northern Ireland enjoyed some success in the 1960s, but sufficed only to stabilize the level of employment. Following the outbreak of domestic conflict in 1969, the volatile security situation and political instability deterred foreign investment. Manufacturing employment in the North fell by nearly two-fifths until the mid-1980s, and since then the level has been static.

In his celebrated statement of the case for industrialization written in 1904, the nationalist leader Arthur Griffith argued that a country, like a person, needed two

arms—industry as well as agriculture. Grafting on Griffith's second arm in the new Irish state has been a long and difficult operation, but at last it is now in place, but as the experience of Northern Ireland shows, even the strongest industrial base can be eroded unless it is constantly renewed.

SEE ALSO Brewing and Distilling; Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; Factory-Based Textile Manufacture; Guinness Brewing Company; Industrialization; Investment and Development Agency (IDA Ireland); Lemass, Seán; Marshall Aid; Overseas Investment; Shipbuilding; Social Change since 1922; Tourism; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail

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Kieran A. Kennedy

Employment in IDA supported companies

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
New jobs filled	7,074	8,227	9,938	11,955	13,197	14,768	16,154	17,949	23,158	13,514
Number of companies	860	879	914	968	1,047	1,113	1,174	1,290	1,287	1,237
Full-time employment	78,583	81,264	85,761	92,585	99,690	109,423	118,351	126,972	142,030	138,009
Net change in full-time employment	1,200	2,681	4,497	6,824	7,105	9,733	8,928	8,621	15,058	-4,021
% Net change	+1.6	+3.4	+5.5	+8.0	+7.7	+9.8	+8.2	+7.3	+11.9	-2.8
Job losses	-5,874	-5,546	-5,441	-5,131	-6,092	-5,035	-7,226	-9,328	-8,100	-17,535
Job losses as % of total jobs	7.5	6.8	6.3	5.5	6.1	4.6	6.1	7.4	5.7	12.7
Temporary employment	4,273	5,331	9,028	11,573	9,462	13,475	15,094	15,587	14,793	11,632

SOURCE: *Forfás Employment Survey*.

Investment and Development Agency (IDA Ireland)

The Investment and Development Agency of Ireland (IDA Ireland) is the autonomous state-sponsored agency responsible for attracting inward investment. Funded mainly by government grant under the National Development Plan, it has an annual budget of about €250 million, of which 5 percent is supported by European Union programs. The agency reports to the minister for enterprise, trade, and employment, who appoints the chief executive and the board, which is comprised of representatives from the private and public sectors.

IDA operates under the terms of the Industrial Development Acts 1986 to 1998, but the original Industrial Development Authority dates back to 1949. Through the 1950s and 1960s it had a relatively minor promotional role as Ireland opened up to inward investment. In 1970 it was combined with a sister agency that paid grants to industry, and the new IDA became a full-service national development agency, one of the first in the world: It planned, promoted, and negotiated new investment; it could acquire land and buildings; it administered a growing range of financial incentives for investors; and it had the task of developing native industry as well as attracting companies from abroad.

Following a restructuring of the development agencies in 1994, three organisations share responsibility for industrial development. Forfás deals with overall policy advice and coordination; Enterprise Ireland develops indigenous industry; and IDA became the Industrial and Development Agency, with the mission of bringing in new overseas investors and helping to expand and secure their operations in Ireland. In September 2001, IDA changed its name again (retaining the acronym) to *Investment and Development Agency*, since only 40 per-

cent of investment now fits the traditional industrial classification.

IDA administers a range of investment incentives: capital grants, employment grants, and grants for training and for research and development; and it provides sites and buildings, often in partnership with private developers. The most important financial incentive is the low corporation tax rate: zero on export profits (1956–1980); 10 percent (1980–2003); 12.5 percent (2003–). The agency markets abroad Ireland's advantages as a location for investment: a stable economy and society; skilled, productive young workers; access to the European Union market; and competitive production costs.

IDA is now trying to achieve a better balance of development across the more remote regions and is moving some sectoral divisions away from its Dublin head office. For the future it will focus more on innovation- and research-driven investment and will take a wider role in ensuring that the appropriate skills and facilities are available in Ireland. IDA has a staff of three hundred of whom about sixty are marketing executives based in the agency's sixteen overseas offices (six in the United States).

SEE ALSO *Celtic Tiger; Economic Development*, 1958; *Industry since 1920; Overseas Investment; State Enterprise*

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Finn Gallen

Irish Colleges Abroad until the French Revolution

Between the 1570s and the French Revolution about thirty colleges were established in Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, France, central Europe, Portugal, and Italy to provide the Irish Catholic Church with priests, to educate the lay Catholic elite, and to maintain the influence of European Catholic powers in Ireland. Their primary function was to train Catholic clergy.

In the medieval period Irish clerical students were educated informally, usually by parish clergy. Because medieval attempts to establish universities in Ireland failed, a small number of talented or ambitious students traditionally traveled to English, Scottish, and continental European universities to pursue further studies. These practices changed dramatically in the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) laid down strict rules regarding the education of priests, the most important of which was the duty imposed on bishops to establish diocesan seminaries. The primary object of seminaries was to encourage the moral and spiritual growth of obedient and disciplined clergy in order to reform the church and combat heresy. Due to the extension of Tudor and Stuart power in Ireland, the associated introduction of the Protestant Reformation, government prohibition of Catholic schools and sheer lack of resources and organization, Irish bishops were unable to comply with the new tridentine regulations. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Irish Catholics were gradually excluded from political and civil life. For Old English Catholics, concentrated especially in Munster and Leinster, uncertainty regarding land tenure grew. For Gaelic Irish Catholics, particularly in Ulster, confiscation and plantation were stark realities. For both Catholic communities in Ireland, religious persecution became a sporadic but constantly threatening reality. In these circumstances the possibility of establishing secondary schools, seminaries, and universities in Ireland was remote.

From the late 1540s Irish students began to turn up in continental Europe, where they were accommodated in already established seminaries or in the fledgling English and Scots recusant (Catholic) colleges. In about 1578 in Paris six clerics came together under the Waterford-born priest John Lee and found lodgings in the Collège de Montaigu and later in the Collège de Navarre. As the numbers of Irish students abroad increased, the small, informal Irish communities developed into proper seminaries with church recognition and usually insecure financial patronage. About twelve colleges were set

up by religious orders to train their own clerical students, and about seventeen were established for the training of secular or diocesan clergy and laymen. These secular colleges were often run by religious orders, usually Jesuits. Most of the earliest foundations were in Spain or the Spanish Netherlands because the Spanish Habsburgs had strategic interests in Ireland and were traditional champions of Catholicism, and because these territories had long-established commercial relations with Ireland and thriving universities. The Irish also established a number of colleges in France, where there was relative religious peace following the edict of Nantes (1598), in central Europe and in Rome.

The most important of the early colleges were in Spanish territories. The first successful attempt to found a college was in 1592, when the Jesuit Thomas White (1556–1622) of Clonmel secured the patronage of Philip II (1527–1598) for an institution in Salamanca. During its first fifty years it educated nearly four hundred Irish seminarians. In 1594, the Meath-born Christopher Cusack founded the Irish college of Saint Patrick at Douai in the Spanish Netherlands; from it a number of small colleges were launched in Antwerp (1600), Lille (1610), and Tournai (1616). The arrival of large numbers of Irish emigrants after the battle of Kinsale (1601–1602) led to another spate of foundations; in 1605, for instance, Eugene McCarthy established a private college at Santiago to provide for the education of the family and retinue of the Gaelic lord, Donal Cam O'Sullivan Beare. Its rather informal discipline aroused the concern of King Philip III (1578–1621), who placed the college under the care of the Jesuits in 1611.

Jesuit influence in the college network was strong but not overwhelming and was balanced by that of the Irish Franciscans, Dominicans, and others. From the late sixteenth century, pressure from the Dublin government forced the Irish Franciscans to set up a network of colleges, friaries, and student residences in continental Europe. The first Irish Franciscan college, Saint Anthony's, was founded by Florence Conry (1560–1629) in Louvain, Spanish Netherlands in 1607, with a faculty educated at the university of Salamanca. Saint Anthony's became a center for the formation of clergy for the Irish mission, especially in the Gaelic-speaking parts of both Ireland and Scotland, and consequently developed a speciality in Irish language and hagiography. Saint Isidore's in Rome, set up in 1625 by Luke Wadding (1588–1657), achieved recognition as a center for international Franciscan studies, especially in history, hagiography, and the theology of Duns Scotus (1266–1308). Pressure of numbers in Louvain and Rome obliged the Irish Franciscans to found a college at Prague in 1631. Members of its theological staff, at the

invitation of the local archbishop, joined the theology faculty of the local seminary. A Franciscan friary was founded at Vielun in Poland in 1645, but owing to the opposition of local Franciscans, it closed in 1653. The friary set up in Capranica in Italy in 1656 became an important summer residence for the Irish Franciscans in Rome. The last Franciscan college was founded in 1700 at Boulay, near Metz, France under the patronage of Leopold, duke of Lorraine.

The Irish Dominicans suffered from the same pressures in Ireland as their Franciscan confreres and were obliged to establish colleges abroad, at Louvain, Lisbon, and Rome. Their Louvain college was founded in 1626, and in 1767 it boasted a community of about fifty. The remarkable Dominican Daniel O'Daly (1595–1662), who served as an outstanding diplomat for the house of Braganza, the royal house of Portugal, founded the Lisbon college in 1629. It suffered badly in the earthquake of 1755, when it had a community of more than twenty-five, all of them Irish. Associated with it was an Irish Dominican convent for female religious, also founded by O'Daly. The Dominican priory of San Clemente in Rome was established in 1677. The Augustinians set up a college in Rome in 1656, and the Capuchins had an institution in Charleville (1620). The Irish Carmelites were established in La Rochelle in 1665 and in Aix-la-Chapelle in 1677. In French territory diocesan colleges were founded in Bordeaux (1603), Rouen (1612), Toulouse (1645?), and Nantes (1689?). The college in Nantes quickly grew in importance and by 1765 housed over sixty students.

The colleges were small in the early days, rarely housing more than a dozen students at a time. They encountered great difficulty in supporting themselves financially, and many had to be closed, usually temporarily, when patronage dried up. The Irish College in Paris had a sporadic existence until the 1610s when it secured the patronage of Jean L'Escalopier, the president of the *parlement* of Paris (died 1619), and was awarded letters patent from Louis XIII (1601–1643) in 1623. The Irish pastoral college in Louvain enjoyed a relatively large number of scholarships, many of which were established between 1692 and 1783. However, these scholarships had various conditions attached to their allocation, and it was frequently difficult to find suitably qualified candidates. In other colleges priests supported themselves through Mass stipends or chaplaincies. They helped in neighboring parishes, acted as chaplains in hospitals, and gave religious instruction to the children of the local Irish community.

The places available in the colleges were not always filled, and many students split their time between two or more colleges. Students came from a great variety of

backgrounds, but most had already received some informal secondary tuition in Ireland, mostly in the classics, and generally had access to at least some limited resources; for instance, Nicolas Marob, a native of Kilkenny, possessed an extensive wardrobe and a copy of Suárez's *Rhetoric* when he arrived in Salamanca in 1595. Because of the difficulties in securing education in Ireland, many of the students who traveled to Spain were already mature men in their twenties or thirties, and some were ordained priests. All students were required to take oaths of obedience, promising to observe college rules and to return to the Irish mission on completion of their studies. The students were subjected to a strict discipline, the Paris seminarians in the 1620s rising at 4:30 A.M. and following an exhausting schedule until they retired at 9:00 P.M. Students in the Irish foundations pursued their studies in the college itself or attended lectures at a neighboring university or at a local Jesuit house of studies. Those who were not already ordained priests entered the colleges at about sixteen or seventeen years old and spent about nine years in study before returning to Ireland. Those already ordained usually spent about five or six years abroad. In the eighteenth century there was a tendency to prolong the period of study. In 1742, for instance, the course of studies in the Franciscan and Dominican colleges was extended by two years.

The philosophical and theological education of the students reflected the preferences of the local universities and the college authorities. The Irish Franciscans favored the philosophy and theology of Duns Scotus, so their houses in Louvain, Rome and Prague became important centers of Scotist scholarship. Between 1630 and 1769 about 257 theological theses were defended at Saint Anthony's, and of these, the overwhelming majority (231) dealt with Scotist theology. The Franciscan colleges provided teaching staff for seminaries all over Europe, notably in central Europe, and were instrumental in propagating renewed Scotist theology in the Habsburg sphere. Some of the Irish Franciscans in the low countries and Rome, such as Florence Conry, Hugh de Burgo, and Luke Wadding, contributed to the theological and moral tendencies that later became associated with Jansenism, but in general, the Irish of the colleges, both staff and students, were careful to observe the theological disciplines favored by the local ordinaries. The Irish Franciscans in particular fostered the study of Irish history, language, and hagiography. Hugh Ward (d. 1635), Patrick Fleming (1599–1631), John Colgan (1592–1658), and Thomas O'Sheerin (d. 1673) were pioneers in these fields. The extraordinary, if wayward, Peter Walsh (1614–1688) was also educated in Louvain, and his literary output made him one of the most widely read Irish Catholic writers in En-

gland and Ireland in the 1660s and 1670s. The Irish college in Paris also produced scholars of repute, including the Meath-born third rector and hagiographer Thomas Messingham (about 1580–1638?), and David Rothe (1568?–1651), who became bishop of Ossory. In the eighteenth century the Paris college produced a number of theologians, catechists, and Gaelic scholars including the Dubliner Cornelius Nary (1660–1730), and from Roscommon, Anthony Dunlevy (1694–1746), the author of the Irish-language catechism *An Teagasc Críós-duidhe* (1742). Another student was Michael Moore (about 1639–1726), who left his library to the Irish college in Paris and was a distinguished, much-published late Aristotelian and critic of Descartes. Among the products of the Irish colleges in Rome Luke Wadding was a giant, but there were many others, including the theologian Francis Molloy (d. 1660).

On the completion of their training the young priests were supposed to return to Ireland, but getting trained clergy back to Ireland was not easy. In Spain, on the completion of their courses, Irish priests could apply to the Spanish king for the royal contribution, or *viaticum*, granted under certain conditions to help pay for the journey back to Ireland. Between 1619 and 1659 at least 280 Irish priests, mostly Dominicans and Franciscans, applied for the viaticum, but from the frequent references to Irish clergy active in Spanish and French dioceses, it appears that a substantial number never returned to Ireland. Some served as chaplains in the Irish regiments, others remained to staff the colleges, and a number entered pastoral ministry in their host countries.

The fledgling institutions suffered from internal divisions, often caused by disputes concerning the selection of superiors. In the diocesan colleges they were sometimes appointed by the local bishops, but in many cases they were elected by the students, usually according to a provincial quota system that was supposed to ensure representation of all parts of Ireland. Failures of the system were a constant cause of disharmony. Provincial differences ran deep, chiefly because the Irish migrants brought to the continent the traditional provincial rivalries that divided them at home. The main disagreement was between students from Munster and Leinster, which were largely Old English, and Ulster and Connacht, where the Gaelic Irish predominated. Because the Irish Jesuits recruited chiefly in Munster and Leinster and were also anxious to gain control of the colleges, there were frequent clashes between them and representatives of the Gaelic Irish. In 1602, for example, the Connacht-born Franciscan Florence Conry, with the support of the Ulster nobleman Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (1572–1602), petitioned Philip III to re-

move the Jesuits from the Salamanca college, accusing them of mismanaging funds, favoring Old English seminarians, and encouraging loyalty to Elizabeth I (1533–1603). Such disagreements were all too common. In Iberia, the Jesuits tended to prevail and eventually won control of all the Irish colleges there, with the exception of Alcalá. Thus the Society of Jesus exercised a decisive influence on the training of the Irish Counter-Reformation clergy, especially in Spain.

The fate of many Irish colleges was linked with the fate of the Jesuits in Europe: Suppression of the Jesuits in Portugal in 1759 and in Spain in 1767 led to the closures of the Irish colleges they ran. Salamanca was the only Spanish college re-established after the French revolutionary wars, and while the diocesan college in Lisbon remained open throughout the wars, it closed definitively in 1834. In Prague the Franciscan college, beset by internal feuding, was dissolved by Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790) in 1786 as part of his sweeping ecclesiastical reforms. The colleges in France fared better, and in the eighteenth century, the college in Paris was the largest, with a total of 200 student places, about a third of the total number of seminary places available on the continent of Europe for Irish clerical students. Before the French Revolution, fifteen Irish bishops were Paris-trained, and Paris-educated clergy were exposed to the latest trends in theology thanks to the lectures of Dublin-born Luke Joseph Hooke (1714–1796) and others. In addition, the Irish college in Paris was an important center for the wider Irish migrant community, providing financial and legal aid as well as spiritual services to the Irish soldiers, students, and merchants resident in or passing through Paris.

The French Revolution sealed the fate of the French colleges. The passing of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1791 disrupted church life and led to the seizure of the Irish college in Paris in 1793. The French invasion of the Austrian Netherlands in 1793 spelled the end of Saint Anthony's and the other colleges in the low countries. In the end it was the combined effect of the suppression of the Jesuits, the amalgamation of the smaller Spanish colleges with Salamanca, the reforms of Emperor Joseph II, the French invasion of Rome in 1798, and the confiscation of church property all over French-occupied Europe that dealt the fatal blow to most of the Irish colleges. By 1799 only three were functioning effectively. In 1795 an act of the Irish parliament (passed with a lot of arm-twisting by William Pitt [1759–1806]) effected the foundation of the Royal Catholic College of Maynooth. Henceforth the Irish church could produce its clergy at home, and consequently, the importance of the continental colleges diminished.

During their two centuries of activity, however, the Irish continental colleges were vital to the maintenance of Catholicism in Ireland, and practically every Irish ecclesiastic in the period was associated with them. The colleges provided an educated clergy; they helped to maintain the network of contacts that held together the Irish migrant communities in western Europe; they sustained the political influence of the Catholic powers in Ireland; and they were powerfully active intellectual centers, playing a pivotal role in the modernization of Irish Catholic culture in the early modern period. Their disappearance deprived the nineteenth-century Irish church of an enriching continental influence.

SEE ALSO *Annals of the Four Masters*; Council of Trent and the Catholic Mission; Education: 1500 to 1690; Wild Geese—The Irish Abroad from 1600 to the French Revolution

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Thomas O'Connor

Irish Language

See Language and Literacy: Decline of Irish Language; Language and Literacy: Irish Language since 1922.



Irish Pound

In January 2002 the Irish pound was replaced by the euro as the legal tender and currency of the Republic,

and its notes and coin are now only collectors' items. Three years earlier, management of monetary affairs passed to the European Central Bank, and legally speaking the Irish pound was already a denomination of the euro, the currency of the European Monetary Union (EMU).

Using the currency of others is not a new experience for the Irish. Indeed, for most of the past two centuries, the Irish pound has had a shadowy existence, sheltering behind the pound sterling. Just twice did the currency emerge as a truly autonomous entity—first during the Napoleonic wars and more recently for the last two decades of the twentieth century, when it fluctuated as a member of the European Monetary System (EMS). Both periods of fluctuation were uneasy ones.

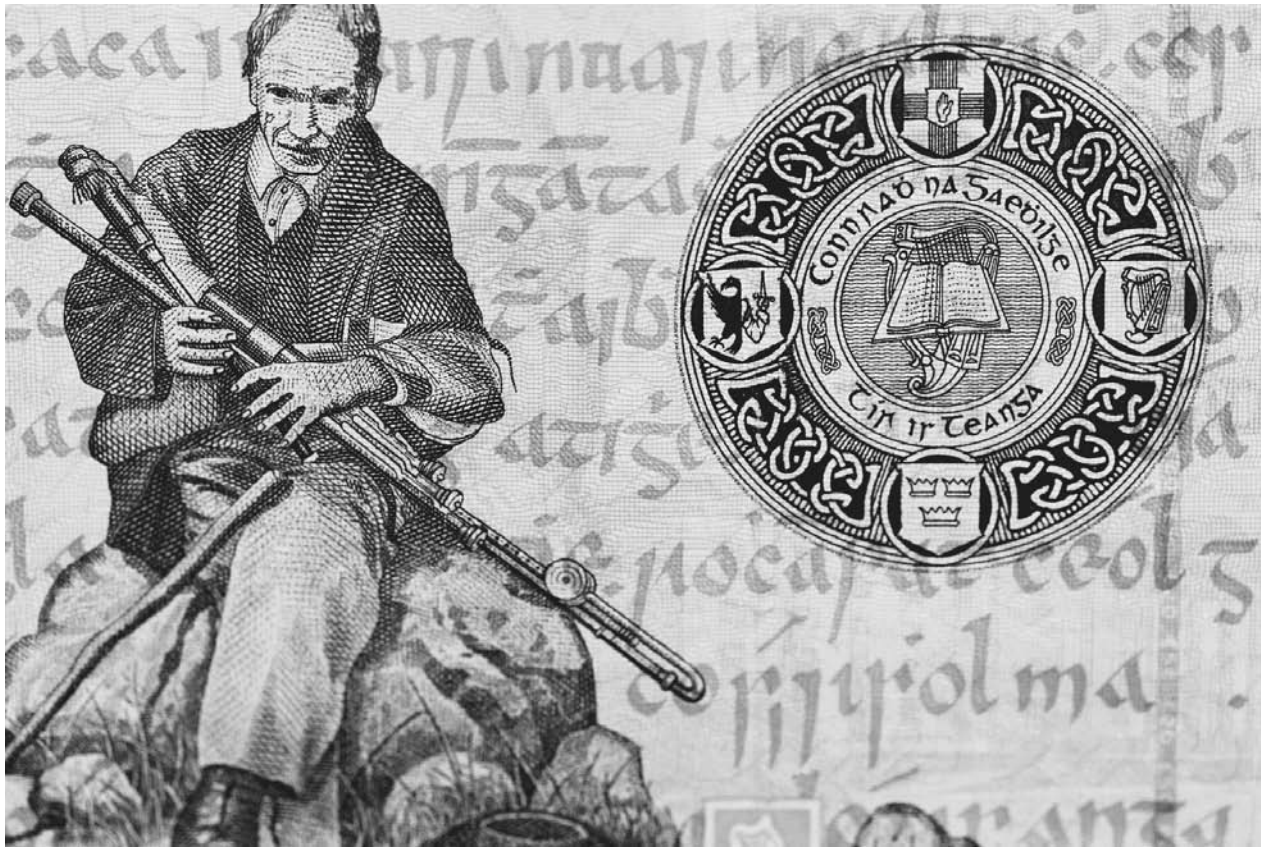
EARLY YEARS

All through the eighteenth century the value of the Irish pound had been fixed at thirteen Irish to twelve sterling. There was an Irish copper coinage, but before the establishment under statute of the Bank of Ireland in 1783, larger payments were mainly made in foreign silver and gold coin and in the banknotes of the small and often short-lived private banks. At first, the Bank of Ireland's notes were convertible into gold or Bank of England notes at the fixed rate, but when convertibility of both banks' notes was suspended in 1797, the Irish notes began to depreciate more quickly, puzzling many contemporaries and prompting the establishment of a parliamentary select committee. The committee's 1804 report broke new intellectual ground in pinpointing the excessive issue of bank notes in Ireland as the source of the problem. By 1821, with the dust of the wars settled, convertibility was restored at the old fixed rate; five years later, the Irish pound was effectively merged with sterling. Irish banks continued to issue sterling banknotes (a privilege which they retain to the present day in respect of their operations in Northern Ireland).

THE STERLING LINK

The foundation of the new state a century later called for the creation of a new currency. First on the agenda was the preparation of a national coinage, admirably accomplished with the beautiful 1926 design showing Brian Boru's harp (still to be found on the euro coins) on the obverse. The reverse shows animal representations—a woodcock on the farthing, a horse on the half-crown, and a hare, wolfhound, bull, sow, and hen on other denominations.

The financial conservatism of the early administrations of the Irish Free State is clearly exemplified by the



This £50 note, designed by Robert Ballagh, featured a piper and the crest of the Gaelic League, overlaid on a sixteenth-century manuscript from the Royal Irish Academy. The front featured a portrait of Douglas Hyde, Gaelic League founder and first president of Ireland. This note was in use from 1995 until 2002. © ROYALTY-FREE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

decision to establish a currency commission, on the long-established model of British colonies, rather than a full-fledged central bank. From 1928 the commission issued Irish banknotes in exchange for sterling notes. It undertook to buy back these notes on a one-for-one basis and held a full and liquid reserve of sterling and other foreign assets. The Irish banks were also allowed to continue issuing notes, but on a consolidated basis, jointly guaranteed by the banks and the commission, rather than bank by bank (these consolidated notes began to be phased out in 1943). Bank of England notes also circulated freely, as did British coin. By 1942, attracted by the international vogue for central banking, a more activist administration had established the Central Bank of Ireland with extensive powers. However, these were at first little used, and the one-for-one sterling parity of the Irish pound never came under threat. Indeed, such calls that were made for a revision in the parity were generally for an appreciation—for example, at the time of the 1949 sterling devaluation and again when inflation was being imported as a result of sterling weakness in the mid-1970s.

It has been suggested that the one-for-one link may have served as a blinker to Irish exporters, inhibiting firms from breaking into more dynamic markets in Europe and elsewhere. By 1978 the United Kingdom still accounted for 47 percent of Irish exports, though this was less than half the share recorded in 1926. But the sterling link also provided a worthwhile discipline to government policy. Only twice did governments attempt to break away from this discipline. The first was in 1955, when an attempt to hold Irish interest rates down when London rates were rising was followed by a payments crisis that precipitated a deep recession and a surge of emigration. The second was in the late 1970s, when expansionary loan-financed government fiscal policy overheated the economy. This episode could ultimately have threatened the parity, but as it happened, it was suddenly abandoned for essentially political reasons.

INTO EUROPE

It was only in 1978, when beckoned to join the EMS, a Franco-German project for a new zone of monetary



People in line outside the Central Bank in Dublin to exchange their Irish pounds for Euros on 1 January 2002. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

stability in Europe, that the Irish government decided to make the change. At first there was some hope that it would prove possible to hold the Irish pound's value at one pound sterling while still respecting the fluctuation limits in the EMS, despite the fact that Britain had not joined the new exchange-rate mechanism. But the strength of sterling in the early months of the EMS, buoyed up as it was by North Sea oil revenues and by the tight monetary policy of the Thatcher administration, put paid to that hope. It is arguable that a continuation of the sterling link into the early 1980s would have proved politically unsupportable, considering the loss of competitiveness that it might have entailed at a time of rapidly growing unemployment associated with the fiscal adjustment of those years.

During the twenty years of the EMS the Irish pound fluctuated widely against sterling, going below 74 pence (February 1981) and as high as 110 pence (November 1992). Nor was it stable against EMS partner currencies. Realignment in the EMS were fairly frequent, averaging about one a year in the 1980s, and the Irish pound depreciated steadily against the Deutsche

Mark (DM), anchor of the system, reaching a cumulative depreciation of 34 percent at its low point in 1993. These depreciations both reflected wider weaknesses in the Irish economy in those years and served to prevent a loss of competitiveness from compounding those weaknesses. Thus, contrary to the fears of many observers, linking the currency with the DM did not impose an unsupportable discipline, largely because the option of depreciation was readily availed of. By the same token EMS membership did not help to stamp out Irish inflation; though inflation did come down in the 1980s, the reduction lagged behind that of Britain.

Overall, Ireland's experience with an independent currency in the years of the EMS was not a very happy one. Interest rates were high, giving depositors a return of about 2.5 percent per annum more than would have been available in DM-denominated assets. Implicit in the interest differentials were exaggerated fears of devaluation, especially at times of sterling weakness. High Irish interest rates in the 1980s hampered fiscal adjustment and slowed economic growth.

Perhaps reflecting the checkered experiences of currency independence in Ireland, a sizable 69 percent majority voted in favor of the euro in a constitutional referendum in 1992, though many voters surely had their eyes mainly on the other tangible benefits which economic integration into Europe had brought the country. Specialists were more narrowly divided on the issue: Though a majority favored joining the EMU, few thought that the net advantages of abandoning the national currency and adopting the euro would be substantial.

SEE ALSO Banking and Finance to 1921; Celtic Tiger; Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920

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Patrick Honohan



Irish Republican Army (IRA)

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) originated from the Irish Volunteers, a nationalist militia established in 1913. Following Sinn Féin's establishment of a national parliament, Dáil Éireann, in 1919 and its declaration of an Irish republic, the Volunteers became known as the Irish Republican Army. Under the resourceful leadership of Michael Collins, from 1919 to 1921 the IRA fought an effective guerrilla-warfare campaign against British rule in Ireland. In July 1921, when both sides had fought to a stalemate, a truce was agreed to allow Sinn Féin and the British government to negotiate a settlement.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty, which was signed in December 1921 and narrowly accepted by the Dáil in Jan-

uary 1922, split the republican movement. The treaty offered a significant degree of autonomy for southern Ireland but entailed dominion rather than republican status and required the swearing of a loyalty oath to the British crown. The partition of the unionist-dominated six northeastern counties (constituted as Northern Ireland in 1920) was not a central issue. Despite broad public support for the treaty, many Volunteers who had sworn an oath to the Republic viewed the compromise as a betrayal. Led by Michael Collins, much of the IRA's leadership supported the treaty, but many republicans, particularly those from the areas most active in the preceding war, opposed it in the Irish Civil War (1922–1923). The antitreaty IRA also drew support from rural areas with a tradition of land agitation and opposition to authority. After a short but bitter conflict the IRA dumped its arms and suspended its violent campaign.

Despite defeat, Irish republicans rejected the Irish Free State and professed loyalty to the republican Dáil, which was composed of antitreaty Sinn Féin deputies. The relationship between the military and political wings of the republican movement remained strained as many IRA figures blamed politicians for the events preceding the Civil War. Even Eamon de Valera, the leading antitreaty figure, was regarded with suspicion because of his earlier support for a settlement that fell short of establishing an independent republic. At the 1925 IRA convention, amid rumors that de Valera might enter the Free State Dáil, the IRA withdrew its allegiance to the republican Dáil and vested authority in its own executive. It restructured itself as a secret army under the command of a seven-member army council whose principal enemy was the Irish Free State rather than Britain or Northern Ireland. Abstention from parliament, suspicion of politics, and commitment to physical force became the characteristics of militant republicanism in independent Ireland.

Although too weak to militarily threaten the Free State, the IRA engaged in periodic acts of violence, notably the assassination of the deputy head of government, Kevin O'Higgins, in 1927. The ensuing spiral of IRA violence and government coercion destabilized the state, while the IRA's increasingly socialist rhetoric also provoked concern. The IRA's political initiative, Saor Éire (1931), the first of several opportunistic attempts to harness social and economic grievances to republican objectives, aroused clerical and public disapproval and the subsequent "red scare" was used by the protreaty government to suppress the IRA.

The election of Fianna Fáil (a constitutional republican party which maintained links with the IRA despite entering the Dáil) in 1932 proved a greater threat to the



The outbreak of violence in Northern Ireland in 1969 led to the revival of the Irish Republican Army. The IRA was responsible for the deaths of 1,778 of the 3,665 men and women killed in the “Troubles” between 1966 and 2001. © TOPHAM/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

IRA, as the party which comprised much of the Civil War antitreaty leadership demonstrated the possibility of achieving republican objectives through peaceful means. De Valera’s reforms, such as scrapping the loyalty oath and the 1922 constitution, reconciled all but the most militant republicans to the southern state government and increased dissension within the IRA. In 1934 the IRA’s left-wing minority, led by Peadar O’Donnell, split to form the Republican Congress, a short-lived socialist organization. In 1936, following several murders, de Valera banned the IRA. A disastrous bombing campaign in England, begun in 1939, soon petered out. The outbreak of World War II offered the IRA an opportunity to ally with Germany, but despite some IRA-German contact, the main consequence of the emergency (as World War II was known in Ireland) was de Valera’s ruthless suppression of the IRA with much public support. Draconian legislation, including the introduction of internment and the death penalty, crushed the IRA in southern Ireland. Subsequent IRA activism would focus on the North.

THE PROVISIONAL IRA

The IRA’s border campaign (1956–1962) appeared to confirm the ineffectiveness of physical force and led to a process of politicization as figures such as IRA Chief of Staff Cathal Goulding urged republican participation in the Catholic civil-rights movement. However, the resurgence of sectarian violence in the summer of 1969 revived tensions between the left-wing Dublin leadership led by Goulding and northern republicans who emphasized the IRA’s role as armed defenders of the Catholic community. The leadership’s decision to support a left-wing united front and end abstention from the Dáil led to a split in December 1969. The dissidents, led by Seán MacStiofáin, established a rival “provisional” IRA and a rival Sinn Féin (under Ruairí Ó Bradaigh) to continue the armed struggle. The “provisional” and “official” movements coexisted uneasily, but the original IRA’s Marxism and ambiguity toward physical force resulted in further splits (including one that resulted in the formation of the extremist Irish National Liberation Army in 1975) and eventual terminal decline.

The early 1970s saw the escalation of the IRA's armed campaign which, despite ruthless tactics, won support in republican areas, partly due to the Unionist government's failed security policy that resulted in mass searches, curfews, internment, and "Bloody Sunday" (when the British army killed thirteen unarmed Catholic civilians). Bloody Sunday prompted direct rule from London in 1972 and several years of intense violence. A brief cease-fire in 1975 produced no results, the IRA leadership offering a politically unrealistic "Brits out" ultimatum, and a greatly weakened IRA resumed the armed campaign. Military setback was again followed by internal debate and calls for politicization. The subsequent "long war" strategy, developed by the rising northern IRA leadership, advocated the development of a broad political base but, crucially, not at the expense of armed struggle. The IRA turned to a cell system of organization that rendered British penetration more difficult by limiting the amount of information which volunteers who were turned by security forces could provide. The 1981 hunger strikes, the culmination of a lengthy struggle between republican prisoners and the British prison authorities, appeared to end in defeat after the deaths of ten prisoners, but the public sympathy it generated provided the first evidence of a potentially strong political base for Sinn Féin, which won seats in the British parliament and the Irish Dáil.

The "armalite and ballot box" strategy produced some gains in the 1980s, but the IRA faced increasing pressure from the penetration of informers, "supergrass" trials (the mass conviction of IRA volunteers based on the evidence of a former member), and the effective deployment of Britain's Special Air Service (SAS). The strategy also produced dissension as the younger northern leadership (led by Gerry Adams, who became Sinn Féin president in 1983) began dumping Sinn Féin's historical baggage. In 1986 Ó Bradaigh resigned from the party to protest the ending of abstention from the Dáil and founded the splinter Republican Sinn Féin, which would later be associated with the dissident Continuity IRA, who oppose the "peace process."

Talks that began in 1988 between the Social Democratic and Labour Party leader, John Hume, and Gerry Adams (along with secret British-IRA contacts) raised hopes for peace. Over the next six years, republicans modified their demands and formed a closer understanding with northern nationalists, the southern government, and Bill Clinton's White House. The 1993 Anglo-Irish Downing Street Declaration, setting out the principles underpinning any settlement (most importantly, the validity of the aspiration to national self-determination and the necessity for unionist consent), was followed by an IRA cease-fire in 1994. Following

the British government's reluctance to initiate further talks, the IRA returned to violence seventeen months later. A second cease-fire in 1997 was followed by all-party negotiations that produced the Good Friday Agreement in April 1998. Since then, the resulting power-sharing executive and associated institutions have functioned fitfully, constrained by the IRA's failure to fully decommission and cease all operations, disagreements over policing, dissident republican violence, and substantial unionist hostility to the agreement itself. The IRA's cease-fire has, with some transgressions, held, and Sinn Féin continues to expand, for the first time out-polling the Social Democratic and Labour Party as the largest nationalist party in the June 2001 British general election.

SEE ALSO Adams, Gerry; Civil War; Collins, Michael; Decommissioning; Hunger Strikes; Loyalist Paramilitaries after 1965; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Nationalist Politics in Northern Ireland; Special Powers Act; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule; **Primary Documents:** Proclamation Issued by IRA Leaders at the Beginning of the Civil War (29 June 1922); Republican Cease-Fire Order (28 April 1923); On Community Relations in Northern Ireland (28 April 1967); Irish Republican Army (IRA) Cease-Fire Statement (31 August 1994); Text of the IRA Cease-Fire Statement (19 July 1997)

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Fearghal McGarry

Irish Republican Brotherhood

See Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Irish Tithe Act of 1838

The Irish Tithe Act of 1838 effectively ended the tithe war of the 1830s. Earlier legislation in 1823 and 1832 had converted the contentious and fluctuating tithe charge into a fixed, standard payment based on the quality and quantity of land that each tithe payer held. Left unresolved, however, was the basic problem that Anglican clergymen still had to collect tiny sums from thousands of Catholic parishioners, all of whom fiercely resented being forced to support the Protestant Established Church. The 1838 act addressed this problem by transferring the burden of paying tithes from the numerous occupiers of the land, who were overwhelmingly Catholic, to the relatively fewer owners of land, who were usually Anglican.

By the terms of the 1838 act, tithe was converted into a charge on the landowner at three-quarters of the original amount due to the tithe owner. A tithe owner who previously had tried to collect a total of £100 from the many occupants of a parish would now receive £75 directly from the owner of the estate. In theory, the landowner could then add up to the full amount of the original tithe to his tenants' rent, thus receiving a bonus of up to 25 percent for his trouble. The liability traveled down through the layers of subtenants, stopping just above those who held land at will or from year to year. Tenants in this latter category, comprising the vast majority of Catholic landholders, were now completely exempt from tithe. In addition, all the uncollected tithe of the 1830s was effectively written off, as was the money already advanced to Anglican clergymen in 1833 by parliamentary act. Additional money left over from that 1833 legislation was now made available to tithe owners in order to help cover their losses.

Despite eight years of fierce resistance to paying tithes, the new rent charge met with surprisingly little opposition. By removing the burden of tithe from the majority of Catholic landholders and by abandoning all efforts to collect arrears, the new measure insured that the countryside would remain undisturbed. Furthermore, nonpayment of what was now rent carried a greater risk, as a landlord could evict or refuse to renew a lease.

The 1838 act finally put an end to the hostile transaction between Anglican parsons and the rural Catholic population, while maintaining tithe as a species of property for the support of the Protestant Established Church. It provided much needed financial stability to the Church in the years before its disestablishment in 1869.

SEE ALSO Defenderism; Land Questions; Oakboys and Steelboys; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Tithe War (1830–1838); Whiteboys and Whiteboyism

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Suzanne C. Hartwick

Irish Women Workers' Union

After a summer of labor unrest, the Irish Women Workers' Union (IWWU) was launched in Dublin on 5 September 1911, with James Larkin as president and his sister Delia as general secretary. James Larkin had decided that membership in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) was reserved to men; the IWWU was formed on the principle that women workers needed their own union, and it was supported by suffragists. The union claimed 1,000 members in 1912. Subsidized by the ITGWU, it suffered financially from the 1913 lockout, and Delia Larkin left her position to work in London in 1915. She was refused re-admission to the union on her return in 1918.

Following the 1916 Rising, the ITGWU president Thomas Foran invited Louie Bennett (1870–1956), a socialist and suffragist from a prosperous Dublin Protestant merchant family, to reorganize the IWWU. The union expanded to represent members in nursing and some twenty other industries, chiefly traditionally feminine industries such as printing, papermaking, and laundering. It also issued a newspaper, *An Bhean Oibre* (The woman worker), from 1926 to 1928. Dublin-based, with a few provincial branches, IWWU membership varied from 5,300 in 1918 to 3,300 in 1932, peaking at 6,782 in 1949.

Bennett served as general secretary of the IWWU from 1917 to 1955 and was also prominent in the Labour Party and Irish Trade Union Congress. While committed to equal rights and equal pay for women and critical of the Conditions of Employment Act (1936) and the role prescribed for women in Bunreacht na hÉireann for providing a legal basis for the belief that a woman's place was in the home, she accepted the prevailing trade-

union view that employment of women endangered family life and the wage rates of male workers. As a pacifist, she disliked conflict, though the IWWU led strikes, notably an action by laundry workers in 1945, and its moderate industrial policy was partly dictated by the weak bargaining power of its members.

Despite internal modernization, the IWWU failed to cope with industrial transformation from the late 1950s. Its new, more strident feminist rhetoric merely reflected changing social values, and the union became less distinctive. Membership declined steadily to 2,654 in 1980. In 1984, concluding that they no longer had the resources to be proactive in the fight for wage equal-

ity, IWWU members voted 1,086 to 182 in favor of merging with the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Conditions of Employment Act of 1936; Larkin, James; Trade Unions; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century

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Emmet O Connor



Jacobites and the Williamite Wars

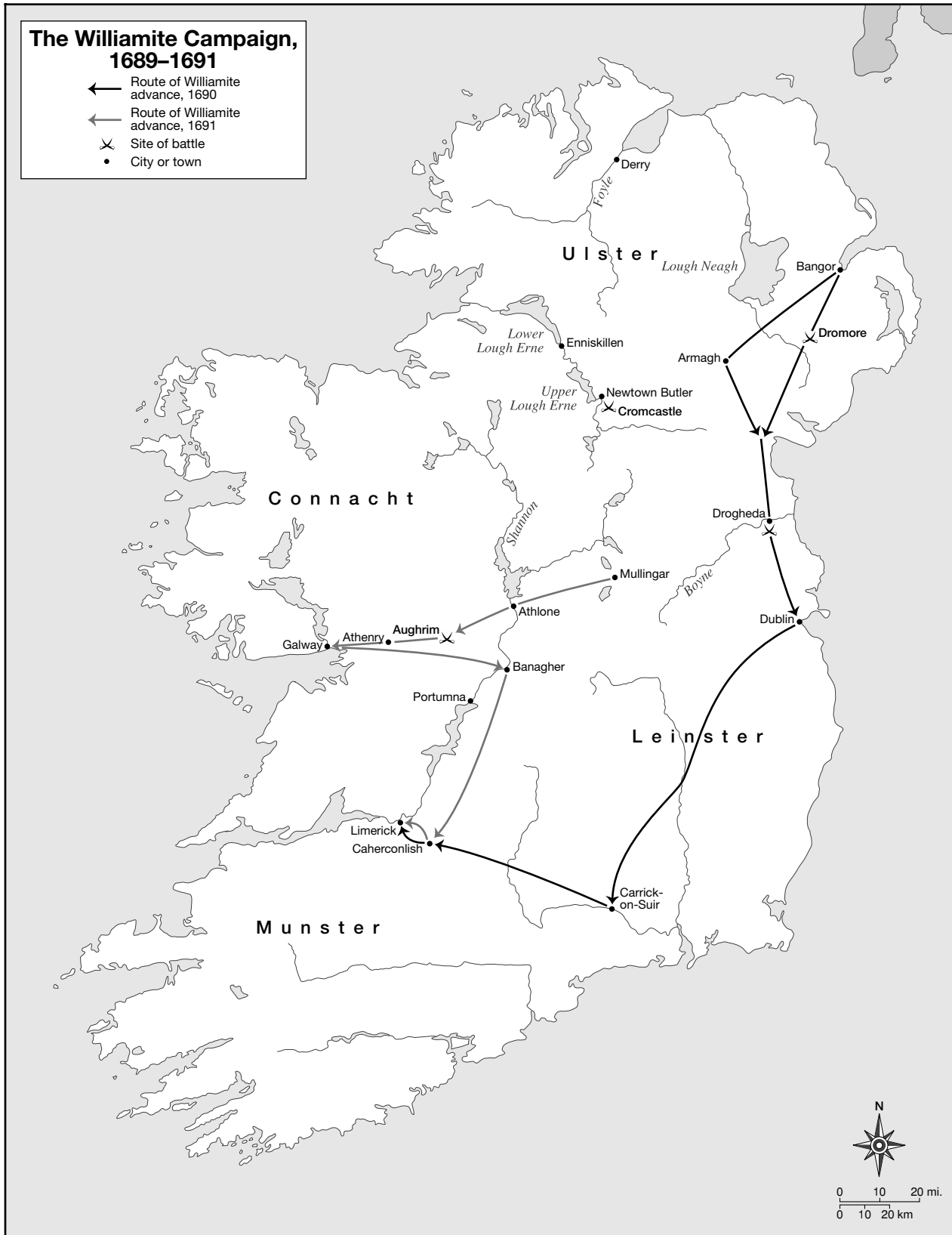
The accession of James II, the first Catholic monarch for over a century, in February 1685 presented Irish Catholics with an opportunity to overturn the Cromwellian and Restoration settlements that had deprived them of their lands. A devout Catholic who wished to improve the lot of his coreligionists, James presented a major threat to the Irish Protestants, whose monopoly of power and privilege depended entirely on English support. Within a year he had created his favorite, Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell, and in February 1687 he appointed him Irish viceroy. Thereafter Tyrconnell embarked upon the Catholicization of Ireland, and he secured James's agreement not just to the creation of an almost wholly Catholic army and government, but also to preparations to revise the crucial Restoration land settlement.

While this prompted something of a major Protestant exodus from Ireland, English Protestants were prepared to tolerate him because he would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter Mary. The birth of a Catholic son to James, by his second wife Mary of Modena in June 1688, transformed the situation and confronted English Protestants with the specter of a Catholic dynasty. At the behest of leading English notables Mary's husband, William of Orange, governor-general of the Netherlands, arrived in England to challenge the actions of his father-in-law in late 1688. James fled to France, and the English parliament recognized William and Mary, jointly, as his successor. These events brought Ireland into a European orbit, for William was a key figure in the anti-French front opposing the aggressive designs of Louis XIV. Perceiving Ireland as an inexpensive means of distracting William, Louis sent a

reluctant James to Ireland with French money, arms, and officers to give Tyrconnell's raw Catholic army a backbone. Despite William's accession, Tyrconnell's supporters maintained control over most of Ireland. In March 1689 Justin McCarthy had suppressed Protestant resistance in Munster, while in eastern Ulster the Williamite Mountalexander was defeated at Dromore (14 March). Only in western Ulster, where Gustavus Hamilton rallied the Protestant settlers and fortified Enniskillen and Londonderry, did William enjoy real support.

On 12 March 1689 James landed at Kinsale, where he was greeted "as if he were an angel from heaven," and made a triumphal progress to Dublin (Gilbert 1971, p. 46). He had already begun to anticipate crossing into Scotland, but first had to secure Ulster. It seemed unlikely that the key bastion of Protestant resistance, Londonderry—crammed with refugees, low on supplies, and with relief a distant prospect—could hold out for long and, believing his presence would induce Londonderry to surrender, James addressed his "Protestant subjects" on 18 April and pleaded with them to acknowledge him. The inhabitants signalled their defiance by firing on him and thereafter the most famous siege in Irish history took place. In the Protestant version of the event Londonderry's defenders, inspired by true religion and pride of race, held out against overwhelming odds. The Jacobites, hampered by inadequate siege equipment and poor leadership, had little choice but to try to starve Londonderry into submission.

By late July the starving defenders were on the verge of surrender when Major-General Kirk's small flotilla of merchantmen broke the besiegers' boom across the Foyle estuary and delivered desperately needed supplies. The Jacobites were forced to raise the 105-day siege, and the arrival of an expeditionary force



under Schomberg in the following month ensured Ulster was William's.

Both sides attempted little over the following ten months. This convinced William that only his presence would break the stalemate, and in June 1690 William landed near Belfast, took charge of an army of 37,000 men and immediately began marching south. On 1 July at the river Boyne he encountered James's force, which, although augmented by 7,000 recently arrived French troops, numbered less than 26,000 men. William's larger and better-equipped force carried the day. A diversionary flanking movement led by William himself proved decisive. As most of James's forces moved upstream to meet William's cavalry, the Williamite foot soldiers forced a passage across the river. Tyrconnell's Irish foot soldiers broke ranks and fled, but the Williamite cavalry, slowed by the river, failed to press their advantage, and the French troops covered a largely successful, albeit chaotic, retreat. James's conduct was less heroic than William's, and his flight from Ireland three days after the battle, in conjunction with his stubborn refusal to free the Irish parliament from its subordination to the English Crown, fatally damaged his reputation among his Catholic Irish supporters.

Whereas victory at the Boyne handed William control of Dublin and Leinster, as well as the military initiative, the Jacobites, though temporarily scattered, had lost fewer than a thousand men and still controlled Munster and Connacht. In these terms French dismissals of the battle as a "skirmish" are admissible. But continuing Protestant celebration of William's memory and the annual commemoration of the battle as the decisive blow for the Protestant cause reflect the powerful tradition that came into being. In the struggle for the British Crowns the Battle of the Boyne decided the issue in Williams' favor. In a European context, it represented a victory for Protestantism, yet it was also hailed by *Te deums* in Catholic Austria and Spain because it weakened the position of Louis XIV.

James's flight from Ireland and the disorganized retreat to the Shannon dealt grievous blows to Jacobite morale. Nonetheless, having regrouped at Limerick and Athlone, the Jacobites determined to use the natural line of the Shannon as a defensive boundary. While William sought to end the war that season, his failure to take either Athlone (17–24 July) or Limerick (10–30 August)—where Patrick Sarsfield's *rapparees* behind enemy lines had seriously impeded the besiegers—meant that the conflict entered a third year. Believing he had broken the back of the Jacobite opposition, William left for England after appointing General Godard van Reede Ginkel as his successor.



Patrick Sarsfield (c. 1655–1693), earl of Lucan, was the leading Catholic commander of the Williamite war (1689–1691). After an apprenticeship in the French army in the 1670s, he advanced in the army of the Catholic king, James II (r. 1685–1688), and persisted in the defense of Catholic Ireland after James left Ireland in 1690. A year later he was forced to negotiate the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, after which he left the country. THE ART ARCHIVE/JARROLD PUBLISHING. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

In May 1691 Jacobite hopes were raised by the presence of the marquis de Saint Ruth, who arrived with French reinforcements. Nonetheless, Ginkel took Athlone in the following month and crossed the Shannon. Determined to regain the initiative, Saint Ruth opposed Ginkel's advance at Aughrim on 12 July. Both armies numbered about 20,000 men but Saint Ruth had chosen his ground well and, having repulsed the Williamite advance, he pursued the enemy across the field before leading his cavalry against the Williamite batteries. With Jacobite victory in sight a dramatic reversal of fortune occurred: a cannonball decapitated Saint Ruth and the Jacobites fled in disarray, ruthlessly pursued by Ginkel's regrouped cavalry. Although Sarsfield attempted to cover the retreat, some seven thousand Jacobites were slain. Shortly afterwards Galway surrendered and the surviving Jacobites limped into Limerick where they were soon besieged. Aughrim's "dread disaster" was thus the decisive engagement of the war, for thereafter the Jacobites had little prospect of successful resistance.

Irish Catholic thoughts now turned to what manner of surrender they could negotiate with Ginkel. Eager to rejoin the European war, Ginkel was persuaded to grant generous conditions, and on 3 October 1691 the Treaty of Limerick was concluded. Under its terms 14,000 Jacobite troops led by Patrick Sarsfield set sail for France on 22 December. For those who chose to stay behind, the civil terms were lenient. They would retain their lands, practice their professions, and enjoy the same rights of religious worship as they had under Charles II. These terms were not to be honored because after three major rebellions in less than a century Protestants had decided that the Catholics were totally untrustworthy. Tyrconnell's rapid Catholicization of the administration, army, and the Irish parliament convinced Protestants of the need to secure ascendancy in all walks of life. In 1691 a parliamentary act preventing Catholics from becoming MPs was passed: thereafter the Irish parliament was used by the Protestant Ascendancy to dismantle the Treaty of Limerick and introduce legislation to encumber the position of Irish Catholics.

The accession of James, which had initially given hope to Irish Catholics, in the end, greatly worsened their situation. James had provided ineffective leadership whereas his rival, in no small part owing to his own courage, won the crucial victory at the Boyne. Moreover, because of England's superior military resources the Jacobite cause was dependent on French aid, and yet Louis XIV provided wholly inadequate military assistance. Buttressing a Jacobite regime was a far less pressing objective for the French king, than securing Ireland was for William. The "War of the Two Kings" represented the climax of a century of bloody conflict in Ireland over land and religion, and the demoralizing sequence of defeats at Derry, the Boyne, and Aughrim crushed the spirit of Irish Catholics for over a century, as well as securing the Protestant Ascendancy for the next two centuries.

SEE ALSO Boyne, Battle of the; Butler, James, Twelfth Earl and First Duke of Ormond; Derry, Siege of; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Sarsfield, Patrick; **Primary Documents:** Treaty of Limerick (1691)

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David Finnegan

Jewish Community

The first evidence of Jewish settlement in Ireland dates from 1079, when the Annals of Innisfallen record the arrival of five Jews with gifts for the king of Munster, Turlough O'Brien. King Edward II expelled the Jews from Britain and Ireland in 1290, but there has probably been a continuous Jewish presence in Dublin from the 1650s, when Oliver Cromwell invited a community of Sephardic Jews to the city. In 1818 there were reported to be only 9 Jews in Dublin, but by 1861 their numbers had increased to 324; the majority were craftsmen—jewelers, goldsmiths, and watchmakers.

The 1911 census records a Jewish population of 5,148. The exodus of Jews from eastern Europe in the closing decades of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of Jewish communities in Belfast, Cork, and Limerick and a substantial increase in Dublin's Jewish population. The new settlers were poorer than the established Jewish families: They made their living as traveling dealers, as small shopkeepers, and allegedly as moneylenders; their arrival triggered attacks on Jewish property, anti-Semitic poster campaigns, charges that they were engaged in sweated labor, and organized boycotts of Jewish businesses. The most serious incident happened in 1904 when a series of anti-Semitic sermons by a Limerick priest resulted in a boycott of Jewish businesses, and the departure of city's Jewish community, which had numbered 171 in 1901. The Limerick "pogrom" reflects one aspect of the Jewish experience in Ireland, but it is not the entire story.

The Jewish community played an active part in the campaign for Irish independence, and subsequently in Irish political life. In the early 1990s there were three

Jewish deputies in Dáil Éireann, one in each of the three major parties, an impressive record for a community of less than 1,600 people. Article 44 of the 1937 Constitution gave formal recognition to the Jewish congregation, but the Irish government was reluctant to admit Jewish immigrants who were fleeing central Europe. Irish society was introspective and somewhat xenophobic, and there was widespread resentment toward any foreigner who appeared to be taking jobs from Irish people, but the hostility and suspicion toward Jewish immigrants was exacerbated by a vein of anti-Semitism in Irish Catholicism, which was exploited by some unscrupulous politicians. After World War II a limited number of Jewish families and approximately one hundred children were admitted as refugees. The Irish Jewish population peaked in 1946 at a figure of 5,381. Since that time the population has fallen to between 1,000 and 2,000. The decline is consistent with what has happened elsewhere in Europe, especially in cities with a small Jewish population, where a combination of emigration, out-marriage, and an extremely low birthrate threatens the survival of communities that have existed for centuries.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Protestant Community in Southern Ireland since 1922

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Mary E. Daly



Joyce, James

Arguably the most important English-language writer of the twentieth century, James Joyce (1882–1941) was born into a family of some wealth that spiraled down into economic misery during his youth. Raised in various locations in Dublin and its environs, Joyce was educated principally by the Jesuits at Clongowes Wood College and Belvedere College. He earned his university

degree from University College, Dublin, in 1902, after studying modern languages, particularly French and Italian. Joyce left Ireland permanently in 1904—returning only for visits thereafter—with Nora Barnacle, whom he married in 1931 and with whom he had two children, Giorgio and Lucia. He lived on the Continent, writing primarily in Trieste, Rome, Zurich, and Paris. He was helped by patronage from and association with such writers as W. B. Yeats, T. S. Eliot, and Ezra Pound; he was lionized by the avant-garde literary circles of Paris and supported economically by his long-term benefactor Harriet Shaw Weaver. Other patrons included Mrs. Harold McCormick and Sylvia Beach, who arranged the publication of *Ulysses*.

Written in a style described in his letters as “scrupulous meanness,” Joyce’s first major work was *Dubliners* (published in 1914). Using covert Irish-language symbolism, *Dubliners* is a collection of fifteen short stories purporting to be “a chapter of the moral history of [his] country” and to show Dublin as “the centre of paralysis” in Ireland. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), a semiautobiographical symbolist narrative, is a landmark of varied perspective. Joyce welds together form, style, and content even as he demonstrates that the Irish artist has a dual heritage and identity, comprised of both Gaelic and English elements. *Ulysses* (1922) is Joyce’s masterpiece, one of the central modernist narratives of the twentieth century, enormously influential on all of Western literature because of its stream-of-consciousness technique as well as its experiments with style and its merging of symbolist and realist aspects. Following the experiences of three principal characters in Dublin on a single day (16 June 1904), *Ulysses* challenges the canonical form of the novel, in part through the deployment of narrative techniques drawn from early Irish literature. Although Joyce had experimented with mythic substructure and Irish symbolism in his earlier narratives, in *Ulysses* his mythic technique became a major focus, intertwining principally Greek and Irish sources, and using the myth armature itself to convey political and ideological stances.

Drawing on Giambattista Vico’s theory of history, *Finnegans Wake* (1939), a sui generis encyclopedic work, meshes history, myth, popular culture, and Dublin placelore, to name just a few strands. Here Joyce’s syncretism extends to language itself, with the text a stream of puns, portmanteau words, and other types of wordplay, all drawing on dozens of languages, among which Irish ranks highly. Structured around the collective and personal dreamwork of a household near Dublin during a single night, *Finnegans Wake* was begun in 1922, during the Irish Civil War, and published on the eve of World War II. A thread of conflict, from the local

to the global, lends a somber *basso continuo* to the text, emphasized by the circular structure whereby the first line of the book completes the last line.

Joyce's other works include two volumes of poetry, *Chamber Music* (1907) and *Pomes Penyeach* (1927); a play, *Exiles* (1918); *Stephen Hero*, a preliminary form of *A Portrait of the Artist*, which was published after Joyce's death; and numerous critical essays, lectures, and reviews.

Hailed as both modernist and postmodernist, Joyce created a new narrative type with each of his major works. He was a postcolonial writer before such a critical category existed, writing his nation's history, culture, language, and literature into all of his texts. Though in his youth he criticized the Irish Literary Revival, in many ways his works are a fulfillment of the revival's literary project. His influence is patent on writers ranging from Flann O'Brien and Samuel Beckett to William Faulkner, Gabriel García Márquez, and Toni Morrison.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Fiction, Modern

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Maria Tymoczko



Kennedy, John F., Visit of

In June 1963, as part of a wider European tour and just after his famous address at the Berlin Wall, John F. Kennedy made a memorable visit to Ireland, the first of any U.S. president during his term of office. Kennedy, also the first Irish-American Catholic elected to the Oval Office, received a tumultuous welcome during stops in Galway, Co. Limerick, Cork, and Dublin as well as in Wexford, the home of his Irish forebears. The Irish people embraced Kennedy, the great-grandson of Irish emigrants, as one of their own, and saw the success of the Harvard-educated, fourth-generation Bostonian as a vindication of their own Irish identity and proof, as one Irish newspaper noted, that they too were made of the “right stuff.” Dermot Keogh recalls Kennedy’s sojourn across Ireland as “days of national celebration.” Alvin Jackson accurately describes the trip as “an emotionally intense occasion for both guest and hosts,” and Kennedy himself, in a letter to the president of Ireland, Eamon de Valera, poignantly remembered it as “one of the moving experiences of my life.”

In Ireland, President Kennedy’s visit provided a boost to the opening up of Irish society, a process that had been underway since the 1950s and was then being spearheaded by the taoiseach (prime minister), Seán Lemass, who was especially committed to international trade and economic development. Speaking before the Dáil, Kennedy congratulated the Irish people, saying “[you have] modernized your economy, harnessed your rivers, diversified your industry, liberalized your trade, electrified your farms, accelerated your rate of growth, and improved the living standards of your people.”

Kennedy received numerous accolades during his stay. After being awarded honorary degrees from Trinity College, Dublin, (primarily Protestant at the time) and the National University of Ireland (traditionally Catholic), he quipped, “I now feel equally part of both, and if they ever have a game of Gaelic football or hurling, I shall cheer for Trinity and pray for National.” Just before returning to the United States, Kennedy promised his audience in Limerick that “I certainly will come back in the springtime”—a rendezvous that never materialized.

SEE ALSO *Diaspora: The Irish in North America*; *Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922*

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Keogh, John

The family origins and early life of John Keogh (1740–1817), who was among the more important figures in



John F. Kennedy's visit to Ireland in June 1963, the first visit by a U.S. president, was a major cause of national celebration. It also brought Ireland to the attention of U.S. and international media. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the Catholic politics of his day, are obscure. By the time he began to make his name as a member of the Catholic Committee in the 1780s, he had accumulated a considerable fortune in trade and land. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century some sought to integrate the Catholic community into the established order, while others sought to use the Catholic question as an instrument to induce fundamental political change. Keogh's adherence to the latter position quickly became clear when he joined in agitation for the admission of Catholics to political power. In the early 1790s, as a member of the United Irishmen, Keogh played an important part in displacing the conservative leadership of the Catholic

body, which now adopted a more aggressive stance. A substantial Catholic relief measure followed in 1793, but this owed its enactment chiefly to the desirability of conciliating Catholics as the war with republican France began. After a brief adherence to Wolfe Tone's revolutionary conspiracy, Keogh withdrew from political life and his attempt to reenter it in 1805 was ineffectual.

Keogh was treated with deference by his fellow political activists: they no doubt found it useful to accommodate his vain self-image as the undisputed and triumphant champion of Irish Catholics. In reality, he showed an aptitude for quick retreat from the extreme positions he had adopted, when subjected to persuasion

or pressure by those in power. Such was his conduct as a Catholic negotiator in 1793 and again as a republican conspirator in 1797. Whatever gratitude the Catholic body owed to Keogh for its political advances, it owed just as much to other leaders and far more to the circumstances of the times.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

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C. D. A. Leighton



Kildare Place Society

The Kildare Place Society, known officially as the Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor of Ireland, was the most successful of all the voluntary educational agencies founded in the years before the establishment of the National Board of Education in 1831. Set up in 1811 explicitly to cater to the demand for education among the Catholic poor, it aimed to provide a Bible-based but nondenominational education that would be acceptable to Catholics. In 1816 the society petitioned Parliament and was awarded 10,000 pounds, an amount that was greatly increased over the following decade; this money allowed it to spread across the country and to establish the rudiments of a national system of primary education. The society aimed to modernize the teaching profession with a training college and an inspectorate, decent schoolhouses, and regular salaries for teachers. It also produced reading material aimed at a popular audience, which competed very favorably with the much-derided chapbooks that were the staple of popular reading material at the time.

Despite the commitment of the founders (many of whom were members of the Society of Friends) to re-

spect denominational differences, and despite the allocation of seats for Catholics on the board of trustees, during the second decade of the century the society was increasingly drawn into quarrels over the use of the Protestant Bible for educational purposes. Particularly significant was the influence of the evangelical members of the board, especially Chief Justice Thomas Lefroy, who insisted on the compulsory use of the Bible "without note or comment" in the Kildare Place schools. This measure was openly and stridently criticized by the Reverend John MacHale in the famous *Hierophilus Letters* of 1820 and was the immediate cause of the resignations of Daniel O'Connell and Lord Cloncurry from the society's board in 1821. This gesture was followed in short order by directives to Catholic parents to withdraw their children from the schools. The substance of O'Connell's and MacHale's attacks on the Kildare Place Society was that its policies were in line with the more overtly proselytizing societies associated with the "Second Reformation" and were therefore unsuitable for Catholic children. The society did not survive the challenge. As a result of the ideological conflict over education, the government inaugurated a series of inquiries to determine what kind of educational system would be acceptable to the different denominations in Ireland, and the outcome was the setting up of the National Board of Education in 1831. Although the Kildare Place Society continued its work into the 1830s, its school system suffered an inevitable decline with the spread of the new national system.

SEE ALSO Chapbooks and Popular Literature; Education: Primary Private Education—"Hedge Schools" and Other Schools; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Literacy and Popular Culture

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Irene Whelan

King, William

William King (1650–1729), bishop and parliamentarian, was born on 1 May 1650 in Antrim town into a Scots Presbyterian family. Educated at Dungannon Royal School, he became an undergraduate at Trinity College, Dublin, where, rejecting his Presbyterian upbringing, he embraced with enthusiasm Church of Ireland Anglicanism. Within five years of his ordination in 1674 he was chancellor of Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, of which he became dean in 1688. The most senior clergyman left in Dublin in 1689, he was rightly suspected of Williamite sympathies by the Jacobite authorities and imprisoned on two occasions. With Williamite victory assured, King set himself to write *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government* (1691), which, whatever its author's intentions, became a hugely influential account of Protestant suffering under James II, running into several editions. Appointed bishop of Derry (1691), he became in effect the leader of the reform party in the established church, seeking to restore church finances and buildings, and he remained the leading advocate of church rights after his promotion to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1703. Inevitably, he came into conflict with Presbyterians and continued to be a strong opponent of legal toleration for Dissent. Though his attitude to Catholicism was implacably hostile, he did not support the draconian penal laws.

In 1697 he was embroiled in a legal dispute involving the diocese of Derry and the Irish Society of Londonderry. When the latter appealed to the English House of Lords over the heads of the Irish parliament, King became a staunch defender of the Irish parliament's jurisdiction. Over succeeding decades he championed "patriot" issues, including opposition to both a bank of Ireland in 1721 and Thomas Woods's patent to mint halfpence in 1722. Despite his trenchant criticisms of government policy, he was appointed a lord justice of Ireland during the absence of the viceroy on three occasions in George I's reign, though he was twice passed over (1713 and 1724) for promotion to the see of Armagh in favor of English clerics, whose appointment he deplored for both personal and "patriot" reasons.

William King, who never married, died on 8 May 1729. Had he never had a public career, he would be best remembered for his tract on the problem of evil in the world, *De Origine Mali* (1702), which the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz took sufficiently seriously to write a refutation.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Since 1690

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James McGuire

Kings and Kingdoms from 400 to 800 C.E.

The institution of early Irish kingship stands rooted in a "tribal, rural, hierarchical, and familiar" society. Each basic tribal, territorial unit (*tuath*) had its king (*ri*) whose sacral, unitary functions had long since devolved upon the expert in law or brehon (*brithem*), the poet (*file*), and the historian (*senchaide*). These offices and the kingship were shared closely within kin-groups. Stemming from Indo-European antiquity, the rituals and poetic vision serving this institution endured until the Flight of the Earls in 1607 and the collapse of the old social order.

SACRAL KINGSHIP

The king was ritually wedded to the land. Early texts refer to the *feis* ("sleeping with") or wedding feast initiating a king's reign. In legend, sovereignty, personified as a woman, might become beautiful for the just king or unkempt and deadly for the unjust. Like Medb ("She who Intoxicates") of the Ulster Cycle, this figure dispensed rulership as ale (*laith*) to the ruler (*flaith*). Other preludes to kingship included donning of a royal cloak and standing upon or touching a potent stone. A king was to be free of any bodily blemish rendering him unfit to rule. Thus early sources show him accompanied by a battle-smiter, a substitute churl for legal actions against him, and other surrogates. His death, even wounding, in battle, spelled defeat. Beyond this were auspicious or inauspicious actions (*buada, gessa*) he was to perform or avoid. His good rule was the fulfillment of *fír flatha* (prince's truth); his ill rule or prince's falsehood (*gáu flatha*) was linked to economic failure and was a harbinger of his death.



INAUGURATION

Inauguration occurred at a central, sacred place (a summit or sacred tree) in an assembly. A thirteenth-century text depicts the Ó Conchobhair king standing on the mound of Carn Fraoich attended by the principal lords and ecclesiastics of Connacht, while the chief poet (*ollam*) Ó Maolchonaire gave him a rod and sang his praises and genealogy. Advice to the king for just rulership—“princes’ instructions” (*tecosca rí*)—would be uttered, followed by a proclamation affirming both the truths of kingship and the king embodying them. Later, bardic poetry mentions the king’s gift of a horse to the poet, and a twelfth-century Irish *Life* of St. Maedóg notes the king’s bestowal of his royal cloak upon a witness adopting the poet’s role as royal bride. Annalistic texts describe the foray to neighboring territories that might follow such a ceremony, ensuring subordination by gift (*tuarastal*).

DYNASTIC SUCCESSION

All males within the *derbfine* (“certain kin”), or descendants of a common great-grandfather, were eligible for election to kingship as the “one looked-forward-to” or *tánaise*. The *tánaise* was well positioned to assume his new role before the demise of his predecessor, so that social necessities and maintenance of a robust, limited pool of aspirants counterbalanced an institution that otherwise led to segmentation of populations. The other term for heir-apparent, *ríghomna* (“makings of a king”), was used more loosely, and applied to a wider group of eligible persons.

KINGSHIP AND LAW

Every person had an honor-price (“face-value,” *lóg n-enech*). For the king of a *tuath* this was seven *cumals* (female slaves) or twenty-one milchcows; for a comfortable farmer (*bó-aire*), five milchcows. Clients and dependents paid rent in food, stock, land, or goods in return for a grant of fief (*rath*). A king’s free clients (*soer-chéli*) constituted his retinue (*dám*). The candidate for king had to be a prince’s son of good legal standing, preferably born from his father’s principal wife. His house was considered to be a sanctuary from violent pursuit of legal claims. The king presided at the fair or *oenach* (“union”), a festal gathering of the *tuath* where he and the free nobles (*gráid Féne* / *soer-nemed*) might enact the occasional change in legal arrangements (*rechtge fénechais*).

HIGH KINGSHIP

Closely associated with the relationship of king (*rí*) to mesne king (*ruire*) and overking (*rí ruirech*) was the con-

cept of a high king (*ard-rí*) of all Ireland (the island seen as a goddess *Ériu*, “Fat, Fertile [Land]”) whose incumbent would celebrate the inaugural Feast of Tara (*Feis Temro*). There were indeed high kings in Ireland, many of whom were recognized by surrounding peoples or are so described in the sources—though never one that completely dominated the island. Besides being imposed on the annals during the eighth century by the Uí Néill interloper, Clann Cholmáin Móir, in a way favorable to themselves, the myth began its progress toward reality at the end of the eighth century with consolidation of territorial lordships that grew quickly during the Viking Age.

THE PENTARCHY: THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

Two other potent ideas influencing early Irish history were Ireland’s division into *Coiceda*, “Fifths,” and the concept of two halves, north and south. Thus the Doirse earthwork, sectioning off Ulster from Connacht, Leinster, Munster, and Meath, was a human construct supplementing topographical, economic, and strategic barriers between these areas. Likewise, the Escir Riata, running from Clonmacnoise to Clonard, was in Uí Néill ideology said to have been built, by agreement of ancient progenitors of the dominant northern and southern peoples, to divide “Conn’s Half” from “Mug’s Half,” the “Head’s Half” from the “Slave’s Half.”

EARLY POPULATION GROUPS

The social structure, like the office of kingship, was fragile yet enduring, locally based upon the aggregation and dissolution of small units. The system excluded lineage segments falling outside of the kin-group by limiting the dynastic pool. Thus, between 400 C.E. and 800 C.E. new kingdoms grew or old ones became established more firmly. Early tribal nomenclature reveals the importance of ritual and religious (even totemic) associations, for example: *dál* (“share of”); *-raige* (“-people”); *corco* (“offspring of”); and the ethnographic suffix *-ne*. Thus: *Dál mBuinne* (“Buinne’s Share”); *Osraige* (“Deer People”); *Corco Duibne* (“Offspring of Duibne”); and *Laigne* (“Lug’s People”). Such names, and the formula MAQI MUCOI (“Son of the Seed of”), date from the fourth and fifth centuries as inscriptions on memorial stones for kings of southern Irish populations and for their expatriate relations in West Britain. These usages were waning swiftly in the fifth century. At the same time a linguistic, ethnographic shift took place that emphasized the blood ties unifying even larger social groups: *clann* (“progeny of”); *cenél* (“kindred of”); *uí* (“descendants of”). In the earliest sources such new

relationships are a fact; the earlier tribal groups are already, or nearly, subordinated, or migrating to border, coastal, or mountain regions. Tribal histories, sagas, and annals rationalized such changes by retrospective and propagandistic genealogical fictions. Thus the Déisi were expelled, the Aithechtuatha (“Vassal Peoples”) revolted and were subjugated, and the “Additional Peoples” (*Fortuatha*) of Leinster relocated to borderlands. The Gailenga, Delbna, and Luigne spread out in pockets across the island. The Érainn inhabited Munster, and the Airgialla (“Eastern Hostages”) encircled Ulster, according to legend by agreement with the dominant Uí Néill, though perhaps driven there or simply emerging. Of all of these earlier populations, only the Osraige (Ossory), Airgialla (Oriell) and Déis Becc of Thomond were to be future political players—a branch of Dál Riata having migrated early in the sixth century to form a new kingdom in Scotland.

DEVELOPMENT OF KINGDOMS

The strongest early populations of Leinster (Laigin) were Dál Messin Corb of Naas in Kildare, Uí Garrchon bordering Meath, Dál Cormaic by Kileen Cormac to the south, and Uí Gabla of Leix. The Uí Néill drove the northern Laigin out of the midlands early in the sixth century. Against this, archaic regal genealogies and praise-poems attest the rise of Uí Dúnlainge in north Leinster (Laigin Tuathgabair) and of Uí Chennselaig in the south (Laigin Desgabair) during the later fifth century. Within this overlordship the Uí Fáilgi inhabited Offaly and west Kildare, Uí Briúin of Cualu the northeast coast, and Uí Máil the Wicklow highlands. The Loíges held sway between Slieve Bloom and the Barrow. Amongst other peoples were the Wexford Fothairt Chairn and Uí Bairrche of the Blackstairs range and Bargy. The Osraige in Kilkenny and Carlow played off allegiances between Leinster and Munster. Powerful Uí Dúnlainge kings, such as Faelán mac Colmáin in the early seventh century, dominated Leinster until the eleventh, when Uí Chennselaig revived. In 738 the Uí Néill routed the Leinster kings at Ballyshannon, and peace ensued later in the 700s.

The Eóganachta of Munster (Mumu) held together various allied or subordinate populations: Éle and Múscraige of Tipperary and Cork, Uí Liatháin in the southeast, Corco Loíge of the Laune and Maine watersheds, Ciarraige in Kerry, Corco Óche of Limerick, Corco Baiscind, Alltraige, and Corco Modruad in Clare, Déis Becc in Thomond, Déisi of Waterford, and the Uí Fingente northwards. The Eóganacht of Caisil commanded the Plain of Femin and routes to the north. Origin legends, and mutual, formalized relationships between the Eóganacht Caisil and their neighbors, emphasize the

peaceful acquisition of Cashel as both regal seat and bishopric. Munster was an early center for literacy and for traffic with the Mediterranean and West Britain. The Eóganacht of Áine and of Airthir Cliach, in Limerick and Tipperary, neighbored the Cashel branch, challenging it during the eighth century. The southeastern Eóganacht Glendamnach (Glanworth) were ascendant in the seventh century, submerging the Fir Maige—their powerful king Cathal mac Finguine (742) a claimant to the high kingship. The southern Eóganacht of Raithliú were excluded from kingship by 590, and the kings of Loch Léin in the seventh century. By 800 the Eóganacht Caisil ruled the overkings of Munster.

In County Down, the Ulaid continued as the Dál Fiatach; they were predominant in Ulster in 600 and were variously aligned with or hostile to the Dál Riata of Antrim and the Dál nAraide between Belfast Lough and the Mourne. In 563 Dál nAraide and Dál Riata were defeated by the Uí Néill at Móin Dairi Lóthair. The Uí Néill again routed Dál nAraide at Dún Ceithirinn in 629. Together with their expatriate Argyll branch, Dál Riata, who had allied with the Uí Néill in 575 at Druimm Cett, joined themselves with Dál nAraide to strike at the Uí Néill and were routed at Mag Rath, Co. Down, in 637 by the “King of Ireland,” Domnall mac Aedo mic Ainmire. Dál Riata and Dál nAraide contracted, and Dál Fiatach moved west of the Bann. By the eighth century, Ulster was no longer a major political force.

In Connacht were the minor population groups: Irrus Domnainn of County Mayo; Conmaicne and Delbna of Lough Mask and Connemara; Luigni, Gailenga, Greccraige of Lough Gara; Ciarraige of Roscommon; and Calraige of Drumlease. The Uí Maine inhabited an area along Lough Derg in East Galway. Connacht’s foremost peoples were the Uí Aillello; the Uí Fiachrach—Muaide (in Mayo) and Aidne (southeast of Galway); and the Uí Briúin—Aí of central Connacht, Seola, south near Carnfree, and Bréifne. The latter expanded later during the 700s due to pressure from Uí Briúin Aí, by 734 they drove a wedge between the Northern and Southern Uí Néill. The Uí Briúin Seola dominated the homeland, consolidating their power between 700 and 723 and ousting the Uí Aillello in 764. By 766 Uí Briúin Bréifne had defeated Uí Briúin Seola. The Uí Fiachrach entered the Uí Néill ancestry in the high kings Nath Í and Ailill Molt.

The rise and hegemony of the Uí Néill in the north and midlands attended Ulaid’s demise in the mid-fifth century and reached its apogee by the mid-ninth century. Pushed out of Connacht, the Uí Néill spread—eastwards from Mag nítha, southwards to defeat the Laigin between the mid-fifth and sixth centuries, and northwards to Glen Gaimin. The Cenél Conaill settled

Tirconnell, and Cenél nEogain expanded southwards to Meath and, after the Battle of Cloitech in 789, moved into Derry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh to exclude Cenél Conaill from overlordship permanently. The southern Uí Néill split between Aed Sláine, Colmáin Mór, and smaller branches during the mid-sixth century—the first at Skreen east and south of the Boyne; the second settled around Lochs Owel and Ennell in Westmeath by the seventh century. Two lordships of Brega, north of the Boyne at Knowth, and south at Lagore, worked to Clann Cholmáin Móir's advantage, and when, after 724 and into the mid-tenth century, the northern branch monopolized the Brega lordship, Clann Cholmáin Móir dominated the midlands—by 770–797 suppressing SílnAedo Sláine. Cenél Cairpre inhabited Tethba by Granard south of Lough Sheelin and north of the Inny. Cenél Fiachach settled by the sacred center of Uisnech, Cenél Loegaire west of Tara, and Cenél nArdgaile southwards, bordering the Uí Fáilge of Leinster. Several sub-peoples (*fo-thuatha*) lay within Uí Néill territories: the

Déis of Tara; west of these, the Fir Thulæ; southwest, the Cenél Fiachach; Conaille in Muirthemne between Airthir and the sea; Gailenga; Luigne; and Ciannachta.

SEE ALSO Brehon Law; Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity

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Brian Frykenberg



Labor Movement

Trade unions emerged in Ireland in the early nineteenth century, combining features of the obsolescent guilds and agrarian secret societies. Their legal status was not fully regularized until the 1860s. The sheer numbers and poverty of Irish unskilled workers made them difficult to organize, and not until the end of the nineteenth century were sustained efforts made to do so.

Before 1900 organized labor was dominated by skilled craft workers who emphasized their differential status (by restricting skills and controlling admissions). Craft unions acted as friendly societies, providing medical and other benefits for members. They operated within cross-class nationalist movements (the Dublin trades were a mainstay of nationalist processions); their emphasis on self-reliance drew many urban artisans into radical nationalist movements such as Fenianism and Parnellism. They believed that workers' interests lay in cooperation with employers to develop Irish industries, though such cooperation often proved one-sided.

Craft unions established trade councils in urban centers (Cork in 1880, Belfast in 1881, Dublin in 1886). Attempts to create U.K.-wide labor federations in the nineteenth century foundered because of organizational and communications difficulties and nationalist sentiments; an Irish Trade Union Congress (ITUC) was founded in 1894. The 1890s also saw many local Irish societies merge with larger British unions; the role of British unions in Ireland intermittently divided the Irish labor movement until the 1950s.

Small socialist groups appeared in Irish urban centers beginning in the 1870s; these were usually short-lived because of clerical and political opposition. The

Dublin-centered Irish Republican Socialist Party (1894–1903) deserves particular attention as the first political venture of James Connolly (1868–1916), the Scottish-born Marxist theorist and future leader of the 1916 Rising. The first independent Labour parliamentary candidates stood for election in Belfast in 1885 and 1886. The Home Rule Party sometimes spoke of itself as a “labor party”; some members were labor activists in Britain, and the party sought British support by comparing land agitation to trade unionism. From 1892 several Home Rule MPs identified themselves as “labor nationalists” (similar to contemporary “Lib-Lab” MPs within the British Liberal Party). The “Lib-Nat” MPs voiced labor concerns but were primarily loyal to the Home Rule Party, whose relations with the British labor movement were complicated by its alliance with the Liberals and its own increasingly bourgeois character. The extension of the local-government franchise in 1899 created independent labor groups on several urban councils, but these proved divisive and ineffective.

The ITUC was hampered by divisions between pro-union northern workers and (predominantly nationalist) southern unions. The industrialization of northeast Ulster gave it disproportionate strength within the movement, but northern unions mirrored the sectarian divide. Skilled workers' unions maintained sectarian as well as craft divisions, and unskilled workers followed populist Orange or Green (Protestant or Catholic) leaders who incorporated “laborist” elements in their messages. Cross-sectarian cooperation occurred from time to time, but it was always vulnerable to constitutional and religious tensions.

The Belfast trade unionist William Walker (1871–1918) established an Independent Labour Party presence in Belfast in 1893. Walker's “gas and water socialism” included support for the union on economic grounds. His endorsement of sectarian Protestant legislation

alienated Catholic support, which contributed to the defeat of his parliamentary candidacies in 1905 to 1907; he is best remembered for debating the relationship between socialism and nationalism with Connolly in 1911.

Beginning in 1873 attempts were made to organize agricultural laborers through groups such as the Irish Agricultural Labourers' Union (1873–1879), the Knights of the Plough (1890s), and the Irish Land and Labour Association (1894–1918). These faced formidable organizational difficulties; their association with the Irish Parliamentary Party encouraged factionalization and complicated relations with urban unions. They were absorbed by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union during the First World War.

British "new unionism," which tried to organize unskilled workers in mass-membership unions, led briefly to labor unrest in Ireland when it emerged in the late 1880s. Its principal impact on Ireland began in 1907 when James Larkin (1876–1947) arrived in Belfast as an organizer for the Liverpool-based National Union of Dock Labourers (NUDL, founded in Liverpool by Irish immigrants). Belfast was already experiencing an upsurge of trade-union militancy. Larkin, an inspiring orator, organized large numbers of unskilled workers, to some extent uniting Catholic and Protestant. Employers reacted with lockouts; between April and November 1907 Belfast saw disputes involving dockers, carters, and tobacco workers. Organized strike-breaking and street unrest led to police mutiny and military intervention in which two laborers were killed and many were wounded by troops.

The NUDL leadership disliked Larkin's confrontational style and expansive recruitment. Faced with heavy demands for strike pay, it sidelined Larkin and settled on disadvantageous terms. Larkin moved to Dublin and Cork, becoming embroiled in further strikes. After his suspension by the NUDL in December 1908, Larkin founded the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU). The new union faced determined opposition from employers and the NUDL. In the summer of 1909, ITGWU strikers in Cork were crushed by a concerted lockout; Larkin was briefly jailed in 1910 because of a dispute over NUDL funds.

Instead of the conciliatory tactics of the older unions, the ITGWU operated in a confrontational style, enlisting the impoverished masses of unskilled urban labor and trying with some success to bring a general rise in wages through sympathetic strikes, the "closed shop," and aggressive tactics against strike-breaking. Larkin held the syndicalist belief in the general strike as a weapon of social transformation. He expressed the anger and hopes of the poor, linking their struggle to Fe-

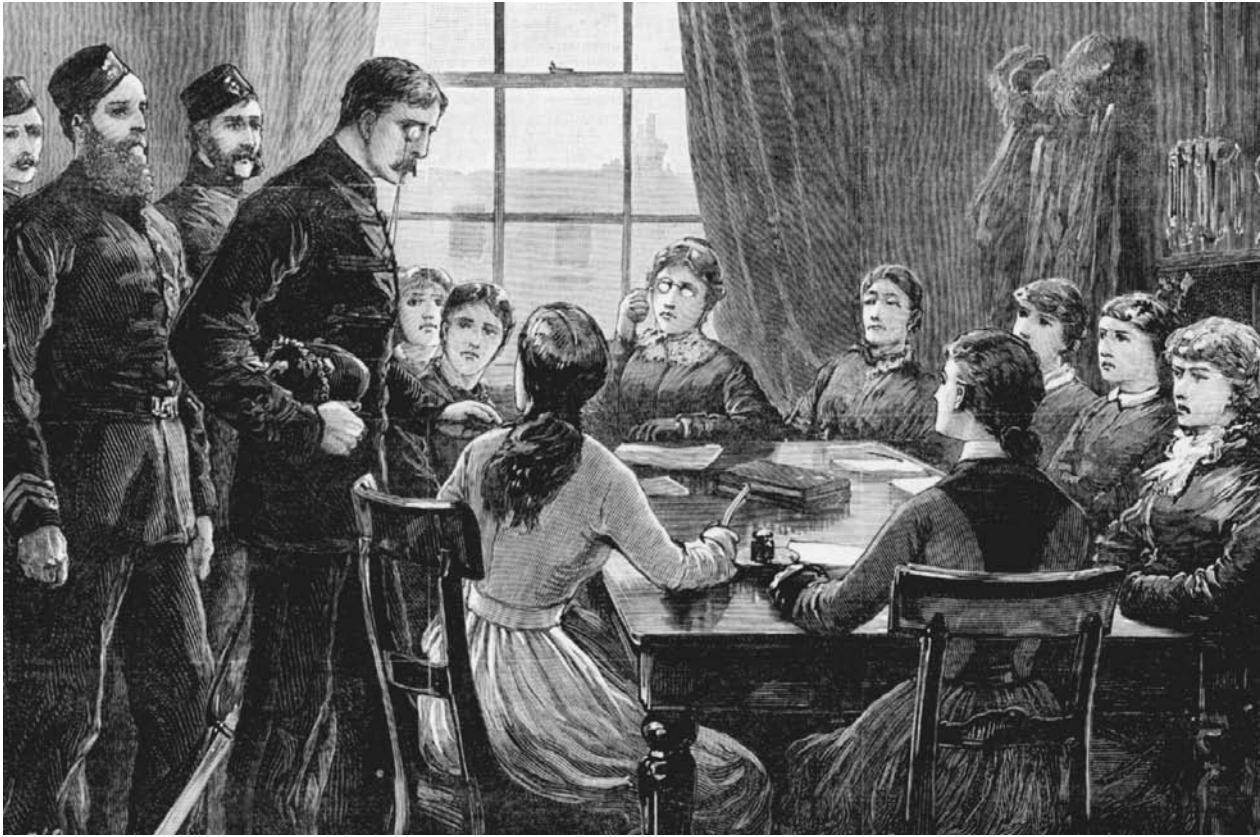
nianism and Parnellism, which had also faced middle-class and clerical opposition. His reckless leadership was balanced by skilled (and occasionally exasperated) organizers such as William O'Brien and James Fearon.

The ITGWU joined the ITUC in 1909, moving it toward explicit socialism. Older craft unions acquiesced or were sidelined. Pro-Larkin labor councillors became the principal opposition to Dublin Corporation; Connolly returned from the United States as a political organizer and produced some of his best-known attempts to adapt Marxism to Irish conditions. In 1912 the ITUC established the present-day Irish Labour Party.

The year 1911 saw further labor conflict, with prolonged strikes in Wexford and Dundalk and a Dublin rail and timber strike in September. The weekly *Irish Worker*, written mostly by Larkin, first appeared on 27 May 1911; it denounced the employers and their allies in uncompromising terms. Meanwhile, the Dublin employers, led by William Martin Murphy, prepared concerted counteraction. The Irish Parliamentary Party, frightened by Larkin's radicalism and divided between laborist and probusiness elements, proved ineffective and was bitterly denounced by Larkin. (In some provincial centers, notably Sligo, which experienced a major dispute in 1912, local Home Rule leaders did come to terms with Larkinism.)

The great Dublin lockout of 1913 to 1914 was the climax of two years of preparations by employers and Larkinites. The dismissal of *Independent* employees who joined the ITGWU led to sympathy action by ITGWU members in other firms and to a walkout by ITGWU tramwaymen on 19 August 1913. The employers retaliated with a mass lockout aimed at destroying the union by starving out its members. The strikers received financial assistance from British unions (which, however, turned down Larkin's calls for sympathy strikes in Britain). The end of the dispute in January 1914 marked a short-term defeat for the ITGWU, but it survived. The terrible poverty of Edwardian Dublin, the determined endurance of the strikers, and the vindictive words and behavior of the employers provided the founding images for the modern Irish labor movement. The formation of the Irish Citizen Army in self-defense against widespread police brutality symbolizes the strike's radicalizing effect.

Shortly after the outbreak of the First World War, Larkin left for the United States on a fundraising tour. He returned in 1923 to a labor movement strengthened by wartime upheavals but less receptive to his form of radicalism.



Launched publicly in Ireland by C. S. Parnell's sister Anna in January 1881, the Central Land League of the Ladies of Ireland maintained offices at 39 Upper O'Connell Street in Dublin (depicted here). Its activists were especially prominent in assisting embattled tenants after the male leaders of the land war were imprisoned in October 1881. Catholic churchmen denounced this novel women's organization. Disputes over policy between male and female activists led to its demise in August 1882. MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

SEE ALSO Connolly, James; Larkin, James; Lockout of 1913; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Murphy, William Martin; O'Brien, William; Trade Unions

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Patrick Maume

Ladies' Land League

Realizing that the leaders of the Land League in Ireland were likely to be arrested, Michael Davitt proposed the establishment of a Ladies' Land League modeled on the Ladies' Irish National Land League that had been organized as a fund-raising body in New York in March 1880. His proposal was "vehemently opposed" by a number of his colleagues in the Land League, with many fearing public ridicule if the organization was seen to place women in a political role. However, the imprisonment of the Land League leaders led to the hasty establishment of the Ladies' Irish National Land League in Dublin on 31 January 1881.

The president of the new organization was Anne Deane, but its effective leader from the beginning was Charles Stewart Parnell's sister, Anna. During the first few months of its existence the Ladies' Land League took over the administration of the Land League, including

the processing of applications for relief and the providing of grants to evicted tenants. By July 1881 there were 420 branches throughout the country. Anna Parnell traveled extensively in Ireland, England, and Scotland to explain the aims of the Land League. In October, with the Land League leaders jailed, the organization proclaimed, and a considerable level of agrarian militancy evident throughout the country, the Ladies' Land League effectively took responsibility for carrying on the land war.

From the beginning Anna Parnell viewed the Ladies' Land League as a political rather than a charitable organization and had a more radical expectation of the policies of the Land League than its leaders. With the release of the Land League leaders from prison in May 1882 Anna Parnell was anxious to dissolve the Ladies' Land League, deeming it impossible to work with the hostility displayed toward them by the Land League. The dissolution of the Ladies' Land League was finally achieved with much bitterness between Anna and her brother in August. Throughout the period of its existence the Ladies' Land League attracted considerable publicity. The press and the clergy displayed their unease with the presence of women in the land movement. The women were ridiculed as the "screaming sisterhood." Archbishop Edward McCabe of Dublin castigated the women for forgetting the "modesty of their sex and the high dignity of their womanhood." Much of the hostility toward the Ladies' Land League revolved around the public participation of women in political life. The Ladies' Land League proved to be a significant force in maintaining pressure during the land war. It also proved to be an important vehicle for women's political involvement in the late nineteenth century; many of its supporters were to remain active in nationalist politics well into the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Davitt, Michael; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Women in Nationalist and Unionist Movements in the Early Twentieth Century

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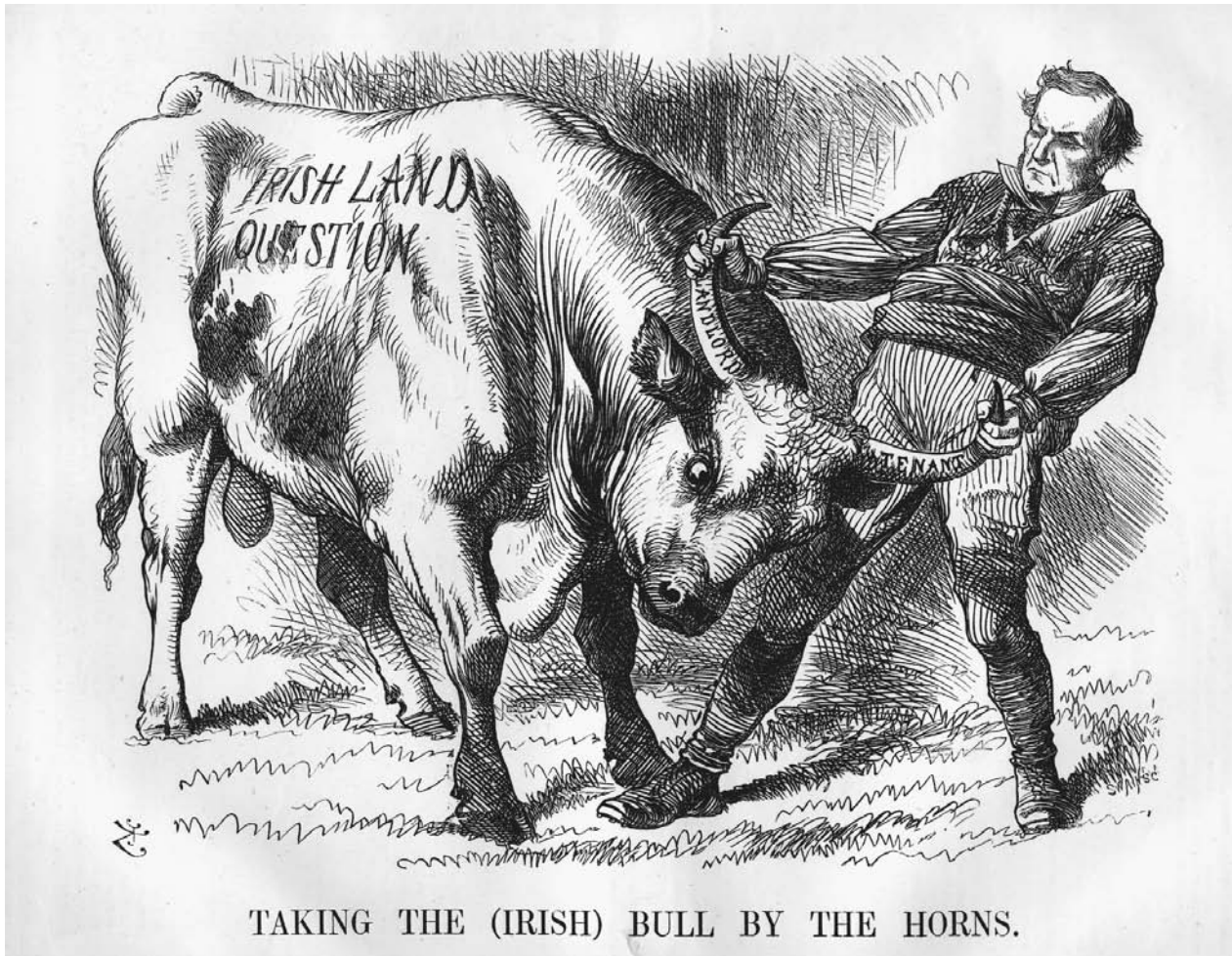
Maria Luddy

Land Acts of 1870 and 1881

The Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act of 1870 and the Land Law (Ireland) Act of 1881 were both products of the Liberal governments of Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone. The first act, largely ineffectual, came in the second year of Gladstone's first government, the product of his famous statement that his "mission" as prime minister was "to pacify Ireland." The second act, more mature and substantial, came in the wake of two years of intense agrarian and parliamentary protest that shaped the bill and the debate over it.

Gladstone's hope for the 1870 bill was to give the force of law to the "Ulster Custom." This ambitious plan would have given tenants an interest in their holdings that was recognized in law, and would have legalized state intervention in the rights of landowners. The compromise that was passed did legalize the Ulster Custom where it was already in place, primarily in northern Ireland, and recognized similar customs elsewhere in the country. However, the majority of Irish tenant farmers received little more than the right to claim compensation from their landlord if they were evicted from their holdings for any cause other than nonpayment of rent, and landlords were allowed to deduct back rents from any compensation ordered. In addition, tenants who quit their holdings could claim compensation for any permanent improvements that they had made to the land. Lastly, the treasury was authorized to advance two-thirds of the purchase price of a holding to those wishing to buy their holdings, to be paid back over thirty-five years at a rate of 5 percent for each 100 pounds loaned. At this rate few tenants took advantage of the purchase provisions of the act, which overall had little impact on landlord-tenant relations during the 1870s. Although the 1870 act fell short of Gladstone's initial goals, it did establish the precedent for both government-assisted purchase and state intervention into landlord-tenant relations in Ireland that would produce more far-ranging legislation during the 1880s.

The most momentous of these laws came in 1881. Central to the new legislation was the granting of the "Three Fs" and the establishment of a Land Commission with the power to enforce its provisions, most notably the determination of what constituted a fair rent. This legislation recognized the notion of "dual ownership" of the land between landlord and tenant and firmly placed the government in the position of regulator of tenanted land in Ireland. The government was now empowered to prohibit landlords from factoring in tenant-made improvements when determining rent levels. The act also



Solving the Irish land question proved difficult politically for the Liberal prime minister William Gladstone, shown here in a Punch cartoon of 1870 wrestling with the horns of a bull—one a tenant, the other a landlord. His 1870 Land Act made landlords pay compensation for “disturbance” and for tenant improvements—not enough to satisfy tenants, who wanted the “three Fs” (fair rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale) later granted by Gladstone’s 1881 Land Act. FROM PUNCH, 26 FEBRUARY 1870.

included a land-purchase scheme similar to that in the previous bill, and a provision that empowered the government to loan money to farmers to build cabins for their agricultural laborers.

The initial response of the Irish National Land League was to view the bill with skepticism and to caution its members not to rush into the Land Commission courts. The League leadership argued that the bill fell far short of the goal of expropriating landlords and establishing peasant proprietorship in Ireland, and that by excluding tenants in arrears and leaseholders, the bill exempted a significant proportion of Irish tenant farmers from its provisions. In addition, the League was aware of Gladstone’s wish that such a far-reaching bill would lessen the power of the League. To the degree that farmers ignored League cautions and rushed into the

courts, where their petitions for rent reductions were most often successful, Gladstone’s gamble succeeded. And it was not long before all observers realized that despite its limitations, the act set into motion the slow, but irreversible end to landlordism in rural Ireland.

SEE ALSO Butt, Isaac; Davitt, Michael; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Ladies’ Land League; Land Questions; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Tenant Right, or Ulster Custom; **Primary Documents:** Establishment of the National Land League of Mayo (16 August 1879); Land Law (Ireland) Act (22 August 1881)

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Donald E. Jordan, Jr.

Land Purchase Acts of 1903 and 1909

The 1903 and 1909 Land Purchase Acts, also known as the Wyndham and Birrell Acts respectively (after successive chief secretaries for Ireland), provided the means by which most Irish tenant farmers became owner-occupiers of their land. This legislation radically extended the existing limited provision for tenant purchase, and for the first time created procedures and incentives to ensure the sale of estates as a whole to the occupying tenants.

Under the 1903 land act, tenants received from the government an advance to purchase the land, which was to be repaid through annuities (yearly installments) over a period of 68.5 years. The rate of interest was 3.75 percent. The landlords were compensated in cash that was raised by government issue of guaranteed land stock yielding a dividend of 2.75 percent. The purchase price of the land was calculated in terms of rent years (the previous rent multiplied by a specified number of years). The number of years varied: For first-term judicial rents (rents already reduced once under the fair-rent provisions of the 1881 land act), the price agreed could range only from 18.5 to 24.5 years; for second-term rents (rents that had been twice reduced), the range was 21.5 to 27.5 years. Within these ranges it was left to the landlords and tenants to agree upon a price. In the case of nonjudicial rents (rent that had not been previously reduced), the price agreed had to be approved by the Estates Commissioners, a body set up under the 1903 act to implement its provisions. Under these arrangements the average price received by the landlords was 22 years' purchase and the annuities paid by the tenants were significantly less than their previous rents. The landlords were further compensated by a 12 percent bonus if they were willing to sell their entire tenanted estates.



The 1903 Land Act broke a political impasse between landlord and tenant partisans. The law speeded up land purchase by lowering the annual payments of tenants; landlords received a bonus for selling. This 1903 Punch cartoon shows the Irish chief secretary George Wyndham putting the finishing touches on his masterpiece "The Contented Irishman"—the result that framers of this law vainly hoped for. FROM PUNCH, 25 MARCH 1903.

Unfortunately, the depreciation of land stock after 1903 meant that not enough money was raised to finance land purchase. The 1909 land act was designed to rectify this by compensating landlords in the future not with cash but with guaranteed 3 percent land stock. The average price for holdings was reduced to 19 years' purchase and the repayment period was changed to 66 years, with the rate of interest increased to 3.5 percent.

Under the 1903 and 1909 land acts, Estates Commissioners and the Congested Districts Board were for the first time given power to acquire land for the purpose of relieving congestion by enlarging and rearranging small and impoverished farms, especially in the west. To a limited extent, such powers for the first time could be exercised on a compulsory basis under the 1909 act. In cases of compulsory acquisition the landlords were entitled to compensation in cash rather than in land stock. Under these two acts, just under 11 million acres in the 32 counties of Ireland were sold, involving over 320,000 holdings (60% of the total number of holdings). In achieving a transfer of land on this scale,

these acts were major steps in addressing the widespread land agitation in the Irish countryside during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. In so doing, they also contributed to the erosion of the social and economic status of the landlord class in Ireland.

SEE ALSO Congested Districts Board; Land Questions; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; United Irish League Campaigns

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David Seth Jones

Land Questions

Conquest and dispossession are the keys to understanding the land-tenure disputes in Ireland from the late eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. While the intent of the series of conquests and plantations by which Ireland was colonized over several hundred years was to establish the principles of the Norman-derived English system of land tenure, this was done so imperfectly that traditional indigenous land-tenure practices persisted within the imported system. Thus, the traditional occupiers of the land—while they paid rent to the landed proprietors—continued to consider themselves owners of the land in ways incompatible with the theoretical basis of the landlord's own property rights. As in other premodern societies, there were mechanisms within the population by which traditional rights were defended and protected, and in Ireland such secretive bodies as the Whiteboys and Ribbonmen demonstrated the determination of the lower orders of society to protect what they saw as their rights, particularly in relation to control and use of land. The first in a long series of land questions was this contest between conflicting percep-

tions of rights, something not unique to Ireland. What distinguished this conflict in Ireland, however, was a combination of two factors: the memory of dispossession still present in the consciousness of the occupiers of the land; and the consolidation of a religious divide between landlords and tenants, due in part to the penal laws against Catholics that followed the vanquishing of the former Catholic landholding elites after the 1688 revolution. Notwithstanding these factors—or in part because of them—conflict was muted by the assumption of landlords that paternalism and protection were part of their function, as well as by a degree of ambivalence in asserting an authority that derived from an awareness of their colonizing origins. The aspiration, often unrealized in Ireland, for natural social bonds tempered landlord behavior and secured, to a limited extent at least, a sense of reciprocity in their tenants.

THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE 1840S

While these historical legacies continued to influence the course of land-tenure relations in Ireland, new elements emerging from the later eighteenth century through to the 1840s gave a sharper intensity to agrarian conflict. To a great extent these pressures grew out of the transformation occurring in British politics and society at that time. At the heart of the modernization of the British state was a series of new principles and attitudes deriving from, or in other ways closely related to, the newly fashionable ideology of *laissez-faire* and the economic and political imperatives associated with the consolidation of empire. Three factors in particular began to work against reciprocal relationships in the Irish countryside. In the first place, the new pressure on Irish landlords to manage their estates according to the new philosophies meant that—particularly where new owners were involved—a tendency to assert more strongly the rights of property (especially to evict, to increase rents, and to restructure farm boundaries) resulted in greater conflict. Secondly, there was a new morality about appropriate modes of behavior and management that were more distinctively English, and this increased the cultural tensions between the landlord class on the one hand and the more indigenous, largely Catholic classes of rural society on the other. Thirdly, while the transformation of the English rural economy was facilitated by a massive population exodus to the new industrial centers, in Ireland the opposite was occurring. There was a vast increase in the number of people dependent on land for survival, without alternative sources of employment through industrialization. Overarching and influencing all these factors was a growing triumphalist British imperial pride and deter-

mination to which unreformed Ireland represented a serious blot.

While changes in ideology and political outlook were causing landlords to intrude more assertively into the lives of the occupiers of the land, the occupiers themselves were becoming better equipped to use new methods to defend their own interests. The inability of the British state to address the grievances of the majority of the population, both as Catholics and as tenant farmers, encouraged the agitation that eventually transformed premodern forms of protest into modern political mobilizations. The failure of the British parliament to concede Catholic emancipation, despite a recognition of its political wisdom, led to an unprecedented popular agitation in which the techniques of political organization and tactics were introduced to vast masses of the rural populace. The equally potent grievance for Catholic farmers (and for all other farmers as well)—tithes for the support of the Protestant Established Church—provided yet another basis for a major political agitation, in which the cleavage between the landlord class and the rest of the population was again redefined. In these great movements, which culminated in O’Connell’s Repeal movement, political habits were formed that would set precedents for the future pursuit of land reform.

DEFINING THE LAND QUESTION

Whatever the continuities of political culture and ancient division, the actual defining of what constituted the land question in Ireland was subject to flux and change. As the conflict heightened between more assertive landlords and a more politically organized tenantry in the 1830s and early 1840s, there emerged different definitions of what it was that the tenantry wanted. One point of view, which acknowledged the legacies of dispossession and the tenantry’s sense of its proprietorship in the land, was identified initially with the landlord William Conner. It was encapsulated in his slogan “a valuation and a perpetuity.” Conner believed that peace could be secured only by recognizing in law the customary assumptions of the tenantry about their right to the land. He argued for a determination of rents based on a system of valuation and then, subject to the payment of such rents, a right to perpetual occupancy. This was the proposition that would be implemented in the 1880s under the term *dual ownership*. In the 1840s it received only limited support; Thomas Davis, James Fintan Lalor, and later John Stuart Mill were among those who argued for this approach, often under the label of “peasant proprietorship.” Daniel O’Connell and his Repeal movement, eager to channel potential unrest on the land and enlist tenant support, equivocated on

the issue, sometimes using the language of “fixity of tenure” but fundamentally committed to the currently acceptable principles of political economy and property rights. More carefully constructed was the defense of tenant right associated with the Ulster politician William Sharman Crawford, also a landlord. From 1835 onwards Sharman Crawford introduced bills in the House of Commons that were intended to legalize the practice of tenant right, best known to him in the form of “Ulster custom.” Genuinely committed to securing a fixity of tenure, he sought, ultimately unsuccessfully, to draw Members of Parliament and the British public to an understanding of what that custom was and to convince them of its legitimacy. In his attempts, he contributed to its reinterpretation as “compensation for improvements,” a notion more easily justifiable to British legislators. Political pragmatism rather than accuracy underlay this definition of tenant right.

This approach did not prove efficacious, either in achieving legislation or in adequately articulating the aspirations of the tenants. What tenant right actually was had already been defined, but in a form more accessible to historians than to contemporaries. The escalating attention given to the Irish land issue led the Peel government in 1843 to appoint a royal commission “to inquire into the state of the law and practice with respect to the occupation of land in Ireland.” Although little came of the recommendations of the Devon Commission, it provided indisputable evidence of the nature and scale of the practice known as *tenant right*. Not only was it shown that this practice existed extensively outside Ulster, but the evidence disclosed that it was often practiced without the landlord’s consent, and in many cases without his knowledge. It involved a payment by an incoming to a vacating tenant, determined by a formula and without any reference to the cost of improvements that the tenant may or may not have undertaken. The practice most closely correlated to the sale of an interest or of goodwill, but it can be better explained in the Irish context as a claim by the tenant to a proprietorship in the land, based upon tradition and custom. In many cases the practice was enforced by very powerful communal sanctions. Thus the evidence collected by this extensive government inquiry powerfully endorsed the understanding of Irish land-tenure usage on which the remedies proposed by William Conner, James Fintan Lalor, and other advocates of “peasant proprietorship” were based.

THE LAND ACTS OF 1870 AND 1881

It was the exigencies of politics, and especially the need to reconcile solutions to the prevailing principles of political economy, that ensured that in the contemporary

political debate “Ulster custom” or tenant right was reduced to the minimal concept of “compensation for improvements.” In the final days of the Great Famine, stimulated by the tenant clearances undertaken by many landlords, the demand for legal recognition of tenant right became the focal point of a new land agitation and the basis of the Independent Irish Party. Sharman Crawford’s proposed legislation became for this movement the touchstone of what constituted the land question. This largely remained so after the demise of this party, during a period in which there was little formal political structure at the national level through which the land-tenure grievance could be expressed. In part at least, the growth and relative popularity of the Fenian movement must be understood in the context of the political frustrations of the rural population over this issue. It was only with the application of the energies of William Ewart Gladstone, driven partly by Fenian disturbance and outrage, that new insights into the nature of the Irish land question began to influence policy. In a process that included sending the former Indian official George Campbell to Ireland to report to him, eliciting views from informed Irish opinion, and reading extensively himself, Gladstone concluded that central to a resolution of the land question in Ireland was recognition of the “idea of restitution.” By this he meant that the tenant’s demand was based on an historical and customary understanding that his interest in the land was a proprietorial one, that conquest had failed to obliterate this belief, and that this had to be taken into account in any attempted resolution of the issue. Gladstone sought to shape his land legislation accordingly, but the Land Act of 1870 failed to incorporate that dimension, largely because of opposition from his cabinet colleagues. One of those colleagues displayed a possibly unintentional insight by disparaging as “tribal tenure” Gladstone’s desired outcome. Instead, the legislation was a somewhat unsatisfactory compromise between recognition of customary tenant-right practice and compensation for improvements. The tenant movement had been hoist on the petard of “compensation for improvements,” which in the British political discourse of the day was interpreted in a more literal sense than its Irish proponents had ever intended.

But there had been for one rare moment a convergence of understanding between the tenant farmers and the British, albeit principally in the person of the prime minister. The importance of that development was consolidated by the influence of George Campbell’s views, the essence of which was “that in Ireland a landlord is not a landlord, and a tenant is not a tenant—in the English sense” and that “the whole difficulty arises from our applying English laws to a country where they are opposed to facts” (Campbell 1869, pp. 5–6). The modi-

fied definition of the land question that emerged during the consideration of the 1870 legislation, together with the failure of that measure, clarified for the English the deeper dimensions of the Irish land issue, and it consolidated for the Irish—from emerging leaders such as Isaac Butt down to the ordinary farmer—a clearer sense of the question that had to be asked in order to secure an appropriate response. The “three Fs”—fair rents, fixity of tenure, and freedom to sell—became the accepted expression of what Irish tenant farmers took to be their rights in relation to their farms. This representation locked in all the aspects of Conner’s “valuation and a perpetuity” in ways that the last of the three principles, diluted to compensation for improvements, had not. While no progress was possible during the life of a Conservative government, the combination of the mobilization of land agitation through the Land League beginning in 1879 and Gladstone’s return to office in 1880 meant that this new formulation became the basis of a new act in 1881. Some of its provisions were deficient (again, partly due to opposition within Gladstone’s cabinet), leaving a basis still for land agitation, but this act validated the central contention of the tenant demand. The system established by this measure quickly became identified as “dual ownership.”

LAND-PURCHASE LEGISLATION

For landlords, the tenant success had come not as it might have earlier on the basis of accommodation, but through increasing acrimony and conflict, and the outcome epitomized the extent to which the landlord class had become marginalized in the agrarian economy and society. But an alternative path to resolving the land issue had emerged, opening up for landlords a line of escape from a situation that was economically and socially uncomfortable, if not intolerable. Both the act of 1869 to disestablish the Church of Ireland and the Land Act of 1870 had included provisions to facilitate purchase by tenants of their farms. These provisions were extended by the 1881 act. Although land purchase was for Liberals secondary to protecting the rights of tenants, it became extremely attractive to both Conservative politicians and landlords because it offered means for removing “dual ownership,” an anomalous and for them undesirable form of tenure. In 1885 the Conservative government’s Land Purchase Act (the Ashbourne Act) put purchase at the center of government policy on Irish land, and through a series of mainly Conservative land acts in the 1880s and 1890s, culminating in the comprehensive and highly effective Wyndham Act of 1903, the bulk of agricultural land in Ireland was transferred into the sole ownership of the occupying tenants.

THE LEGACY OF THE LAND QUESTION

The long struggle to establish the claims of the tenant farmers to proprietorship of their land, with changing definitions of how that demand was to be met, had become so intimately associated with the question of nationalism that by the 1880s it was difficult to separate the two issues, either ideologically or organizationally. Indeed, the one issue had effectively become a metaphor for the other. In this context the settlement of the central issue of proprietorship was bound to be of great significance, not only to the future direction of the nationalist movement but also to the way in which the legacy of the question of land affected social issues and class relationships thereafter. In the half-century after the Great Famine there had been major changes in the class structure of rural Ireland, and in particular a significant shift from tillage agriculture to grazing ranches. This had produced new contests for land between the graziers and the farmers that had been subsumed to a great degree by their common commitment to the struggle against landlordism, pursued as part of a wider nationalist mobilization. Likewise, that campaign had enlisted, and often very heavily depended on, the agitations of the poorest classes of peasant farmers, especially in the western areas of Connacht. The major beneficiaries of land purchase were the prosperous and substantial farmers; neither graziers nor poor farmers gained tangible advantage from these reforms. For those with little or no land there was now a demand that the grazing ranches be broken up and the lands redistributed. The consequence was a "ranch war" against the prosperous graziers, who by then had become the backbone of both the Irish rural economy and the nationalist movement. In this struggle the farmers who had acquired the ownership of their holdings took little interest in the plight of those on small, unviable farms, supporting land redistribution only to the extent that it might provide more land for themselves or their sons. This situation was extremely divisive, and the constitutional nationalist leaders equivocated over the principles involved, leaving it to the revolutionary Dáil Éireann to issue in 1920 an unambiguous condemnation of the demand for land redistribution.

What originally had been a negotiable problem of coexistence between an indigenous agrarian society and a colonizing ruling class had been turned by ideological ardor into a struggle for absolute control of the land. In the course of that combat the increasingly dominant economic ideology of the time came to be identified in Ireland as directed more toward serving the interests of the British state and English cultural dominance than toward economic progress. Ironically, the very objective to which *laissez-faire* was supposedly directed, the ef-

fective capitalization of Irish agriculture, was undermined by this struggle. From the time that William Conner articulated what he saw as the proper tenurial relationship between landlord and tenant in Ireland, it was clear that clarity in property rights was more important than conformity to a particular model of property law. Whether expressed as "valuation and a perpetuity," "Ulster custom," "tenant right," the "three Fs," "dual ownership," or "peasant proprietorship," these all represented a way forward toward a constructive relationship between the rural classes and a clear line of demarcation between the roles of landlord and tenant. Recognition of these rights, especially after the Great Famine, might well have provided the incentives for a more capitalist outlook among Irish farmers. John Stuart Mill identified this issue in the aftermath of the Great Famine, arguing that resistance to customary beliefs undermined economic confidence. Or as William Crawford later stressed, imposing one particular form of tenure—that favored by British opinion—was in this case to oppose the facts of what actually happened on the land in Ireland. In the long term, the attempt to negate Irish custom and practice so embittered the relationship of landlord and tenant that coexistence was impossible. The refusal of landlords to embrace accommodation ultimately led to the end of landlordism as an institution.

The question of land tenure in Ireland assumed such importance and so shaped political life over the better part of a century that it had lasting legacies. Although in economic terms the conflict was one between two classes, as the divide deepened it became also to a degree a synonym for religious and communal division. There had been those, Charles Stewart Parnell included, who believed that to concede to tenant farmers the rights they demanded was to pave the way for a reconciliation between the ruling elite and the majority of the people, thus strengthening national cohesion and nationalist aspirations. In reality, the dependency of nationalist politics on the land issue had become so entrenched that, despite the conciliation efforts of both some landlords and some nationalists after 1903, the cleavage set by the landlord-tenant conflict persisted into twentieth-century Irish life. Economically too, the obsession with land and its control tended to elevate the status of the small-tillage farmer to a point where the structure of Irish agriculture was arrested in the form that emerged after 1903. This outcome was less than constructive in terms of the competitiveness of Irish farming in the changing international climate of the twentieth century.

Between 1848 and 1935 there were approximately forty acts of the U.K. parliament that attempted either to clarify or to change the nature of agricultural-land

occupation, with those after 1925 designed to finalize the process of land purchase in Northern Ireland. More than twenty more land acts, mainly concerned with the furthering of land purchase and consolidation of the principle of owner-occupation, were passed by the Irish Oireachtas between 1923 and 1992. Perhaps no other statistics better demonstrate both the intractability of the Irish land question through the nineteenth century and the long shadow that it cast over Ireland in the twentieth century. Originally it was a problem amenable to settlement by accommodation and conciliation and by recognition of the legacies of conquest. Indeed, in its essence the question was not fundamentally different from many of those addressed much later in other parts of the world where reconciliation between indigenous and colonizing peoples has become a testing issue. That was not, however, the way in which British opinion conceptualized the Irish land question in the nineteenth century, and Irish representations of the problem were insufficiently direct and forceful to avert what ultimately became an unnecessarily intractable conflict.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Congested Districts Board; Famine Clearances; Irish Tithe Act of 1838; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land Purchase Acts of 1903 and 1909; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Oakboys and Steelboys; Plan of Campaign; Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon; Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 and the Gregory Clause; Population Explosion; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Tenant Right, or Ulster Custom; Tithe War (1830–1838); United Irish League Campaigns; Whiteboys and Whiteboyism; **Primary Documents:** On the Whiteboys (1769); Resolutions Adopted at the Tenant-Right Conference (6–9 August 1850); Resolution Adopted at the Tenant League Conference (8 September 1852)

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Philip Bull

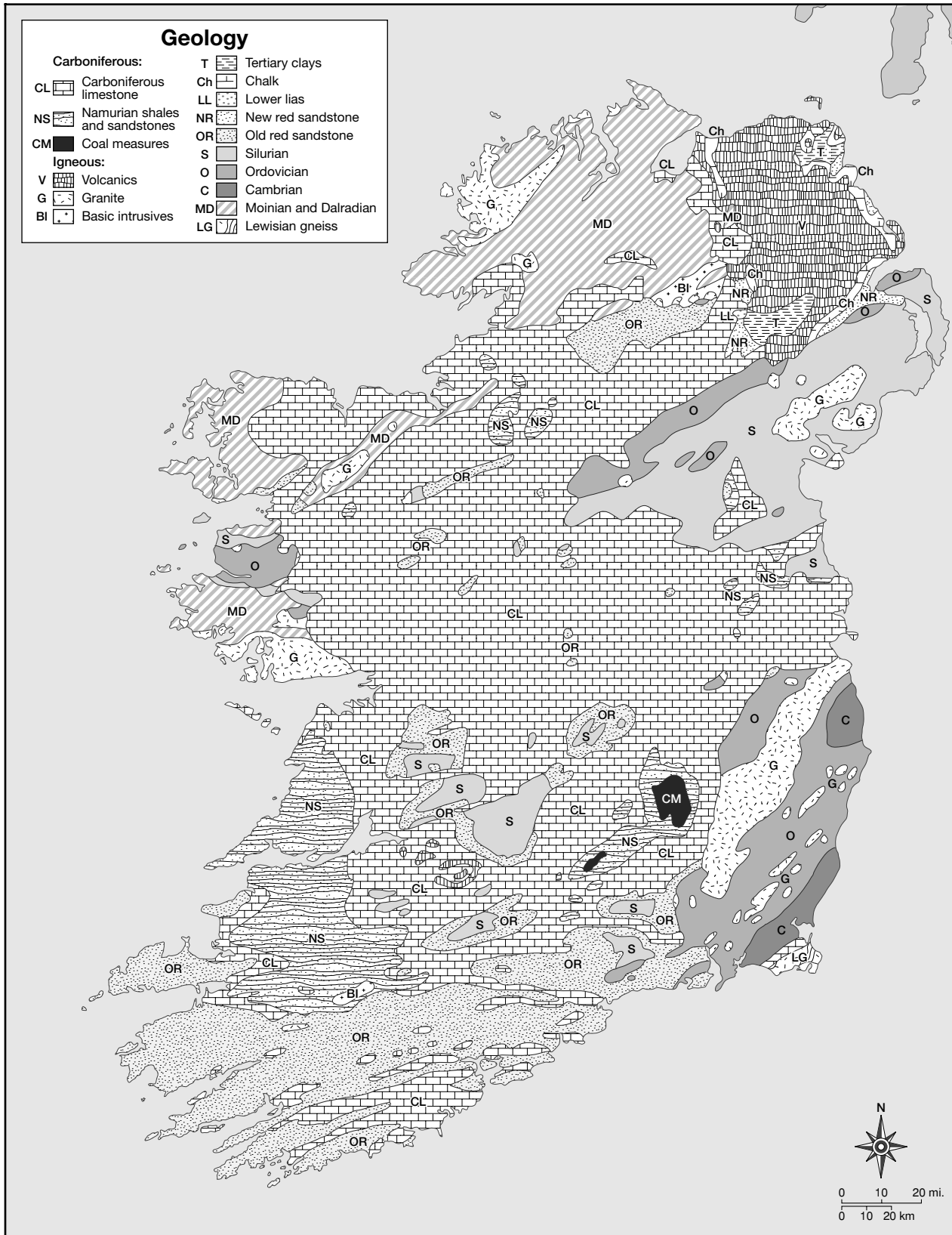
Landscape and Settlement

Ireland's landscape diversity is a product of glacial processes operating on the geological base of carboniferous limestone in the central lowlands and on ancient folded mountain ridges to the north and south. Glaciations more than 12,000 years ago eroded material from the uplands and deposited it as gravels and clays (in eskers, drumlins and moraines) on the midlands. These thin out in the western counties, where the underlying rock appears on the surface, most notably in the karst landscapes of Clare and Galway and the granites of Connemara. Eskers are ridges of gravel that were formed by streams and rivers underneath the ice sheets, and were important routeways historically through the midland bogs of the island.

BOGLANDS

Seventeen percent of the surface of Ireland is composed of peat bogs. Raised bogs are found in the lowlands, while blanket bogs are more characteristic of the uplands and western regions. The lowland bogs comprise great domes of undecayed matter, mostly sphagnum mosses, which accumulated in hollows and waterlogged basins in postglacial times up to 8,000 years ago. Esker and morainic deposits of gravel obstructed the natural drainage, accelerating the growth of peat up to seven or eight meters in depth. Blanket bogs developed in the much wetter conditions of the western parts of the country, where the peat lands have spread over the hills and with their distinctive moor grasses and sedges add color and texture to the mountain landscapes. Deteriorating climatic conditions about 6,000 years ago and localized forest removal encouraged the spread of blanket peat over many prehistoric settled landscapes. The most dramatic recent discovery (in the 1970s) has been the uncovering of Céide Fields underneath the blanket peat in north Mayo, where an extensive field system with accompanying house and tomb sites dates from 3,700 to 3,200 B.C.E. Further ancient landscapes may still await discovery underneath the peatlands of Ireland.

Much of the midlands is honeycombed with fertile land as islands in the extensive wet boglands. During the early Middle Ages, this labyrinthine pattern of eskers and boglands sheltered a largely tribal localized culture familiar with the intricacies of passes through the bogs. Tyrellspass in County Westmeath commemorates one such pass through the bogs. One of the largest of these eskers was called the *Eiscir Riata*, which was an important pass in prehistory between the northern and



southern parts of Ireland. The significance of these medieval routeways is today marked by the remains of monastic sites like Clonmacnoise, Clonfert, Terryglass, Durrow, Tihilly, Seirkieran, Kinitty, Rahugh, and Clonard.

In modern Ireland, as elsewhere in Europe, the great bogs were seen negatively as obstacles to development and refuges for rebels and other persons evading the laws of the Anglo-Norman and Tudor state. Canal construction in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had the double advantage of providing an opportunity to drain these wetlands at the same time as bringing trade and commerce to the midland regions. Historically peat harvesting was a traditional local activity—“cutting turf” with spades in local communities was a centuries-long tradition throughout Ireland. Turbary rights, which went with farm leases from the seventeenth century, were important local assets and landlord interference with these rights often led to local disturbances. Many small bogs were extinct by the twentieth century, with cutover and cutaway bog forming important landscapes in parts of south Ulster and on the margins of the midland bogs. By the twentieth century the more extensive bogs were seen as opportunities for industrial harvesting and local economic development. A state peat authority (*Bord na Móna*) was established in 1946 to excavate the peat mechanically for electricity generation, for domestic fuel as peat briquettes, and as a horticultural product in form of peat moss. In the last quarter of the twentieth century popular interest in the conservation of these bog landscapes increased, and tourism and local interests have realized the botanical and environmental value of these extensive landscapes.

THE PEOPLING OF IRELAND

The Irish environment has formed a stage for human settlement for thousands of years. The interaction between the environmental endowment and humanity on this small island has resulted in a tremendous topographical variety at the regional and local level, and this in turn has been one of the main driving forces for cultural tourism. Situated on the Atlantic fringes of Europe, much of Ireland’s landscape and cultural experience is a product of peoples and processes diffusing out of the European mainland.

The earliest Mesolithic hunter and gatherer communities arrived in Ireland about 9,000 years ago after the end of the Ice Age. These small groups lived along riverbanks and estuaries, lake shores, and coastal districts, exploiting fish, plant, and animal resources. Neolithic settlement (from 5,000 years ago) using Stone

Age technology, constituted the first farming communities—a civilization marked by the appearance of important megalithic tombs. Court, portal, passage, and wedge tombs (referring to the arrangements of spaces, particularly of the entrance to the tomb, within them) have been located in different regions, suggesting a variety of population groups settling in the landscape. The enormous passage tombs at Newgrange in County Meath and at Carrowmore in County Sligo were built about 3,500 to 3,000 B.C.E. and are part of an array of similar tombs in Brittany and western Iberia, a phenomenon that emphasizes the importance of the seaways along the Atlantic fringes in early migration flows.

The Bronze Age (c. 2,500–600 B.C.E.) was marked by copper-mining people who produced personal ornaments and jewellery of great beauty, as well as constructing large hilltop enclosures like Navan Fort near Armagh and great ceremonial circles and henges, such as those in the Boyne valley. From about 600 B.C.E. an ironworking culture spread to Ireland from continental Europe and made a significant contribution to the island’s landscape and culture. Much of the linguistic and genetic heritage of the Irish people can be traced to this Iron Age Celtic culture. Most of the great fables and mythic figures, such as the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, *Cuchulainn*, and *Fionn Mac Cumhal*, originated with these peoples.

The Celts made a lasting cultural impact on the Irish landscape in terms of its territorial and political order and its place-names. The historic provinces of Connacht, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster are simplified legacies of more complex divisions of the island among early Celtic population septs (lineage or kin groups). In broad terms they coincide with major environmental regions. The names of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster are ninth-century Norse constructions of earlier Irish names: Ulaidh or *Cúige Ulaidh* (literally the “fifth of the men of Ulaidh”), Laighin or *Cúige Laighin*, and Mumhan or *Cúige Mumhan*; the “fifth” is evidence of the probable existence of *Mide* as another provincial territory. *Tír*, the Irish word for territory, was added by the Norse to make *Laighins-tír* and so on. A more detailed lattice of territorial divisions emerged within the provinces, as population groups expanded and formed tribal entities. Approximately 150 tribal units known as *Tuatha* emerged, many of which formed a template for the medieval territorial lordships and baronies of the Gaelic and Anglo-Norman settlements. *Tuatha* were grouped into kingdoms, whose geographies have survived in dioceses established by the church in the twelfth century. By the Middle Ages, many of the tiny local territorial units known as townlands (of which there are more than 60,000 today) had taken shape as Gaelic landholding units, and many of their names continue in use.

Large fortified stone forts like Grianán Aileach in Donegal or Staigue in Kerry and other earthworks like Tara and Knockaulin (Dún Ailinne) were constructed during the Iron Age. Linear earthworks such as the Black Pig's Dyke (500–100 B.C.E.), which runs across the south Ulster landscape, and upwards of two hundred promontory forts in coastal locations represent attempts in this period to provide a form of regional security.

The early Christian period contributed some of the more familiar components of the Irish landscape. The ubiquitous ringforts (more properly called *rath* and *dún*) represented a pattern of dispersed farmsteads throughout the island, which are assigned to the second half of the first millennium. Rathes refer mainly to sites built of earth; *dúns* refer to larger, more prestigious examples. Ringforts in more rocky terrain were built of stone (called *caiseal* or *caher*), some of which contain the remains of houses within the enclosure. More than 50,000 of these circular enclosures (with single or multiple banks and ditches) were built in this period. They have been preserved down through the centuries as a result of superstitious associations with "fairy forts." Modern agricultural development, however, has destroyed great numbers of them. Crannogs or lake dwellings were settlements built for security in the period from 500 to 1000 C.E. on artificially constructed islands in lakeland regions especially in the northern half of the island.

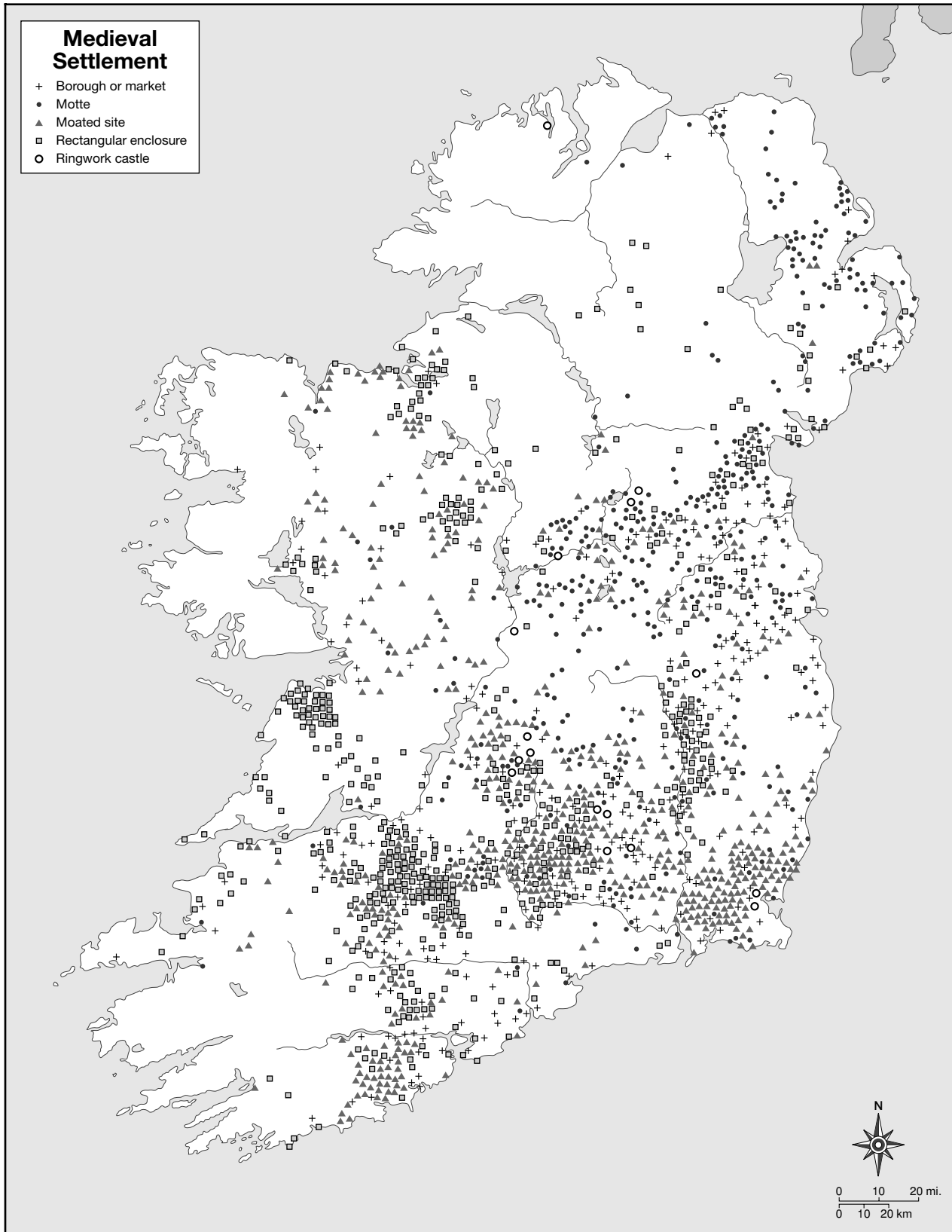
The early Christian monastic church in Ireland established sites that came closest, in function if not in form, to urban centers in early Ireland. A large number of significant centers developed, such as Clonard, Clonfert, Clonmacnois, Durrow, Devenish, Derry, and Armagh. They became the centers of federations of settlements, often located on sites with pre-Christian significance, populated not only by monks but by secular communities working at a variety of crafts. Located along important routeways through the midlands and associated with the settlement pattern of ringforts, it is likely that these monastic centers probably played a key role in contemporary rural economies. Becoming extensive owners of land, they were at the forefront in clearing woodlands, cultivating cereals, and managing livestock. As points of early wealth accumulation, they were repeatedly plundered by Viking raiders in the ninth century. Monastic sites mirrored ringfort morphology, though their circular enclosures were more extensive. The street morphologies of many small towns that originated on these sites still show the curve of ancient monastic boundaries. Throughout the Irish countryside today there are also the remains of small early medieval church sites, usually located at walking

distances in the landscape and frequently marked by circular-shaped cemeteries. These small rural parishes from the early medieval period sometimes have holy wells associated with their founder, at which pattern (patron)-day pilgrimages still occur.

Later, more lavish ecclesiastical buildings followed attempts to reform the old church in Ireland, with impressive new structures like those at the Rock of Cashel being built in the twelfth century. Abbeys such as Boyle in County Roscommon, Mellifont in County Louth, and Holy Cross in Tipperary are the work of continental orders (Cistercians and Benedictines) who came to Ireland in the early twelfth century and who pioneered a new phase in agricultural activity. Most of the medieval ecclesiastical structures in Ireland are in ruins today following the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536 at the time of the Protestant Reformation. The Established Church of Ireland inherited the ecclesiastical buildings, but never obtained the allegiance of the majority population in Ireland, so that maintenance of the structures was difficult.

A number of significant immigrations from the ninth century contributed to the modern Irish landscape. The Vikings (or Norsemen) first arrived on raiding missions from Scandinavia in the late eighth century, and although there is evidence of their having settled in parts of the countryside as farmers, they have been credited mainly with introducing the first urban overseas trading settlements around the coast in the ninth and tenth centuries, and these have endured to the present. Dublin grew into a major Norse settlement presiding over a kingdom that embraced the lower Liffey valley. Port towns were also established at Waterford, Wexford, Cork, Youghal, and Limerick, all place-names incorporating linguistic elements of Norse.

The Anglo-Norman colonization that occurred in the eighty years after 1169 represents the beginnings of Ireland's centuries-long political and cultural engagement with the neighboring island kingdom of England. The invaders who came from the western regions of England and Wales were part of the expanding Angevin empire that had engulfed Anglo-Saxon England a century earlier. The Anglo-Normans were responsible for the introduction of a fully fledged feudalism into Ireland, expressed on the ground in a manorial system of land organization, an open-field tillage economy, incastellation of the countryside, and establishment of an embryonic market system. However, it was an incomplete colonization, with large parts of the island remaining under Gaelic control. The English Pale emerged through the Middle Ages as the principal region of English control in Ireland, containing a king's representative in Dublin and a parliament that was subservient to



England. Outlying feudal lordships and liberties in Munster and Connacht had a weakened connection with the English crown, and pressure from Gaelic lordships on the borders of the colony from the fourteenth century resulted in contraction and gaelicization of the colony. Most of the counties of Leinster and Munster were created by the Anglo-Normans by the thirteenth century as part of the administration of the colony.

By the mid-sixteenth century the expanding English state began a process of subjugation of Ireland that involved the elimination of regional lordships and the incorporation of the island as a unitary economic and political entity. This policy was carried out through a sometimes brutal series of land confiscations and plantation schemes that encouraged planters and settlers to come from Britain. This process of settlement continued into the middle of the seventeenth century, leading to an effective modernization of the Irish landscape with the introduction of a commercial landed-estates system and the consolidation of a market economy over the entire island. Where possible, British (Protestant and Presbyterian) settler tenants were brought in to introduce new farming methods, especially in Ulster. The native (mainly Catholic) population was largely dispossessed of landownership and relegated to tenant status. New plantation towns were added to the medieval urban network and were important agents of economic development in Ulster especially. The remaining counties of Ireland were created during these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plantations as jurisdictions of local administration.

THE WOODLANDS

Although there was continuous forest clearance in Ireland from ancient times, most of the native forests were destroyed during the seventeenth century in response to the demands of an expanding mercantile economy and a rush to exploit the country's natural resources by new British settler communities. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Dublin parliament and the owners of Irish landed estates were concerned at the denuded state of the Irish woodland resources. Reflecting a European-wide age of improvement, the Royal Dublin Society, for instance, offered incentives to landowners and tenants to plant estates with hardwoods. Much of the legacy of beech, oak, and lime trees today can be traced to this period of planting and continues to be an important feature in Ireland east of the Shannon, especially in the demesne lands of former estates. In the more windswept west of the country the landscape is largely treeless.

FIELDS

The most common features in the landscape today are the hundreds of thousands of individually enclosed fields, separated by hedges, banks, and ditches. In the rockier western regions fields are enclosed by an intricate mesh of stone walls. Most of this enclosure occurred in the largely open-field landscapes that prevailed before the eighteenth century and is part of a revolution in agriculture that diffused throughout the British Isles, reaching the west of Ireland latest after the famine in the 1840s. Unlike England, where parliamentary enclosure reorganized most of the older medieval open fields, in Ireland the land was enclosed mainly by landlord and tenant initiative. The more commercially minded landowners in Leinster and Munster were at the forefront in having their lands enclosed in the eighteenth century as part of a drive for more efficient agriculture. Usually, the outbounds of the tenant farms were enclosed initially, with the tenants being left to hedge and ditch their own fields. In the 1820s and 1830s landlords in south Ulster were giving their tenants thousands of quick setts (whitethorn hedge plants) on the November "gale days" (rent days) to plant on their farms. As population soared in the decades before the Great Famine, farms and fields were subdivided and new boundaries installed. The story of the hedging of the countryside in its characteristic patchwork-quilt pattern represents a critical formative phase in the making of the landscape and the sense of place today. Because of the intimate connection between farmer and field over generations of manual labor, field-naming was a common practice in many regions, adding another layer to place-names in the landscapes.

ESTATES

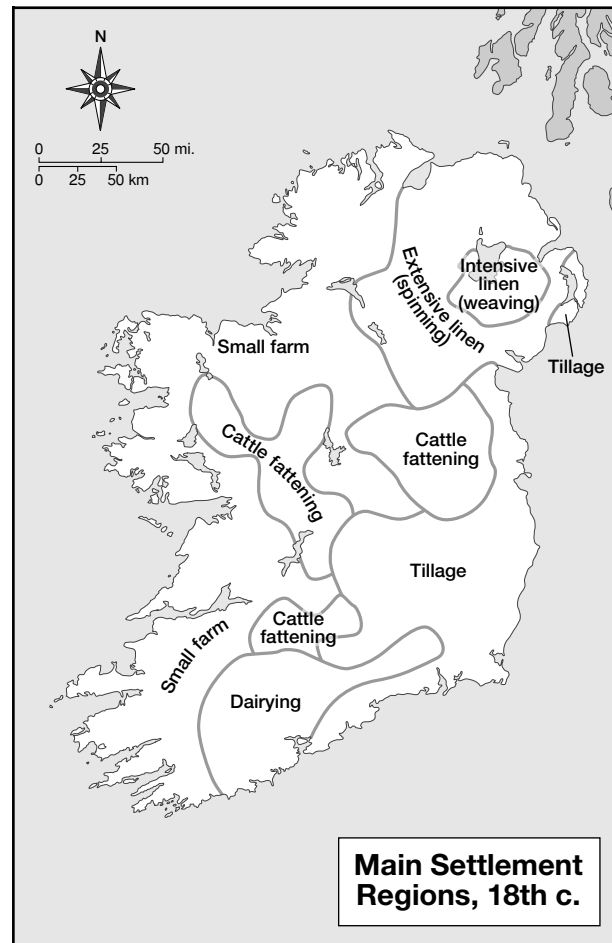
Most of the material features in the modern settlement landscape developed within the parameters of the landed estate. In common with much of Europe from feudal times, the land of the island was owned by a privileged minority. This estate system was firmly established in Ireland following its final incorporation in the expanding modern British state. Some estates traced their origins to powerful Anglo-Norman families, but most emerged from plantation schemes or purchase in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Landowners, who might generally be characterized as ascendancy and gentry, leased their land to tenant farmers for rent. Tenants were expected to make the land productive, through drainage and good husbandry. It was the large and small tenant, under the managing eye of the owner or his agent, who made the landscape, and who molded and imprinted on it the marks of his community and culture. Landless laborers were employed either by the

landlord or the tenant, their numbers reflecting the nature of the local agricultural economy. The busy tillage lands of Louth and Wexford had large settlements of laborer cottages near the farms.

In the cattle-grazing midlands these were fewer. As population grew and employment shrunk in pre-famine decades, it was the poorly managed estates that experienced the brunt of subdivision of the landscape. Landless populations squatted on marginal lands on the edges of the bogs, high up on mountainsides, or along new roads built to open up remote areas in Munster or Connacht. Landless sons added cabins to swelling house clusters in coastal regions and mountain valleys in the west, from which bands migrated seasonally to work in eastern counties, Scotland, or England. More carefully managed properties controlled their tenant populations, or encouraged some to leave under assisted-emigration schemes in mid-nineteenth century. On these properties, mostly located in the east and south, landlords invested in large mansions and lavish walled demesnes with ornamental gardens and model farms. Many landlords were also involved in attempts to induce economic development in planned estate villages, with markets to encourage trade and frequently with colonies of textile workers. However, following the ravages of the Great Famine, the landlord system was largely discredited, and commencing with the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in 1869 and land legislation transferring ownership from landlord to tenant at the turn of the nineteenth century, the estates and the social system that they represented were dismantled. The truncated demesnes and big houses, intact or derelict, are all that remain as landscape markers of the estate system.

BUILDINGS

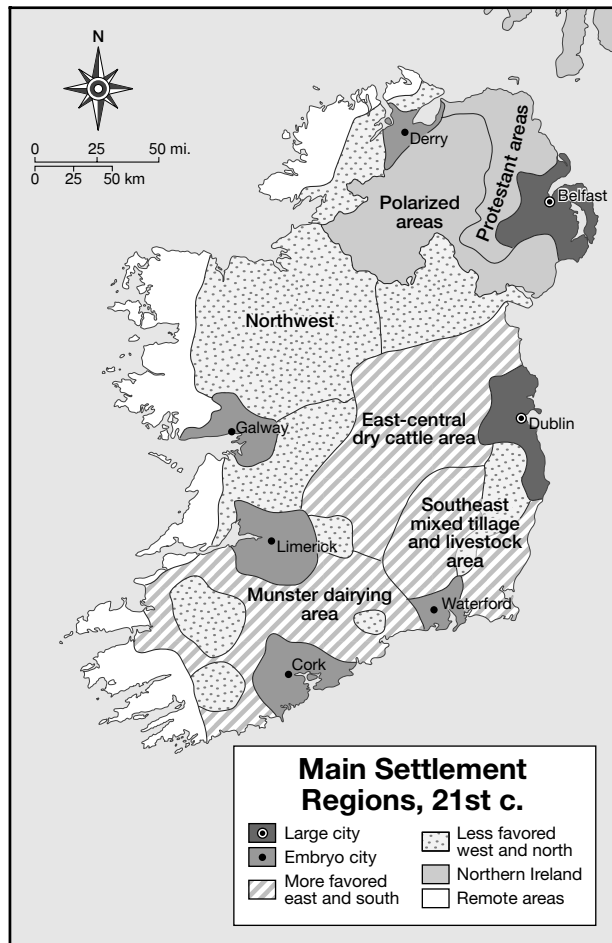
The Irish heritage in buildings is modest by European standards. Before the seventeenth century, Ireland was a comparatively underdeveloped and politically fragmented entity, thus preventing the articulation of a significant island-wide economy. Unlike the rest of Europe, where significant remnants of the medieval-built environment survive, military and economic instability meant that most Irish medieval structures have been in ruins for more than three hundred years. The majority of inherited structures still in use today originated largely in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The more significant buildings are the mansion houses of the wealthy landed elite—referred to as the “Big Houses” of the gentry, or as “stately homes” by heritage tourism—which accompany estates. Great houses like Carton, Castletown, Powerscourt, or Florencecourt, with



their demesne landscapes largely intact, are important components in the modern landscape.

The houses of bigger tenant farmers aped the pretensions of their masters by embellishing their houses with a second story or a porch. Smaller tenant-farmer houses were more traditional in form, consisting of two or more connected rooms. Originally thatched, some survive, though most have been slated. The poorest category of house belonging to the landless laborer was replaced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by local authority or state-sponsored cottages. Today, however, most of the traditional buildings in the countryside have been superseded by modern bungalow type dwellings, which are universal throughout the Irish landscape.

The most important distinction in buildings is between the houses of the wealthy from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, which engaged with a wider world of architecture, taste, and building materials, and those of the local tenantry. Many of the eighteenth-century mansions reflect the impact of palladianism (derived from the ideas of the sixteenth-century Italian,



Andrea Palladio), ornamented by fashionably popular Irish architects such as Richard Castle and craftsmen from Dublin or England. Frequently, building materials were imported, like the exotic plants for landlord demesnes.

In contrast, the houses of the majority of the population were embedded in the local landscapes literally and metaphorically. Built by local craftsmen, they reflected the constraints of traditional practice and local materials in plan and construction. Consequently, as in the rest of Europe, the domestic buildings of local communities blended into the countryside, snuggling into landscapes from which stone, straw, or reeds were obtained.

CHURCHES

Church buildings in Ireland reflect diverging allegiances in the population: the majority native population which adhered to Rome after the Reformation and whose churches were impoverished and often illegal through most of the eighteenth century, and the Protestant mi-

norities whose smaller but better-built churches reflected their social and political privilege. The Established Church of Ireland, which was state endowed up until disestablishment in 1869, inherited many of the old medieval cathedrals and built many small, attractive country churches, which, because of dwindling congregations, have been abandoned throughout the south of Ireland in the twentieth century. Northern Ireland with its much bigger Anglican and Presbyterian congregations has a more extensive heritage of churches. The Catholic Church embarked on a building program from the early nineteenth century following Catholic Emancipation in 1829, though in places some older vernacular barn chapels have survived from the eighteenth century. Its churches are larger and reflect elements of a neo-gothic triumphalism in the nineteenth century.

URBANIZATION

Ireland's regional pattern of urbanization is a combination of a legacy of colonial settlement superimposed on a more ambiguous Gaelic pattern. South of a line from Dundalk to Galway lay a region of comparatively intensive urban settlements from the Anglo-Norman feudal economy. To the north the Gaelic landscape was more rural and town-less. It has been suggested that the monastic settlements of the early medieval period presented protourban settlements in which the economic activities of an "urban" class occurred. However, the fragmented nature of Gaelic political authority and the localized and disarticulated nature of economic life prevented the development of anything resembling a market economy. Small Norse trading centers were established by the tenth century, but the Anglo-Norman colonization brought the first market towns in the European mold, with streets and market spaces, protected by walls, lords, and charters. Boroughs and market centers associated with manors were at the forefront of the Anglo-Norman colonial project to attract settlers and establish economic stability, as at port towns like Kinsale, Youghal, Dundalk, and Drogheda, or inland markets like Kells, Trim, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Clonmel. Many of these medieval towns were developed on earlier monastic sites. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a network of towns with market functions had been established in the Pale and the larger lordships of the colony. However, the failure of the colony to incorporate the entire island meant that periodic instability, especially in the borderlands, inhibited the development of the urban network. Towns also became the lynchpins of later British settlement plans: the Laois-Offaly plantation (1556) and the Munster plantation (1586) were based on the implementation of town plans, resulting in the modern towns of Portlaoise (originally Marybor-

ough), Daingean (originally Philipstown), Bandon, and Clonakilty; the Ulster plantation program from 1610 succeeded in creating in excess of one hundred towns in the last Gaelic and rural province of Ireland by the 1650s. In the eighteenth century some new market and industrial towns were built with the encouragement of landlords and capitalists to encourage local economic growth, but it was East Ulster in the later nineteenth century that experienced heavy urbanization that resembled that of Great Britain. Apart from a few Bord na Móna villages, urbanization stagnated in the Republic of Ireland in the long emigration phase up to the 1960s. Since then there has been a steady increase in the country's urban population, with growing state investment in the industrialization of the economy.

SEE ALSO Belfast; Bogs and Drainage; Clachans; Cork; Dublin; Eiscir Riata; Estates and Demesnes; Ordnance Survey; Rathes; Religious Geography; Rural Settlement and Field Systems; Towns and Villages; Woodlands

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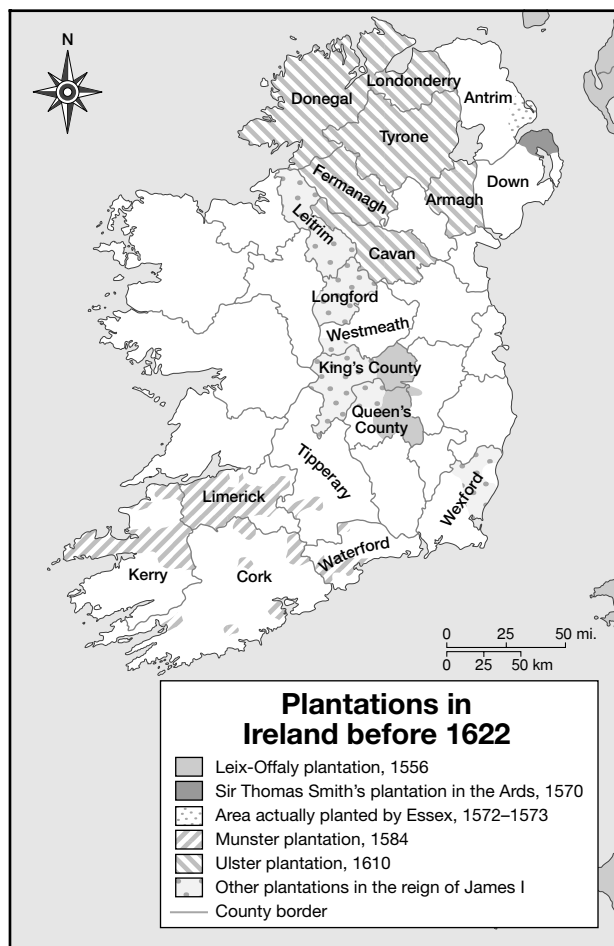
Patrick J. Duffy

Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690

As a consequence of the Gaelic revival of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, only the area of the Pale (Louth, Meath, Dublin, and Wicklow) remained under direct English rule by 1500. Other anglicized enclaves throughout the country were controlled by relatively independent Anglo-Irish nobles. Throughout the later Middle Ages English monarchs had attempted to regain control, but it was only with the end of the Wars of the Roses and the reemergence of strong monarchy under the Tudor dynasty (after 1485) that this became a viable prospect. The support in Ireland for the Simnel and Warbeck conspiracies against Henry VII illustrated how England's enemies could use Ireland to launch an invasion of Britain. As an outright conquest of Ireland was initially deemed too expensive, a conciliatory strategy was adopted. The eventual aim was the total reformation of Gaelic society, and in particular an end to the chronic instability and violence associated with *tanistry* (the English name for the Gaelic inheritance system), the stimulation of economic activity, and the extension of the reformed religion. This program might well have settled the Irish Question, but it lapsed with Henry VIII's death in 1547 and with the rise of ambitious young nobles in Ireland like Shane O'Neill.

By 1550 the government concluded that certain of the "wild" Irish were incapable of reform. As conquest remained impractical, a new type of colonial expansion or "plantation" was posited. Its central tenet was the reformation of the indigenous population through exposure to small-scale colonies of civilized people from the metropolis. This was based on two suppositions: that Gaelic society was less advanced than English, but that it was sufficiently progressive to accept this fact and follow examples of English civility.

The first areas targeted were the Offaly lordship of the O'Connors and the O'More lordship of Leix. A scheme of 1556 called for two-thirds of the natives' lands to be expropriated and allocated to "Englishmen born in England or Ireland." Even with the expulsion of the natives and a substantial influx of settlers, the plantation was only a limited success: sustained resistance from the O'Connors and O'Mores continued throughout the sixteenth century. Despite Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney's complaint in 1575 that the "revenue of both the countries [Leix-Offaly] countervails not the twentieth part of the charge, so that the purchase of that plot is, and hath been, very dear" (Moody 1976, p. 79), and despite the Crown's reluctance to support fur-



ther schemes, private entrepreneurs attempted plantations elsewhere in the middle years of Elizabeth's reign. The ultimately unsuccessful ventures of Sir Thomas Smith and the first earl of Essex in eastern Ulster between 1571 and 1575 further estranged the Gaelic Irish from the government, and Sir Peter Carew's attempted plantation in Idrone in eastern Munster drove the Old English—and hitherto loyalist—Butlers into rebellion.

This extension of plantation to the Old English was a new development, and with the suppression of the Desmond and Baltinglass rebellions between 1579 and 1583, the New English argument that Irish-born magnates could not be relied upon to establish civil society was increasingly heeded in London. Thereafter, plantation was as likely to be employed against the Old English as against the Gaelic Irish, and the confiscation of the recent rebels' lands in Munster furnished an immediate opportunity to impose a large-scale plantation there. Increased state involvement sought to ensure that there was no repetition of the disastrous private plantations of the previous decade. The English officials most closely involved in the development of the project were

determined that the plantation be organized along scientific principles, and a detailed survey was conducted to plot out the Munster plantation on paper.

This survey was only partially complete by the time that the scheme had been carried out in early 1587. Almost 250,000 acres were allocated to thirty-five "undertakers" over twenty-five seignories of between 4,000 and 12,000 acres each. Most undertakers were from the English West Country because of its proximity to, and long-established trade connections with, the Munster ports. The undertakers were to construct defensible buildings, encourage English modes of agriculture, erect model villages, and equip the settlers to defend the colony against the natives. Within seven years the undertakers were to settle ninety-one families on each 12,000-acre seignory, "to be entirely maintained of mere English persons without any intermixture of the mere Irish" (Canny 2001, p. 130).

That the confiscated lands of the earl of Desmond were a mosaic rather than a unified block of property greatly complicated the process of settlement. By the time the first undertakers arrived late in 1586, many of the former proprietors were involved in litigation to reclaim their lands, and no undertaker whose grant was being contested could succeed in attracting tenants. Consequently, the transplantation of English settlers proceeded slowly, and by 1598, when the first Munster plantation was destroyed and many settlers were killed in Tyrone's rebellion, there were fewer than 4,000 settlers in Munster, less than a third of the number anticipated. Nonetheless, they had substantially altered Munster's socioeconomic structures: trade in wool, tallow, and hides exported to England (mainly through the port of Bristol) increased substantially, and the settlers yielded the Crown rents in excess of £2,000 per annum. The settlers were developing arable farming; using English breeds to improve husbandry; and putting Munster's natural resources—particularly its dense forests—to profitable use.

According to Edmund Spenser, this was the plantation's major weakness, for "only the present profit [was] looked unto, and the safe continuance thereof [was] ever hereafter neglected" (Renwick edition, p. 126). He deplored the fact that the settlers had not implemented the defensive conditions demanded by the government. Spenser insisted that settlements in isolation could not endure in Ireland, and he recommended the wholesale plantation of the country and an increased role for the army therein. This line of reasoning was consonant with that of the Dublin government and its spokesperson Sir John Davies (solicitor general, 1603–1606, and attorney general, 1606–1619). In his *Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never En-*

tirely Subdued (1612), Davies argued that notwithstanding the Munster debacle, plantation, with some modification, remained the panacea for Ireland's ills and so following the Flight of the Earls in 1607 a modified plantation was implemented in Ulster on the lands escheated to the Crown.

To avoid the litigation that had plagued the Munster settlement, all land in Counties Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Derry, Fermanagh, and Tyrone was confiscated. Most of this huge territory was set aside for settlement by English and lowland Scottish gentlemen of means who undertook to transfer tenants of their countries to Ulster (including laborers and craftsmen), to establish new towns, and to build defensible strongholds and arm their tenants. Undertaker estates were limited to 3,000 acres to ensure that private individuals could better afford to meet the defensive conditions demanded. The undertakers were to pay the Crown a rent of £5 6s. 8d. for each 1,000 acres. As in earlier plantations, the undertaker estates were to provide an instructive model for the native Irish, and undertakers were to settle ten British families on each 1,000 acres and were expressly forbidden to maintain Irish tenants. To ensure that these terms were met, regular surveys were to be conducted.

If nurturing civil society was the purpose behind the undertaker estates, the intent behind the involvement of servitors (men who had served the Crown in Ireland) was to maintain in good order the native Irish inhabitants of Ulster, many of whom had participated in Tyrone's rebellion. These servitors were either former army captains or current Ulster garrison commanders and were to "be seated in the places of most danger and best advantage for His Majesty's service and defense of the rest of the undertakers." These men would provide leadership in the event of a crisis, but as they lacked financial resources, they were allowed estates of no more than 2,000 acres. They could maintain Irish tenants in exchange for a rent of £8 per 1,000 acres. Coleraine was granted to the London merchant guilds, which formed a joint-stock company for the purpose of planting the area (thereafter designated County Londonderry). Although bound by the same terms of tenure as the undertakers, they were granted special privileges, as it was hoped they would both introduce skilled tradesmen throughout the settlement and develop the ports of Coleraine and Derry.

One-quarter of the plantation was reserved for the "deserving Irish" (loyal supporters of the Crown). They were settled on estates removed from the lands occupied by their kinsmen in order to undermine Gaelic kin affiliation. They could maintain Irish tenants, but they had to introduce English methods of farming and landhold-

ing. The generous endowments of church livings within Ulster, along with other measures, indicated the government's aim to promote Protestantism as well as English civility. The lenient treatment of the lesser septs aimed to "outweigh the displeasure and dissatisfaction of the smaller number of better blood." This policy did not work because few of the "deserving Irish" received what they felt they deserved. Moreover, as surveys conducted in 1611, 1614, 1619, 1622, and 1628 revealed, many of the undertakers neither implemented the defensive conditions nor cleared their estates of natives, having discovered that it was far more lucrative to maintain Irish tenants—whom they could charge extortionate rents—than to settle British tenants. This meant that there existed throughout the entire plantation a substantial, disaffected native population living in close proximity to the settlers.

Hard-line English observers justified such expropriation and its attendant violence as the inevitable and necessary march of civilization at the expense of a people who were "not thrifty, and civil and human creatures, but heathen or rather savage and brute beasts," and there was almost universal approval of the planting of "civil men brought up in the laws of England." Validating this view were a host of anti-Gaelic Irish and Old English diatribes like John Derricke's *Image of Irelande* (1581), Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594), and Edmund Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596).

The personal interest taken by James VI and Charles I in the Ulster plantation encouraged the Dublin administration to develop further schemes, and there were further small-scale plantations in counties Leitrim, Longford, Offaly, and Westmeath during the latter years of his reign. As the grantees appointed in these areas were not compelled to establish British tenants on their lands, it is evident that the government was now using plantation as a tool to dismember rather than to reform Gaelic lordships by forcing the lords to divide their lands into freeholds and tenancies. By Charles I's accession in 1625 the government was actively seeking to extend these schemes throughout the country, and in particular to the province of Connacht and the Ormond lordship in south Leinster and northeast Munster.

These areas were distinctly Old English, and the landowners used their court connections to frustrate government progress. Throughout the rest of the country, however, settlers flooded in. By 1635 there were some 18,000 settlers in the re-established Munster plantation, while in Ulster there were almost 35,000. Anglicization by example was successful in some cases, and certain native proprietors established nucleated

settlements of foreign tenants on their estates. By 1640 there were probably some 90,000 mainly British settlers in Ireland, the majority having been introduced via plantation.

The resentment engendered among those dispossessed by plantation exploded in the 1641 Rising, which resulted in the deaths of about 12,000 settlers, almost all Protestant. This bloodshed was used to justify the Cromwellian plantation of the 1650s, which followed the long-delayed suppression of the rebellion, but the real imperative was the need for Irish land to reimburse the state's creditors and over 33,000 unpaid Roundhead soldiers who had participated in the British campaigns. The Act of Settlement (1652) declared all land east of the Shannon to be confiscated to the Crown. Most Catholic landowners forfeited their lands and were forcibly relocated west of the Shannon, although some avoided this fate. In September 1653 the English parliament set aside four counties for the government (Carlow, Cork, Dublin, and Kildare) and ten for distribution among the state's creditors (Antrim, Armagh, Down, Laois, Limerick, Meath, Offaly, Tipperary, Waterford, and Westmeath). A tripartite survey of Ireland—by jury inquisition, gross estimation, and William Petty's historic Down Survey—was conducted to facilitate implementation of the scheme. Once established on their lands the new proprietors were to draw the natives into a civil condition. It had been hoped that the soldiers would remain in Ireland to form a strong yeoman class, but fewer than 12,000 took physical possession of their lands. Most sold their debentures to their officers, who in turn sold to the Protestant settlers resident in Ireland before 1641. Expected immigration from Britain failed to materialize and the settlement proved a crushing disappointment to those who had hoped that it would achieve the reformation of the country. Indeed, more soldiers sold their holdings thereafter, for the Restoration settlement confirmed only 7,500 soldiers in their new lands.

Overall, William Petty estimated that 11 million acres had changed hands. While the settlement substantially increased the number of Protestants in Ireland, even more importantly, it greatly increased their wealth and power. They enjoyed a complete ascendancy throughout the country, and their control over Irish political and economic life was thereafter almost absolute. The Cromwellian settlement represented the greatest early modern transformation in Irish landownership and created the estate system that lasted until the late nineteenth century. The Act of Settlement (1662), while restoring individual Catholic favorites of Charles II, did little to redress the imbalance between Catholic and Protestant landownership and left just over one-fifth of Irish land in Catholic possession.

Plantation in Ireland failed to achieve its original objective to secure the country, and the government was forced to maintain substantial forces to guard against invasion. While the upper class was anglicized, or more accurately "briticized," this was achieved through expropriation, not reformation. Such expropriation led to several centuries of ethno-religious conflict. If elite Gaelic power structures were successfully dismantled, the lower levels of Gaelic society remained largely unchanged. As successive plantations failed, the process underwent many modifications, but by the end of the 1650s plantation was less about reformation than expropriation. The scale of the Cromwellian plantation, which spectacularly manifested this change, would have astounded the original proponents of colonization. The emphasis of plantation had changed as early as the 1610s, as the Irish Protestant Reformation faltered, and the transfer of power from the Old to the New English reflected this fact. Religion became the new badges of civility, and segregation rather than integration became the hallmark of plantation. Crucially, the suffering engendered by plantation and resistance to it eventually helped to mould the Gaelic Irish and Old English into one proto-nation.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1500 to 1690; Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; Cromwellian Conquest; Desmond Rebellions; Legal Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; Politics: 1500 to 1690; Sidney, Henry; Wild Geese—The Irish Abroad from 1600 to the French Revolution; **Primary Documents:** From *Solon His Follie* (1594); From *A Direction for the Plantation of Ulster* (1610); Conditions of the Plantation of Ulster (1610); From *The Great Case of Transplantation Discussed* (1655); From *The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated* (1655); From *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (1698)

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David Finnegan

Land War of 1879 to 1882

The Land War of 1879 to 1882 began in the wake of three years of economic downturn that arrested the postfamine economic progress of many Irish farmers and heightened the anxiety of vulnerable small tenants, especially those along the western seaboard where post-famine prosperity had been most limited. It was given focus and leadership by a coalition of radical and constitutional nationalists. This coalition added potency to the mobilized Irish tenant farmers in a movement that forced the passage of legislation that began the dismantling of landlordism in Ireland.

The public meeting that launched the Land War occurred on 20 April 1879 at Irishtown in County Mayo. It came following two years of cold and wet weather, meager harvests, low livestock prices, and a decline in the demand for seasonal laborers in England and Scotland that left many western farmers with few sources of cash with which to pay rent, satisfy creditors, or purchase food. During the previous three years local activists in counties Mayo and Galway—most importantly James Daly, proprietor of the *Connaught Telegraph*, Matt Harris, a member of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and John O'Connor Power, MP and a former Fenian—had promoted the formation of tenant-defense associations and had sought to forge an alliance with local Fenians, who had a longstanding aversion to public campaigns for land reform. These efforts were greatly aided with the release from prison in December 1877 of Mayo native Michael Davitt, who, in association with New York-based Irish activist John Devoy, crafted the "New Departure" that made possible the alliance between Fenians, land reformers, and advanced parliamentarians.

Following the Irishtown meeting, County Mayo was alive with meetings characterized by fiery speeches and militant resolutions, and the festive mobilization of rural Ireland that swept away the initial hesitation of the clergy to join a movement that was beyond their control. These activities resulted in the establishment of the National Land League of Mayo by Davitt in August and the spread of the movement beyond the west of Ireland. This expansion of the movement was formalized in October with the founding of the Irish National Land League, with Charles Stewart Parnell, leader of the advanced wing of the Irish Parliamentary Party, at its head. The formation of the Land League institutionalized the agitation and brought it under the direction of a central leadership that was committed to channeling the energy and rhetoric of the previous six months into a workable plan of action that Parnell hoped could be advocated in the House of Commons. The plan that emerged from the founding conference was a radical departure from the "three Fs" and from the principle of "dual ownership" advocated by earlier tenant-right organizations and Irish parliamentarians. The League plan called for an immediate and permanent reduction of rents, an end to evictions for nonpayment of rents, and legislation that would "enable every tenant to become the owner of his holding."

This strategy was bolstered in the spring of 1880 by a general election that returned to office the Liberal leader W. E. Gladstone, an advocate of land reform in Ireland, and that brought about the return of a sufficient number of MPs supporting Parnell to enable him to become leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. In April the Land League executive convened a national conference to draft proposals for land-reform legislation consistent with the League's program. The conference was given further significance by the presence of a substantial number of large farmers and cattle graziers, who were making their initial intervention in League matters. Their attempt to ensure that the League advocated land reform that would benefit large as well as small farmers was not welcomed by western radicals, who viewed large farmers as avaricious grabbers of land who furthered the impoverishment of vulnerable small tillers. Although tension between large and small farmers over tactics and goals plagued the Land League until its dissolution, and ultimately weakened the attachment of small western farmers to it, the conference marked the transformation of the League into an organization that agitated for legislative reform that would benefit all tenant farmers. Moreover, it was doing so in alliance with a radical group of parliamentarians with whom it shared a leader.

Over the next year hundreds of local branches were formed, public demonstrations were held nearly every

weekend, and the country was teeming with a campaign to topple the traditional land system. That campaign involved organized efforts to withhold rents, to resist evictions, to support tenants evicted or threatened with eviction, to intimidate landlords, their agents, process servers, and police, often through violence or the threat of it, and to use public demonstrations and branch meetings to press for land reform. The most far-reaching tactic was social and economic ostracism, dubbed "boycotting" in reference to the case of Captain Charles Boycott, the agent of the Earl Erne's Lough Mask estate in County Mayo, who was driven from his property in November 1880 following two months of a highly publicized refusal by his tenants to pay rent, his laborers to work, and local traders to provide him with any provisions.

Boycotting, and indeed the entire range of Land War tactics, were validated by a belief widely held in rural Ireland that the land belonged to the people who worked it, irrespective of the legal claims of landlords, who were seen as the descendants of English invaders who had stolen the land from its God-given owners. This belief, advanced on many League platforms, was the foundation for a code of behavior, dubbed the "lawless law" by Davitt, which called for not paying rent deemed excessive and not taking land from which the previous tenant had been evicted or compelled to leave owing to inability or unwillingness to pay excessive rents. This code was designed to protect access to land for impoverished tenant farmers as well as to render untenable the economic position of landlords. Along with the religious divide between most tenant farmers and their landlords, the tenants' confidence in the moral legitimacy of their cause produced a powerful degree of unity of purpose and action in rural Ireland.

In April 1881 Gladstone introduced a land-reform bill (which became law in August) that fell far short of what had been demanded by the League, but one that he conceded would not have come about without the sustained agitation of the previous two years. Realizing that this legislation would satisfy many tenant farmers and might undermine support for the land movement, the League called on its supporters to refrain from rushing into the newly established rent-arbitration courts to seek reductions, and instead to wait until a few carefully selected test cases could be decided. Convinced that the League executive was attempting to thwart implementation of the bill, the government arrested Parnell and much of the League's leadership in October 1881. From prison they issued a "No Rent Manifesto" that was ignored throughout Ireland but that did succeed in getting the League proclaimed an illegal organization. During the next six months the Ladies' Land League, established

in the previous January, kept the agitation going, but with the principal leaders of the Land War in prison, League branches in disarray, and eligible tenant farmers rushing into the land courts, this initial phase of the Irish Land War soon came to a conclusion.

SEE ALSO Congested Districts Board; Davitt, Michael; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Ladies' Land League; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land Questions; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Plan of Campaign; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; United Irish League Campaigns; **Primary Documents:** Establishment of the National Land League of Mayo (16 August 1879); Call at Ennis for Agrarian Militancy (19 September 1880); Land Law (Ireland) Act (22 August 1881)

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Donald E. Jordan, Jr.

Language and Literacy

DECLINE OF IRISH
LANGUAGE

NEIL BUTTIMER

IRISH LANGUAGE
SINCE 1922

PÁDRAIG Ó RIAGÁIN

DECLINE OF IRISH LANGUAGE

The Irish language has been in decline since the seventeenth century. Its reversal was a complex phenome-

non, and it not easy to describe or analyze the processes involved. For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only indirect measures of its downturn are available, but these measures at least help to identify the context of the decline in the nineteenth century. The rate of occurrence of indigenous Gaelic surnames has been used to determine the status of Irish in late seventeenth-century Dublin city and county: There was 26 percent usage in the metropolitan urban area at that stage, and more than 90 percent usage in some rural baronies around the capital. Estimates by researchers writing in the nineteenth century suggest that in the 1730s two-thirds of the country's population might have been Irish-speaking. Signs of reduction are evident from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. One indication of this downward trend was the decrease in the number of scholarships with a Gaelic component offered to and accepted by young Irishmen studying for the Catholic priesthood in French seminaries. France was the principal training ground for the Catholic clergy prior to the French Revolution in 1789. Earlier in the eighteenth century, Irish would have been the vernacular of many of the communities that priests returned to serve, but this clearly became less so over time.

The nineteenth century witnessed a continuation of the foregoing trends and their dramatic acceleration after 1850. What principally distinguishes the nineteenth century from previous periods is the growth in data specifically focused on language matters, thus facilitating the measurement of change. Statistical surveys of counties conducted by the Royal Dublin Society and other bodies are one such source. Although only some twenty counties were studied, and although the treatment of Irish differs from report to report (reflecting changes in the kinds of information elicited from informants), these organizations' publications are valuable for their data on Irish-language usage in different regions of Ireland and among different social classes. A substantial reversal in the use of Gaelic in Leinster and Ulster is apparent for the years in question (roughly 1800–1830). There were also systematic inquiries conducted by proselytizing Protestant groups seeking to convert speakers of Irish by means of their own language beginning in the late 1810s. The responses to the surveys confirm that although Irish was still strong in the south and the west, it was diminishing there too.

The Great Famine was the key turning point, not only in the fortunes of the language but also in the modes of reporting its retreat. It was evident from 1845 onwards that mortality was greatest in regions where Irish remained the principal community language. Public officials and others aware of the change were successful in having a question on the use of the language in-

cluded in the population census of 1851. This was the first time that such an inquiry had been conducted, although censuses had been taken in Ireland since 1821. Questions about the Irish language were posed in all of the decennial censuses from 1851 to 1911; no census was carried out in 1921 in the turbulent conditions of the war of independence. The seven censuses conducted between the two aforementioned dates are a foundation for the analysis of the story of the language both before and after 1850.

The first systematic investigation of the census returns, and still the best overview of the position of Irish in the period on the national level, was by Brian Ó Cuív (1950 and 1969). He determined the percentages of Irish speakers for each county from the censuses of 1851 and 1891, tabulating the story for all baronies in eighteen counties. Maps were drawn up on his instructions for the two time horizons. They show a dramatic shrinkage in the intervening years (from 25 percent of the population in 1851 to less than half this total in 1891), with the speaking of Irish effectively confined by 1891 to coastal and some inland regions of the north, west, and south (counties Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Waterford). These districts came later to be called the *Gaeltacht*, although this term was probably borrowed from the similar designation of Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland. Subsequent scholarship has built on and refined Ó Cuív's work. FitzGerald (1984) sought to determine from postfamine census data precisely when in the late eighteenth century significant patterns of decline might have commenced. Later studies have investigated usage or decline at more discreet levels of local administration (Nic Craith 1993).

Census questions elicit a relatively restricted range of information, and as a result, they allow only large-scale alterations over space and time to be charted. The decline of Irish involves issues pertaining to the use of the language proper. Some work has been done on characterizing the parameters of usage—for instance, categorizing speakers into monoglots, fully bilingual in either Irish or English, or partially bilingual (exhibiting greater command of either Irish or English), and examining whether such bilingualism was active or passive. There has been only limited analysis of the distribution of these capabilities across the population during the nineteenth century. Investigating the issue further will require that researchers go beyond census reports to other sources.

Greater levels of Irish-only competence are to be expected for the early nineteenth century. Contemporary manuscript materials are the most immediately relevant basis for assessing the language attainments of such speakers. More bilingualism and diminishing

amounts of monoglossism were evident as the century progressed. The Irish of speakers born after 1850 survives in documentation from the early twentieth century—for instance, in oral traditions written down in the 1930s and later. Many of these records reveal the speech patterns of communities where Irish was disappearing as an everyday vernacular. Some breakdown in distinctive Gaelic linguistic characteristics such as initial mutation (sounds changing at the beginning of a word when the word's grammatical context alters) is evident from the seafaring and other traditions described by the fisherman Seán Ó hAodha (1861–1946), a native of Glendore, Co. Cork. These developments possibly reflect the decreasing use of Irish by Ó hAodha and his neighbors, rather than necessarily mirroring any predictable evolution within the structures and sounds of the language itself.

While Ó hAodha's Irish shows signs of contraction in usage, the language of his near-contemporaries from adjacent regions exhibits a continued vibrancy. This is the case for the renowned Blasket Islander Tomás Ó Crimhthain (1856–1937), whose autobiography *An tOileánach* (first published in 1929 and translated in 1937 as *The Islandman*) is an epic testimonial to his maritime people. The same is true for other male and female tradition-bearers, such as the masterful west Cork storyteller, Amhlaoibh Ó Luínse (1872–1947), and the Beara peninsula exponent of oral narrative, Máiréad Ní Mhionacháin (1860–1957). Accordingly, the concept of language decline cannot be equated automatically with morbidity (Crystal 2000) or with intrinsic weakening in the expressiveness of Irish itself. The Irish of the late nineteenth century still clearly benefited from the linguistic vitality of the pre-famine period (three million people probably spoke Irish in the early 1840s). The Gaelic Revival that began in the late nineteenth century capitalized on such residual strengths. This factor and the state support that it received throughout the twentieth century have meant that Irish may not now be as close to extinction as many of the world's other less-used or minority languages (McCloskey 2001).

The causes of the decline of Irish have attracted scholarly notice, but further work on the issue remains to be undertaken. Seán de Fréine's classic account (1965) sketches the main reasons as well as their impact. They include the age-old hostility of the English authorities to the language, growing indifference toward it on the part of Irish ecclesiastical and political leaders in the nineteenth century, and the community's own willingness to jettison its use. Whether arising from enforced or voluntary circumstances, the loss of Gaelic, according to de Fréine, was reflected in the population's diminished self-confidence and self-awareness. The main

planks of de Fréine's arguments are still largely tenable, but they must be refined in light of more recent scholarship. Efforts on behalf of Irish by agencies directly or loosely associated with the government, particularly in the domains of religion, culture, and education, suggest that not all branches of the establishment were unremittingly hostile to Gaelic in the nineteenth century. And recent studies on the social and educational background of Catholic priests and bishops have given a clearer impression of how the clergy might have been predisposed to acquiesce in language change.

Much more study of important aspects of the language is needed. Though there has been significant recent work on the transformative effects of literacy and on school curricula in the critical first half of the nineteenth century, this scholarship does not investigate these issues through contemporary Gaelic manuscript sources themselves, which are replete with relevant data. Nor has there been a full investigation of the effects on Gaelic-speaking communities of industrialization and the development of modern communications networks. Perhaps the most serious omission is the failure to study the decline of Irish in comparative terms. In this connection the forces that impelled language shift in Aboriginal Australian populations in such a short space of time might be considered (Schmidt 1985). This will inevitably bring into focus the considerable literature on language and colonization. These considerations further demonstrate how complicated a topic language change is in its own right, and they reinforce the need to approach it in a broad and sophisticated manner. In Ireland's case the decline of Irish is one of the more profound transformations in the country's history, affecting a range of issues beyond language use and encompassing psychology and identity as well.

SEE ALSO Blasket Island Writers; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Gaelic Revival; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Hiberno-English; Language and Literacy: Irish Language since 1922; Literacy and Popular Culture; Raiftearaí (Raftery), Antaine

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Neil Buttimer

IRISH LANGUAGE SINCE 1922

By the end of the nineteenth century the assimilation of the Irish language community into the English-speaking world appeared to have entered its final phase. In the census of 1926, only 18 percent of the population were returned as Irish-speakers, of whom nearly half of were concentrated in scattered bilingual or monolingual areas along the western and southern coasts (collectively referred to as the Gaeltacht). The remaining Irish-speakers, most of whom had learned the language at school, were scattered throughout largely English-speaking communities. Despite the well-established dynamic of language assimilation, the small demographic base, and rural character of Irish language communities, the new native government in 1922 adopted a broad strategy to enhance the social and legal status of Irish, to maintain its use in areas where it was still spoken, and to promote and revive its use elsewhere.

Although the population of the Gaeltacht has declined in both absolute and relative terms, there has been a gradual but continual revival in the ratios of Irish-speakers in other regions. In the 1996 census, 1,430,205 were returned as Irish-speakers. This represents 43.5 percent of the national population and compares with 18 percent in 1926. About 50 percent of Irish-speakers now reside in Leinster Province (including Dublin), compared with about 5 percent in 1926. The proportion of Irish-speakers in all regions has moved toward the national average, whereas the average itself is rising.

However, the largest proportion of Irish-speakers is found in the ten- to twenty-year-old age groups (i.e., school-age populations), after which it consistently becomes smaller. Furthermore, national language surveys conducted between 1973 and 1993 suggest that most of those returned as Irish-speakers were speakers of quite limited competence; only 10 percent claimed to be fluent or nearly fluent in Irish. The available evidence on the social use of Irish indicates that fewer than 5 percent of the national population use Irish as their first or main language, while a further 10 percent use Irish regularly but less intensively. Use of the language appears to be

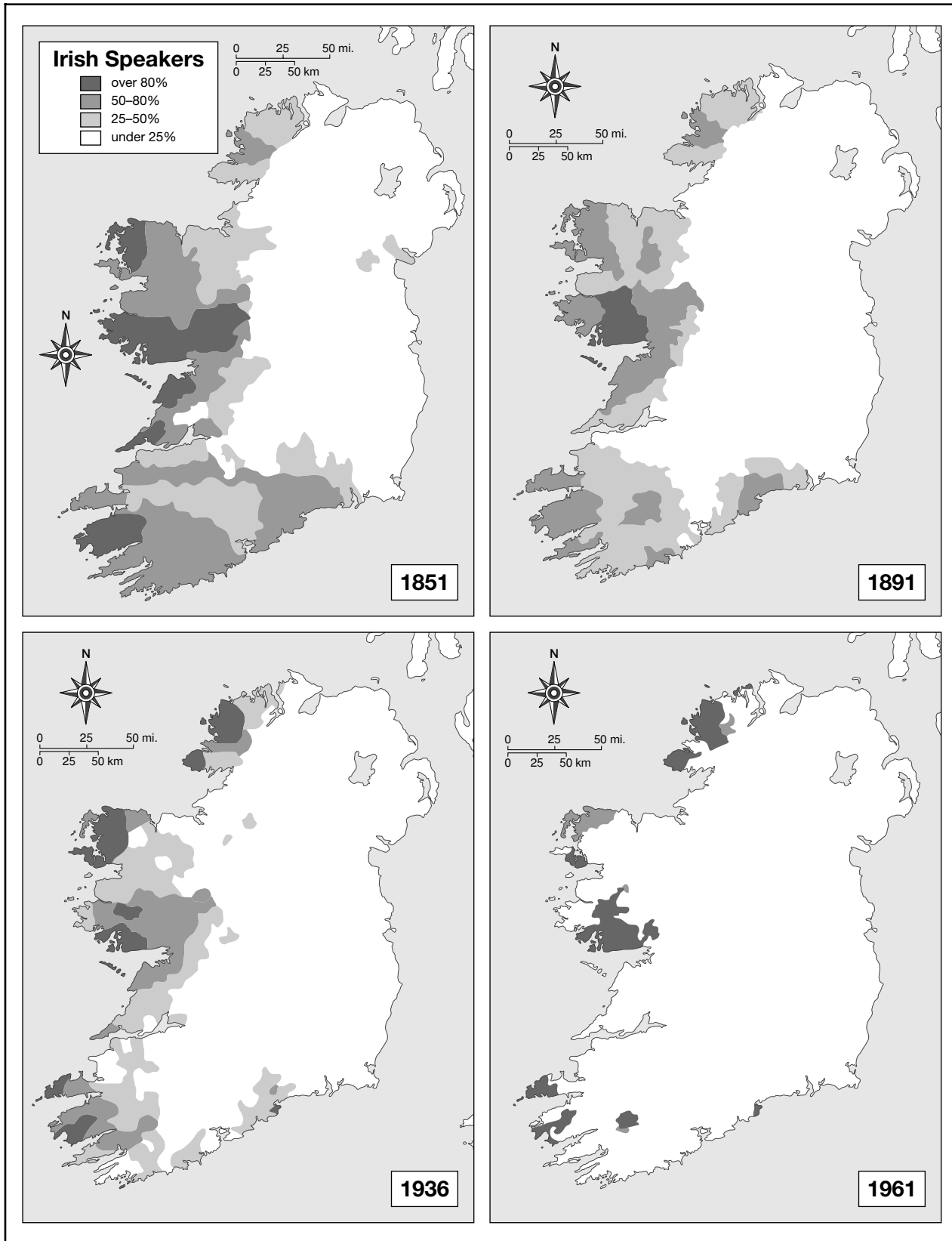
most intensive during school years, after which it is discontinued in the case of many individuals. Bilingualism in Ireland is based on a thin distribution of family and social networks, which have a degree of underpinning from a variety of state policies in educational, work place, and media institutions. But these networks are dispersed and weakly established and are very vulnerable to the loss of members over time, as they are not sufficiently large or vibrant enough to easily attract and retain replacements.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES

Support for the Irish language is higher in many respects than the objective position of the Irish language in society would appear to justify. The relationship between the Irish language and ethnic identity on the one hand, and perceptions of its limited value as economic or cultural capital on the other, form two opposing attitudinal predispositions that determine public attitudes toward policy. A majority perceives the Irish language to have an important role in defining and maintaining national cultural distinctiveness. Thus the general population is willing to accept a considerable commitment of state resources to ensure its continuance and even to support a considerable imposition of legal requirements to know or use Irish on certain groups within the society, such as teachers and civil servants. However, where such requirements directly affect respondents' own material opportunities, or those of their children, they are less readily supported. Although a majority of the Irish public would appear to espouse some form of bilingual objective, the evidence would suggest that many of this majority seek at best simply to maintain the low levels of social bilingualism now pertaining. When taken in conjunction with the increase over the last quarter of the twentieth century of those favouring an "English only" objective, it would appear that the proportion holding the revival position as traditionally understood has slipped and may no longer represent the majority viewpoint.

THE GAELTACHT

In strictly economic terms, state-sponsored socio-economic development in the Gaeltacht has had an appreciable measure of success since 1970. After a long period of decline population levels have increased again and nonagricultural employment has grown. However, the progressive shift to English continues. It would appear that only about half of Gaeltacht children learn Irish in the home, and a decline in the proportion of Irish-speakers in other age groups is also occurring. This is in part related to the high level of in-migration and



return migration that has accompanied economic restructuring since about 1970. While community use of Irish remains very much higher than the national average, the Gaeltacht now accounts for less than 2 percent of the national population, the communities are very fragmented, and a large minority of the residents in these areas do not use Irish at all.

EDUCATION

The maintenance of more or less stable rates of bilingualism over the past forty years is due more to the capacity of the schools to produce competent bilinguals rather than to the capacity of the bilingual community to reproduce itself. Most Irish children learn Irish in both primary and post-primary school as a subject, but despite some thirteen years of experience in the case of the average child, these programs do not generally produce highly competent active users of Irish. When they do, they are usually among those who stay in the system the longest and take the academically most demanding syllabus, or else among the small minority who attend all-Irish schools. Paradoxically, in a period when Irish language policy in the schools generally is experiencing considerable difficulties, the number of Irish-immersion primary schools in English-speaking areas continues to grow. In 1981 there were 28 such schools. In 1991 this figure had risen to 66, and it is now over 100. As a consequence, the proportion of children receiving this type of education has increased from 5 percent to 8 percent. The position in mainstream schools is not so healthy. In these schools Irish is taught as a subject only. Following the decision in 1973 to discontinue the policy of requiring students to pass state examinations in Irish in order to graduate with a certificate, a small but growing minority of students did not take the Irish paper in public examinations, and a consistently upward trend was apparent in the percentages who failed Irish.

MEDIA AND CULTURAL LIFE

An Irish-language radio station was established in 1972, and an Irish-language television service commenced broadcasting in 1996. There are two weekly newspapers in Irish, and some national and regional newspapers regularly carry Irish-language material. There is a lively literary scene in Irish, and about one hundred books are published annually. There are occasional theatrical productions in Irish in the main cities. Core audiences and readerships reflect the low levels of social use of Irish, but sizeable minorities (about 20 percent) take an infrequent but consistent interest.

Although the effort to reestablish Irish as a national language has not been successful, neither can the impact of Irish-language policy be described as negligible. Irish has not been successfully maintained in the Irish-speaking areas, although there are still residual districts where Irish is habitually used. Elsewhere, only a small minority use Irish in daily social intercourse, but this widely dispersed minority does not command any domain of language use; nor is it in itself a very efficient source of bilingual reproduction. Since 1922 there has indeed been some measure of revival, and the pattern of bilingualism has consequently shifted, but the long-term future of the Irish language is not any more secure now than it was then.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Hiberno-English; Newspapers; **Primary Documents:** Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951)

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Pádraig Ó Riagáin

Larkin, James

Born in the Irish slums of Victorian Liverpool, James Larkin (1876–1947) grew to become an influential labor leader in early twentieth-century Britain, Ireland and the United States. Larkin was a firm believer in syndicalism—the notion that trade-union involvement in direct industrial action was the best vehicle to bring about the socialist revolution. A fiery speaker and charismatic leader, Larkin excelled at mobilizing and organizing workers, inspiring fervent loyalty in his followers and equally emotive hatred in his opponents.

Larkin did important work in organizing for the National Union of Dock Labourers in Britain, but it was



Socialist James Larkin (1876–1947) headed the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union during the notorious lockout of 1913. The union-busting lockout was engineered by the Employers' Federation under the lead of the wealthy businessman and newspaper proprietor William Martin Murphy. Some 20,000 Dublin workers took sympathetic action in opposition to the lockout. Early in 1914 the conflict ended in defeat for the union. A discouraged Larkin spent the next nine years in the United States. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRINTED BY PERMISSION.

his Irish career that gave Larkin an international reputation. He first arrived in Ireland in 1907, determined to organize labor at Irish ports. Starting his work in Belfast, he briefly brought Catholic and Protestant workers together before his short-lived union was shattered by traditional sectarian animosities.

Undaunted by his failure in Belfast, Larkin moved on to Dublin to organize dockworkers there. It was here that Larkin achieved his greatest success, founding the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) in 1908. Aided by James Connolly, Larkin oversaw the rapid growth of the ITGWU from a fledging union to a force with 14,000 members by 1913. Determined to make their mark, Larkin and Connolly took on the business empire of William Martin Murphy, one of Dublin's leading entrepreneurs. Equally determined to face down and break Larkin's union, Murphy organized the Employers' Federation, which agreed to take on the ITGWU in 1913. The showdown that ensued—the great Lockout of 1913—resulted in a bitter defeat for the union.

Larkin left Ireland for the United States in the following year.

Although he had not planned on staying so long, Larkin remained in the United States for nine years, speaking out against the war effort and participating in the foundation of the American Communist Party. When he returned to Ireland in 1923, he found conditions much changed. Faced with the aggressively conservative Catholic atmosphere of the newly formed Irish Free State, Larkin's influence was much reduced. "Big Jim" Larkin, that towering figure of Irish labor, lived out his days in relative quiet, dying in his sleep in January 1947.

SEE ALSO Connolly, James; Irish Women Worker's Union; Labor Movement; Lockout of 1913; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Murphy, William Martin; O'Brien, William; Trade Unions

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Sean Farrell

Latin and Old Irish Literacy

The oldest physically surviving examples of Irish-language literacy are a few hundred inscriptions written in the Morse code-like alphabet called *ogham*. Almost all of these simply record names of people. They are found carved on large stones across southern Ireland (particularly Cork and Kerry) and in Irish-influenced parts of western Britain, and they date from about the fourth century C.E. to the seventh. For the invention of the ogham alphabet itself, a dating only a little earlier than that of the first extant inscriptions has been proposed, but it is certain that only a fraction of the earliest evidence has survived, so the script may have originated as soon as the influences inspiring it began to be felt in Gaeldom. The main such influence is believed to have been the Roman alphabet. This was used primarily for

writing Latin (some of the stones in Britain give a Roman-letter “translation” into Latin of the Irish name that appears in ogham). By the second century C.E. at the latest, the Roman invasion of Britain had brought Latin, as a potentially culture-affecting force, to the shores of the Irish Sea (and probably across it; there is known to have been Roman trade with Ireland and arguably some transient settlement). Although Ireland was and remained outside the Roman empire, it may therefore have been as early as this that educated but hitherto illiterate Irish-speaking circles first gained the fairly minimal access to Latinity that they needed for the ogham script to be devised.

Whether or not some knowledge of Latin reached Ireland before the Christian gospel did, the language was necessarily involved in the establishment of the religion there: Irish churches could not have been part of Catholic Christendom, as they were, without using some Latin right from their foundation. Of Latin works known to have been written in early Ireland, the oldest that survive in terms of composition (not in physical terms; they are probably copies of copies) are two letters authored by the Briton Saint Patrick, probably in the fifth century. As Christianity was believed until recently to have been first introduced to Ireland by Patrick, he and his epistles have conventionally been seen as marking the necessary introduction of Latin literacy to the island as well. But not only does the ogham phenomenon precede his traditional dates, Irish Christianity is now recognized to do so too. So unless Patrick was actually active before the fifth century, Latin reached Ireland first.

Weak as Latin culture still was in Ireland in Patrick’s day, his sixth-century successors established it firmly. The Latin of the writing tradition that they set up is known to have been pronounced in a markedly British fashion; thus they too were from Britain. These evangelists were doubtless inspired in many cases by the zeal that appears to have swept the larger island after the publication there of *De excidio Britanniae* (The ruin of Britain), a prophetic call for reformation in church and state by their compatriot Gildas. His ability to compose this erudite work a century or more after the fall of Rome shows that Latin learning was still strong in Britain at that time, and the prestige the work conferred probably played a major part in invigorating the stylish and productive British-Latin tradition that continued down to Norman times. Elements of that tradition surviving from the seventh century fall into a penitential genre, which spread to Ireland: We have Hiberno-Latin examples from the same century. By the year 700, Ireland had produced a significant body of Latin in other genres, too, that has come down to us, albeit preserved

in later manuscripts. Accomplished authors responsible include Cummean (computistics), “Augustinus” Hibernicus (theology), Virgilius Maro Grammaticus (idiosyncratic philological discourse), and Cogitosus and Muirchú (hagiography), as well as anonymous writers of poetry and legal and historical works. Indeed, the debt of Hiberno-Latin culture to the outside world was being actively repaid during that period: Seventh-century English scholars frequently traveled to Ireland for further study, while influential Irishmen such as Saint Columbanus (d. 615) had begun to spearhead a continent-wide monastic movement that did much to keep Latin learning alive on a wider stage in troubled times.

As soon as Celtic scribes began to write Latin texts on vellum, they probably included Latinized versions of Celtic names (Patrick and Gildas both did this). But the first extant manuscript material to constitute real Celtic-medium writing consists of explanatory glosses added in Irish to Latin texts penned from the early seventh century onwards. Given their ancillary nature, these physically earliest examples have been seen as reaching us from a stage not long after the actual beginning of the (manuscript) writing of Irish. However, Irish glosses in a famous Würzburg manuscript, though themselves of the eighth century, show traces of a spelling system whose invention must predate the introduction of British-Latin pronunciation by Saint Patrick’s successors. Indeed, this system shows links with ogham orthography. Can it have originated in the same period? Ogham on stone was formerly felt to have been a pagan phenomenon that gave way to the Christian practice of writing manuscripts in Roman letters on vellum. But some ogham stones also display Christian crosses. Since ogham’s straight strokes are ideally suited to carving, the choice of alphabet may actually have been determined more by the medium than by the culture. So the same people who carved inscriptions using ogham may also have written on vellum using the Roman alphabet. The ogham was Irish-language; any contemporary Roman-letter material will have been primarily Latin-medium, but may it have included Celtic as well? It is true that some of the stones survive while no physically contemporary manuscript texts do; but then, only ten manuscripts (in either language) went on to survive on Irish soil from even as late as 1000 C.E., and hundreds are known to have existed by then.

At all events, once Irish-medium manuscript literacy was established in a form that comes down to us, it can be seen blossoming in a variety of genres, including theological tracts, saints’ lives, legal material, poetry, and ultimately the great prose tales. Early Irish literacy also displays an astonishing assurance. By the year 700

fully bilingual material was being written, showing that (uniquely for a vernacular) Irish-medium literacy was esteemed equally with Latin. It cannot be coincidence that, during the mainstream Old Irish period that followed, this literacy went on to constitute the earliest and, for its day, by far the largest body of nonclassical vernacular written material in Europe (a distinction often, but erroneously, claimed for Old English).

SEE ALSO Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Literature: Early and Medieval Literature; Religion: The Coming of Christianity; Saint Patrick, Problem of

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Anthony Harvey



Legal Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Law reform in early seventeenth century Ireland arose from the English victory over Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, who led the last great Gaelic uprising during the Nine Years War (1593–1603). This military victory represented a necessary and primary phase in English domination over Ireland, but a second stage of political consolidation by judicial means was equally essential. Of the Crown lawyers laboring to reform Irish administration at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the most important was Sir John Davies, an Oxford-educated Middle-Temple lawyer who also studied briefly with the Dutch civilian Paul Merula at Leyden in the Netherlands.

Davies' Jacobean Irish career as solicitor-general (1603–1606) and attorney-general (1606–1619) left a permanent mark on Irish law, administration, and jurisprudence. This legacy is best evidenced by his *Irish Law Reports*, which reveal two distinct patterns in cases argued before the central Irish courts. The first is the application of continental jurisprudence, particularly the impact of military conquest, on the laws and customs governing real property in Ireland. The second is the number of cases decided by judicial resolution or collective decision arising from either the Irish or, on at least two occasions, the English judiciaries acting in conclave.

As propounded by Davies, the right of conquest vested England with a public-law title to Ireland. He argued that conquest-right justified eradication of domestic Irish or *brehon* law since it amounted to little more than a "barbarous and lewd custom" whose only goal was to eliminate all competing foreign or Gaelic claims to Irish dominion. Davies' main objective and most difficult problem was to reconstruct land property rights, especially those held by customary Gaelic tenures derived from political authority other than the Crown.

In what has been described as a lineage or clan-based society, *brehon* law vested property rights in the corporation of the extended kin group. In practice this meant that individual holdings of land in Gaelic districts were temporary and subject to periodic redistribution, either by what contemporaries referred to as the custom of gavelkind, or by a scheme of succession known as the custom of tanistry. By the term gavelkind, Davies was referring to the distinctive custom of inheritance in Kent, by which lands descended to all legitimate male heirs in equal portions instead of by primogeniture, as was the case in the rest of England. In Ireland and Wales, however, the custom deviated from Kentish practice by excluding women from inheritance and allowing bastard males a share alongside legitimate heirs.

In addition to such temporary rights in land, there also existed in Ireland the custom of tanistry, a scheme of succession whereby the replacement of a chief or king was nominated during the lifetime of the man to be succeeded. The office of tanist usually included lands and other privileges. But Davies and other English jurists employed their own concepts of property to define tanistry as a kind of life trust in land for which there existed no ultimate proprietorship. To assimilate native forms of property and landholding, the Irish judiciary simply invalidated both gavelkind and tanistry by resolution of all the Irish justices. In practice abolition of native custom by judicial fiat meant that prior possession might be respected, but unless accepted as lawful by the sovereign or the judiciary, Irish tenures had no validity against a superior common-law title. In other words,

legal sanction by the conquering power was necessary to validate or create rights over real property in Ireland. It was this perception of Gaelic law and society that influenced plantation schemes and laid the foundation for native policy in Ireland during the first decade of the seventeenth century.

That judicial resolutions became a prominent instrument for Irish law reform may surprise some who view the doctrine of precedent as a singularly modern concept. But this orthodox position neglects to take into account a development of great importance in early modern English legal history—the emergence, in England, of the Exchequer Chamber for debate. The Court of Exchequer of course had its own statutory jurisdictions, but as early as the fifteenth century and increasingly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it appears that difficult matters of law might be referred to the Exchequer Chamber for discussion by all the justices of the King’s Bench and Common Pleas, together with the Barons of the Exchequer. When the assembled judiciary had reached agreement, the decision was recorded in a certificate, referred back to the original tribunal, and read before the court. This practice placed the judges in the unique position of reviewing case law to articulate authoritative principles in a manner consistent with a modern doctrine of precedent.

Davies’s Irish *Law Reports* reveal that a similar practice existed in Jacobean Ireland. The reasons are complex, but most likely the absence of a malleable parliament (whose members were still mainly catholic) elevated judge-made law over statute law as the preferred instrument to consolidate the Tudor conquest of the island. The Irish judiciary proscribed the customary Gaelic forms of land tenure and succession by judicial resolution. Soon afterward, the judges applied the same resolutions to invalidate native Irish titles that stood in the way of the Ulster plantation. Other judicial resolutions sought to erode the once privileged position of the Old English and, for the most part, Catholic descendants of those who settled in Ireland before the Reformation. As in the cases voiding the customary forms of Gaelic landholding and descent, the government initiated three judicial resolutions to (1) enforce religious conformity by validating a proclamation extending to Ireland the English penal laws passed by late Elizabethan parliaments; (2) eliminate extensive corporate liberties, including appropriations of customs revenue; and (3) reform the national coinage in ways that eroded Irish trade and commerce. Taken collectively, the effect of these judicial resolutions on cases argued before the courts by Sir John Davies amounted to a wholesale redefinition of the nature of English sovereignty in Ireland.

In trials argued by Davies before the central Irish courts, the cases of gavelkind and tanistry proved the most enduring. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Davies’ Irish legacy occasionally appeared in litigation arising from English claims to distant lands. As early as 1694, William Salkeld, an English sergeant-at-law, reported the case of *Blankard vs. Galdy*, referred from Jamaica to the King’s Bench, in which the justices cited Davies’ case of tanistry to define the status of conquered kingdoms. This doctrine provided continuity for both a colonial jurisprudence and a strategy of imperial control over conquered territories. The doctrine was to appear again in an anonymous Chancery case reported by Peer Williams in 1722. According to Williams, conquest-right allowed the English state to impose or modify whatever laws it deemed necessary to govern the conquered territory. Writing later in the century, Sir William Blackstone incorporated the principles set forward by the anonymous case of 1722 in his discussion of overseas plantations and colonies, expanding the doctrine to cover territories acquired by session as well as conquest.

The formula was later corroborated by Sir Frederick Pollock’s comments on the “external conquests of the common law,” in which English law was seen to regulate the legal systems of India, the Sudan, and other territories within the empire. Indeed, research done on behalf of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1966 strongly suggests that Davies’s formula became the basis for defining the status of native law and landholding throughout British overseas possessions. His formula for Ireland—“to give laws to a conquered people is the principal mark of a perfect conquest”—helped establish a paradigm for British expansion elsewhere.

SEE ALSO Brehon Law; Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; English Government in Medieval Ireland; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Politics: 1500 to 1690; **Primary Documents:** From *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (1612)

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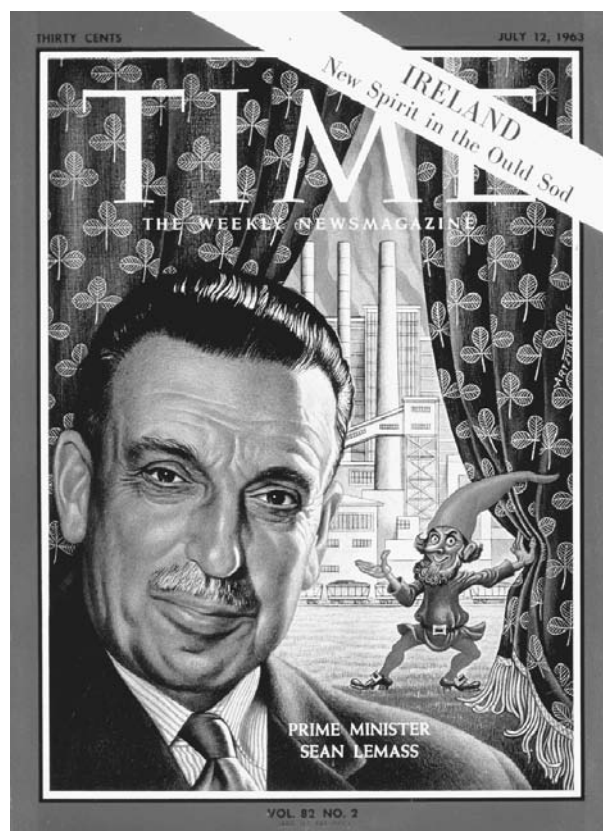
Hans S. Pawlisch

Lemass, Seán

Seán Lemass (1899–1971) was born on 15 July in Ballybrack, Co. Dublin. He participated in the 1916 Easter Rising and was later involved in the War of Independence and the Civil War. Research suggests that Lemass was one of the notorious “twelve apostles,” a ruthless covert unit organized by the leader of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), Michael Collins. These men destroyed the British intelligence network in Ireland on Bloody Sunday, 21 November 1920, killing eleven members of the Cairo Gang, a crack unit of British intelligence agents handpicked by Winston Churchill to destroy Collins and the IRB. During the Irish Civil War, Lemass stood with those who opposed the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty as a betrayal of the revolution.

Lemass was a founding member of the political party Fianna Fáil, which was established in October 1926. As one of Eamon de Valera’s most trusted lieutenants, Lemass played an important role in building the impressive political machine that has dominated Irish political life. When Fianna Fáil came to power in 1932, Lemass held a number of critical cabinet posts. Initially, he was minister for industry and commerce; during the “Emergency” (World War II, when Ireland was neutral) he became minister for supplies; and in 1945 he was named tánaiste. During this period Lemass earned a well-deserved reputation for being an effective administrator. Throughout his career he promoted efficiency in all spheres of Irish life. In 1959, at the age of sixty, Seán Lemass stepped out of de Valera’s shadow to become taoiseach.

He was taoiseach during a period that many observers define as a watershed in the history of modern Ireland. Along with the secretary of the Department of Finance, T. K. Whitaker, Lemass developed a critical economic initiative that helped to reinvigorate a stagnant Irish economy. In fact, he is closely associated with the remarkable transformation of Ireland’s economy in the early 1960s. Lemass also made a concerted effort to improve relations between Dublin and Belfast, making an



Time magazine's cover story of 12 July 1963 presented Ireland as a country that was becoming a modern industrial economy, thanks to the leadership of Prime Minister (Taoiseach) Seán Lemass. © TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

historic trip to Belfast in 1965 to meet Terence O'Neill, the prime minister of Northern Ireland.

Lemass is remembered as an activist and a leader who was not afraid of taking chances to achieve results. His efforts to reinvigorate the Irish economy and to develop a dialogue with Northern Ireland were bold initiatives aimed at improving the lives of Irish citizens. His economic initiatives proved successful, but his attempt to improve relations with Northern Ireland ultimately failed.

SEE ALSO de Valera, Eamon; Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Industry since 1920; O'Neill, Terence; Overseas Investment; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; State Enterprise; United Nations; **Primary Documents:** Speech to Ministers of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community (18 January

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Robert J. Savage, Jr.



Literacy and Popular Culture

Beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, the culture of the majority of the population in Ireland was increasingly influenced by the written word, particularly the printed word in English. The context within which this happened was an economic expansion, involving the growing commercialization of agriculture in the south of Ireland and the development of large-scale rural industry in northern areas. These processes led to greater frequency and regularity of market transactions and use of written documents, which increased the value of reading and writing not just for commercial farmers and tradesmen but also for small farmers and weavers. Moreover, a shortage of precious metals during the French wars of 1793 to 1815 led to a new reliance on paper money for even small transactions. Alongside this increased market activity, the population had greater contact with state agents and institutions: Irish recruitment to the British army was substantial between the 1760s and the 1820s, and in the early nineteenth century saw the establishment of a court system which was accessible to most of the population. These interactions raised the value and prestige of literacy.

The mechanism through which literacy was achieved for most people in Ireland was the small informal school, sometimes known as the “hedge school.” These were private institutions where irregularly attending pupils received rudimentary instruction, consisting initially of reading, writing for those who persevered, and perhaps arithmetic. The autonomous nature of these schools stood in contrast to the western European norm, where elementary schooling was principally carried out by the state church. In Ireland most schools were independent not only of the state church but also of the other churches, including the Catholic

Church, to which the majority of the population belonged. This did not mean, however, that there was no religious component to education and literacy, as clergy of different denominations frequently examined the pupils in catechism.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the independence of schools was preoccupying secular and religious authorities. Their anxiety was heightened in the aftermath of the rebellion of 1798, which was concentrated in the most literate regions of Ireland, and many conservative commentators pointed to the involvement of schoolmasters in the rebellion. This led on the one hand to a series of state investigations into elementary education beginning in 1806, and on the other to the establishment of educational societies, mainly religious in inspiration, dedicated to providing alternative schooling. These had made a significant impact by the 1820s.

The earliest systematic enumeration of schools was carried out in state reports of the mid-1820s. They showed that almost 600,000 pupils, about 40 percent of the relevant age group, attended schools. More than 70 percent of these attended independent private schools, 20 percent attended the schools of the educational societies, 6 percent attended Catholic Church schools, and the rest went to Anglican Church schools. This confirmed the prevalence of “hedge schools,” while the religious nature of the schools of the educational societies, coupled with the renewed prominence of the Catholic question in the politics of the 1820s, meant that education became a denominational as well as a political battleground. The state eventually favored the creation of a nondenominational national system of education, which was established in 1831. This involved less the setting up of new schools than the subsidization of existing schools, provided that certain organizational and curricular conditions were met. Over the following decades the vast majority of primary schools entered this system.

While a great deal is known about schools in the early nineteenth century as a result of state investigations, less is known about the levels of literacy they produced. The standard measurement of writing ability in early modern Europe is the ability to sign a contract or a marriage register, but few such sources survive in Ireland. The first comprehensive record is to be found in the population census of 1841. This census, and the decennial censuses that followed, measured self-assessed (rather than tested) levels of reading and writing. It also measured literacy in English only.

The 1841 census reported that 25 percent of the population over 5 years old claimed to be able to read and write, and a further 22 percent to read only. Of those able to read, levels varied between men and



In this painting of c. 1850 by Henry McManus, a well-dressed gentleman reads the Nation newspaper to people whose dress marks them as middle class. Many sources indicate, however, that before the famine the educated often provided the unlettered with the news by reading papers aloud in public. As literacy steadily improved after 1850, newspaper sales soared. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 1917. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

women (54 percent and 44 percent) and between town and country (64 percent and 45 percent). Geographical variation was more marked, from 85 percent or more in parts of Ulster to 15 percent or less in parts of Connaught. This is due partly to differing levels of market participation and contact with state institutions, and partly to a greater prominence of a religiously based literacy among the Protestant population of the north-east. This region had very high numbers of women who were able to read only; this was the result of a highly catechized culture that emphasized the reading of religious texts by both sexes equally.

Analysis of the 1841 population by age reveals that reading ability was present, to varying degrees, in most

parts of Ireland by the late eighteenth century. It was rudimentary and infrequently practiced, however, and the culture remained mostly oral. In consequence, there was an oral element to many of the early manifestations of literacy. In this partially literate society, in which the printed word was still relatively expensive, texts would usually be read aloud in “group readings.”

Over the longer term this new, mainly lower-class, reading public constituted a market for cheap printed material, and by the middle of the eighteenth century a specialized sector within the printing trade had emerged to supply it. Its products were sold principally by hawkers and peddlers in town and city streets and at fairs. They were also commonly used in schools as read-

ing matter for pupils who had progressed beyond elementary readers, since other texts were not available. These texts were short and cheap, printed on inferior paper, and were suitable for reading or singing aloud. An example, common in Ireland as well as in Britain during the eighteenth century, was the gallows speech of a condemned criminal, printed on a single sheet and sold at the execution.

The most widespread and cheapest form of printed material was the single-sheet ballad. These usually cost a halfpenny and were sold by traveling singers. They represented the clearest combination of oral and literate, since they were purchased, read, memorized, and then absorbed into oral culture independently of their printed form. These ballads covered a wide range of subjects. Some of them, such as love songs or songs of emigration, were permanently available and constituted a corpus that remained stable for many decades. Others, related to a topical item such as a sensational murder or trial, would be sold only for a short time. The ballad trade was highly responsive to current affairs. Contested parliamentary elections prompted many ballads, usually written and paid for by the candidates or their supporters. They were also an integral part of wider political mobilization, and huge amounts were produced by the United Irish organization in the 1790s and by the O'Connellite movements of the 1820s and 1840s. Ballad production continued in the second half of the nineteenth century, but with a marked shift toward a more "respectable" content. Political ballads in particular were less violent, probably reflecting the higher social basis of political participation: ballads from the tithe war of the 1830s, for example, frequently featured graphic description of violent incidents, whereas nationalist ballads after 1850 used a more generalized rhetoric. This trend is also noticeable in Protestant or Orange ballads of the same period.

Longer texts were sold in the form of small books of 12, 24, or 48 pages, although some were as long as 144 pages. Given the relative lack of affluence of the readers and the infrequency of their purchases, the cheap-print market was slow, and there was remarkably little change in the titles available from the middle of the eighteenth century until the late nineteenth. Catechisms and yearly almanacs were probably the most commonly possessed items and demonstrate, respectively, the penetration of a uniform religious culture and the recognition of a more abstract sense of time. The favored genres of western European popular print were also obtainable—episodes from medieval and early modern chivalric romances, the lives and adventures of highwaymen and other criminals, and abridgements of more recent elite prose works such as *Robinson Crusoe*.

Like the ballads, these mainly episodic prose narratives were suited to oral performance. They were read aloud partly because not everyone could read and partly because of the relative expense for a lower-class audience of even the cheapest printed works. In this way print culture did not so much supplant oral culture as interact productively with it.

To the body of popular printed texts were added two new elements in the 1820s and 1830s. The first of these was produced by the educational societies that had been established in the early nineteenth century. Although their principal concern was with schooling and teaching basic literacy, some of them went further and became publishers of short books intended initially for use in their schools and later for wider distribution. The most active society on this front was the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, known as the Kildare Place Society, which published almost eighty titles between 1817 and 1825 and distributed them widely. Like the society's schools, its texts aimed at moral and social reform of the population; their content consisted of practical advice as well as moral exhortation and argument. By the early 1820s the Kildare Place Society had come to be perceived as a proselytizing agency by Catholics, a group of whom set up in response a cheap-book company of their own, the Catholic Book Society, in 1827. This society was active for twenty years or so, publishing devotional and moral texts.

The second element was also associated with an educational innovation—the national schools. The new education system of 1831 aimed at a nationally uniform curriculum, and so commissioned its own set of graded readers whose use was a condition of affiliation with the system (and therefore of funding). There were six textbooks in all, the most advanced of which contained complex texts on science and economics; in practice, most pupils read the first two books, at most. Like the texts of the educational societies, on which indeed they were modeled, the content of these readers was predominantly moral and religious (though non-denominational). They were in use throughout the nineteenth century. Overall, with a single centrally controlled curriculum, the national schools were one of the most powerful agents of a uniform state culture in the nineteenth century and later.

Beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, the demand for affordable printed material that accompanied the rise of popular literacy was served by a solid cheap-print and small-book trade. This vastly increased the amount of information and variety of ideas circulating in Ireland. The cheap-print business was steady rather than spectacular. It was not affected by the Act

of Union of 1800, which extended copyright law to Ireland and was detrimental to elite publishing, and in fact it was boosted by periods of increased political activity and by the activities of educationalists.

More fundamentally, popular literacy was an instrument of a broader process of language shift, as English replaced Irish as the predominant spoken language in Ireland. English was the legal language, and the market functioned with documents and money (contracts and banknotes) written in English. Consequently, literacy and schooling in English was desirable. The print trade was concentrated in anglophone larger towns, particularly in Dublin, and the circulating printed texts were also overwhelmingly in English. This did not mean, however, that literary production in Irish did not exist: A tradition of manuscript production in Irish, continuous with an older Gaelic cultural order, flourished until the mid-nineteenth century, particularly in Munster and south Leinster. Until the 1840s, scribes, often schoolmasters by profession, continued to copy old poetry and prose, as well as to compose new works in Irish. More commercial print production in Irish also existed, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century, again most markedly in Munster, with publishing centers in Limerick, Cork, and Clonmel. It was principally religious and was dominated by Catholic catechisms and short devotional works. Because these books were purchased and read by an audience that had become literate in English, and were produced by a print trade that functioned in English (there is no known printer who produced works in Irish only), their form was heavily influenced by English-language literacy. Their typefaces were roman as opposed to gaelic, their orthography was simplified, and their title pages were often in English. Even more striking is the hybrid nature of the main secular texts printed in Irish—broadsheet ballads. These used a phonetic script that was read as if it were English but sounded in Irish. Some of them mixed the two languages, with alternating verses in English and Irish demonstrating the complexity of usage in a diglossic society.

It might be expected that the Great Famine, which had a catastrophic effect on the very poor and therefore the illiterate, would be a watershed in the development of a literate popular culture in Ireland. In purely statistical terms this was not so. National levels of literacy, as reported in the population censuses, continued a steady increase from 1841 to the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time, those able to read did so with far greater ease and frequency in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was due to changes in schooling and in the availability of printed matter. Primary-school pupils spent much more time in school—five or

six years instead of one or two pre-famine—with fewer seasonal interruptions, and they were taught reading and writing simultaneously. The proportion of those who could read but not write was in continuous decline and had almost disappeared by 1900. In addition, very high levels of attendance meant that the gender distribution of literacy skills, and of writing in particular, was becoming more equal. This was almost all achieved within the primary-school system (that is, in the national schools) because very few pupils proceeded to a secondary education. In 1871 almost one million children were attending primary schools and only about 25,000 secondary, a ratio of only 40 to 1.

The second development that shaped popular literate culture after 1850 was the increasing ownership of printed matter and the ease of access to it. This is particularly evident in the case of newspapers. A rise in average incomes after the Great Famine coincided with the lowering of the price of newspapers as a result of the ending of stamp tax in 1855 and of paper tax in 1861. A single issue of a newspaper in the 1860s cost a quarter of what it had in the 1840s. In addition, there was an increase in the number of newspapers from 73 in 1849 to 122 in 1879. This increase was concentrated at the cheaper end of the market (where a copy cost one penny), among dailies as opposed to weeklies, and within the nationalist press as opposed to the conservative unionist papers, which had dominated before 1850. Geographically, what stood out was the increase in the proportion of papers published outside Dublin, so that by the late nineteenth century almost all towns with a population of 3,500 or more had a newspaper; this development was facilitated by the introduction of the electric telegraph at mid-century, which dispelled the time advantage previously enjoyed by Dublin and London papers in reporting news from Britain. The press also penetrated rural areas, with a weekly paper being bought on Sundays.

All of these papers reported local news, but they were also important to the integration of Ireland into the international economy because they carried reports of market prices, as well as information and advertisements relating to emigration, which was a universal feature of Irish life after the Great Famine. The implications of these changes can be seen in the far greater role of newspapers in political agitations such as the Land War of 1879 to 1881. The organization of meetings in the early stages of the tenant campaign was carried out through local newspapers, and a prominent role was played by editors such as James Daly of the *Connaught Telegraph* in Mayo and Tim Harrington of the *Kerry Sentinel* in Tralee.

The cheap-book trade, by contrast, became more centralized after 1850, owing to changes in print technology (which increased the capital intensity of the industry) and to the greater ease of distribution on railways. Ballad and book publishing, which in the early nineteenth century had been well established in cities such as Limerick and Cork and also in towns as small as Monaghan and Strabane, was increasingly concentrated in larger firms in Dublin and Belfast. These firms marketed newer forms of popular literature in branded series. The earliest was the Parlour Library of the Belfast publishers Simms and McIntyre, begun in 1847. James Duffy of Dublin, the largest publisher of Catholic and nationalist works, had ten different series in print in the 1860s. The same processes of cost efficiency and distribution meant that the cheap-book market in Ireland could be served from outside the island. Duffy's competitors for the Catholic nationalist market, for example, included Cameron and Ferguson of Glasgow and John Denvir of Liverpool.

The centralization of the trade had dire implications for printing in Irish, for the Dublin and Belfast publishers were almost entirely anglophone. In any case, the number of Irish-speakers declined rapidly beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, and popular literate culture in Irish declined at the same time. The production of cheap printed matter in Irish in the decades after 1850 was a fraction of what it had been. The same was true of manuscripts, and those that were produced show a marked turn toward English-language print norms, with those in Connacht often using a phonetic script. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a striking increase in the amount of publishing in Irish, particularly in Dublin. But this was less a revival than the creation of a new literate culture in Irish among urban English-speakers. The majority of the texts sold were language primers, and there was an accompanying debate over the forms of language, orthography, and typeface to be used. Simple forms of the language were usually chosen, but so was a Gaelic typeface rather than the Roman to which readers were accustomed. By the middle decades of the twentieth century the revival had inspired a small but vibrant literary and literate subculture in rural Irish-speaking districts as well as in urban centers.

The vast majority of the population remained English-speaking, of course, and widespread literacy in English was achieved by the early years of the twentieth century. There was one school for every 150 children, 95 percent of pupils attended national schools, attendance was compulsory, and tuition fees had been abolished. The reading public was served by a long-standing

and vigorous trade in popular printing, and for over a century there had been a print element in popular culture, not so much supplanting oral culture as coexisting with it, borrowing from it and enriching it at the same time.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Balladry in English; Chapbooks and Popular Literature; Cusack, Michael; Duffy, James; Education: Primary Private Education—"Hedge Schools" and Other Schools; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Education: Secondary Education, Female; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic Athletic Association; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Hyde, Douglas; Kildare Place Society; Language and Literacy: Decline of Irish Language; Literature: Gaelic Writing from 1607 to 1800; Murphy, William Martin; Newspapers; Raiftearáí (Raftery), Antaine; Sullivan Brothers (A. M. and T. D.); **Primary Documents:** On Irish Society before the Famine (1841–1843)

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Niall Ó Ciosáin



Literary Renaissance (Celtic Revival)

By the mid-1880s in Ireland the stirrings of a revival of literature had begun that was part of the cultural, artistic, and political awakening that contributed to the creation of a nation in the 1920s. Writers central to this revival tended to commit themselves consciously to the project of recovering as well as creating a national literature. As claimed by W. B. Yeats (1865–1939), the

westward-moving Renaissance had been stalled for three hundred years of repressive British rule. The failure of the Parnellites to bring Home Rule to Ireland roughly coincided with the return from exile of the Fenian John O'Leary (1830–1907), around whom rallied young disciples such as Yeats, Maud Gonne (1866–1953), and T. W. Rolleston (1857–1920). Rolleston became editor of the *Dublin University Review* in 1885 and, with Yeats, a founding member of the Rhymers' Club in London and the Irish Literary Society. The Society developed a proposal for a New Irish Library, a series of books to honor Irish culture, with Rolleston and Douglas Hyde (1860–1949) as editors. Yeats' work in the press was particularly notable for defining the "best Irish books" for a public whose appetite for reading was stimulated by the mannerisms of his own richly symbolic, incantatory early poems. The lists featured the translations and scholarship of Hyde, Standish O'Grady (1846–1928), and Sir Samuel Ferguson (1810–1886), as well as poetry by close friends such as Katharine Tynan Hinkson (1861–1931) and George Russell, or "AE" (1867–1935).

The Irish Literary Renaissance had two geographic centers in Dublin and in London. A traveler between the two, Yeats acted as a synthesizing agent. As a member of the Rhymers' Club, he propounded and adapted himself to the tenets of the primarily British Decadent poets of the *fin de siècle*, including Anglo-Irish playwright Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), Ernest Dowson (1867–1900), Lionel Johnson (1867–1902), Arthur Symons (1865–1945) and others whom he dubbed "the tragic generation" (pp. 219–266). He quarreled with fellow members of the Irish National Alliance on the politics and poetry of Thomas Davis (1814–1845), particularly with friend-turned-enemy Frank Hugh O'Donnell (1848–1916), and enlisted Lionel Johnson in the defense, later publishing a collection of Johnson's poetry and the book *Poetry and Ireland* (1908), with essays by Yeats and Johnson. In Ireland, Yeats's interest in magic brought him into conflict with O'Leary, a Young Ireland Society member and the influential author of *Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism* (1896), though Yeats's interests agreed with those of his former art schoolmate, the visionary poet and editor, AE. The amalgamation of competing interests led for a time to an idealized, nationalist-oriented poetry of rarified senses and vague or fantastic symbolism named after the title of one of Yeats's books, *The Celtic Twilight* (1893) and its culminating poem, "Into the Twilight." The attempt to collect and define as a phenomenon the poetry of the Celtic Revival helped to promote the work of like-minded individuals and define a "book of the people." *A Book of Irish Verse* (1895), edited by Yeats and dedicated "To the Members of the National Literary Society of Dublin and

the Irish Literary Society of London," featured poetry by Rolleston, Hyde, Tynan (Hinkson), Johnson, AE, several other friends, and notes and an introduction by himself. The effort as publicist for a cause was one with Yeats's prolific journalism and career as a self-made folklorist and editor of Irish fairy tales at this time.

By the 1890s, Lady Isabella Augusta Gregory (1852–1932), inspired by *The Celtic Twilight*, had begun collecting folktales of her own that would fill the five volumes of "Kiltartin" stories that she published between 1906 and 1910 and the two-volume *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (1920), written in collaboration with Yeats. Though she did not make his acquaintance until 1896 when he was visiting at the country estate of Edward Martyn (1859–1923), she soon became an indispensable partner in projects undertaken for the stage. Martyn's *The Heather Field* and Yeats's verse-play *The Countess Cathleen* were performed in 1899 to celebrate the creation of the Irish Literary Theatre, which they started with Lady Gregory. When public disturbances occurred at the opening of Yeats's play, partly agitated by political opponents such as O'Donnell in the press, the young James Joyce (1882–1941) was there to take note, and in 1916 he would recreate the scene in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, parodying the "Celtic Twilight" style, which Yeats himself tired of as he rewrote the play. Less talented imitators such as Thomas MacDonagh (1878–1916), the author of *Literature in Ireland* (1916), as well as disagreeable collaborators such as George Moore (1852–1933), drove Yeats in another direction, aided by Lady Gregory. Consequently in 1902 the first of a series of plays were performed in the name of the Irish National Theatre: AE's poetic *Deirdre* and Yeats's patriotic *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (written with Gregory). A restrictive crown patent was issued solely for production of "plays in Irish and English languages, written by Irish writers on Irish subjects" (Holloway 1967, p. 42); and thus the Abbey Theatre came into being on 27 December 1904, with the curtain rising on Yeats's heroic drama *On Baile's Strand* and Lady Gregory's comedy *Spreading the News*. Yeats, Gregory, and John Millington Synge (1871–1909) were the theater's co-directors and featured playwrights.

Saved from obscurity by following Yeats's advice to "go to the Aran Islands and find a life that had never been expressed in literature" (p. 262), Synge became the pivotal Abbey dramatist. From his notebooks he completed a book of observations called *The Aran Islands* in 1901 with illustrations by Jack B. Yeats (1871–1957), but delayed publication until just after the riotous first production of *The Playboy of the Western World* in January 1907. Among his half dozen plays, two were produced posthumously under Yeats's supervision as exec-

utor: *Deirdre of the Sorrows* and *The Tinker's Wedding*. Somewhere between the antirealism of Yeats's poetic drama and the local color of the one-act peasant plays Lady Gregory wrote in dialect (in a few instances with Yeats), Synge's work anticipated the lively and satirical tragicomedies of Gregory's protégé, Sean O'Casey (1880–1964). The grim beauty of Synge's west gave place to the squalid working-class settings of O'Casey's "Dublin Trilogy," *The Shadow of a Gunman* (1923), *Juno and the Paycock* (1924), and *The Plough and the Stars* (1926), plays that dealt critically with the realities of culture and class in time of insurrection and civil war between 1916 and 1923. Certainly, by then, the objective of reviving the literary capacity of the Irish people had been achieved. In 1923, the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Yeats, and in 1926 to Ireland's great successor to Wilde in London, George Bernard Shaw.

The literary renaissance in Ireland still continues if the Celtic Revival is only its formative stage, precisely correspondent with the transitional, proto-modernist phase of international literature in English. What is Irish literature? The question was answered in 1904 by Justin McCarthy (1830–1912), editor in chief of a five-volume anthology entitled, simply, *Irish Literature*. Like the combined advisory board and contributing editors of the more recent *Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing* (1991), McCarthy and associates—Gregory, O'Grady, Hyde, Russell (AE), Rolleston, Yeats, and many others—answered the question with selections that exemplify thought at the time. Consensus is negotiated. Since then, thought has shifted from the nationalist agenda of the Celtic Revival to the global view of Ireland's place in literature as a whole. Lately, the east-to-west migration of the renaissance in Europe seems to have shifted north in Ireland.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Drama, Modern; Gonne, Maud; Yeats, W. B.

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Wayne K. Chapman

Literature

ANGLO-IRISH LITERARY TRADITION, BEGINNINGS OF	CHRISTOPHER J. WHEATLEY
ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	SEAN T. O'BRIEN
EARLY AND MEDIEVAL LITERATURE	BARBARA HILLERS
EARLY MODERN LITERATURE BEFORE THE STUARTS (1500–1603)	WILLIAM J. MAHON
GAELIC WRITING FROM 1607 TO 1800	WILLIAM J. MAHON
GAELIC LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	NEIL BUTTIMER
TWENTIETH- CENTURY WOMEN WRITERS	ANN OWENS WEEKES

ANGLO-IRISH LITERARY TRADITION, BEGINNINGS OF

When Anglo-Irish literature begins is problematic. Some critics deny the existence of an Anglo-Irish literature distinct from British literature before 1800 and Maria Edgeworth's (1768–1849) novel *Castle Rackrent*

(1800). Indeed, at least through the first two decades of the eighteenth century, many of the English settlers and their descendants would have insisted that they were “the English of Ireland.” And stylistically, even an Irish Catholic writing in English, such as playwright John O’Keeffe (1747–1833), has been described as “West British.” O’Keeffe wrote at least seventy-seven plays, counting revised versions, and several of them, including *The Poor Soldier* (1783) and *The Wicklow Mountains* (1795), are set in Ireland. O’Keeffe dedicated his *Recollections of the Life of John O’Keeffe* (1826) to “George my Belov’d King, and Ireland my Honour’d Country,” illustrating the difficulty of simple definitions of literary nationalism.

The Catholic Old English, descendants of the immigrants who arrived from England before the large Elizabethan plantations of the late sixteenth century, were denounced in Rome in 1659 as largely responsible for the loss of Ireland to the Protestants, thus lumping the Old and New English together as equally Anglo-Irish. The Old English long wished to insist on a difference between themselves and the native Irish, a distinction that English commentators tended to deny with the Latin tag *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores* (more Irish than the Irish). Henry Burnell (fl. 1639–1642) in his play *Landgartha* (17 March 1639) pleaded allegorically for Charles I to remain true to the Catholic Old English rather than the Protestant New English; the native Irish, represented by the character Marfisa, while loyal to the true faith, are clearly untutored bumpkins. After the defeat of Jacobite forces at the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691), and the Treaty of Limerick in the same year, the distinction between Old English and Irish dissolved, replaced by an apparently simple bifurcation between Catholics and Protestants. Even here, conversion blurs the line; for example, the actor and playwright Charles Macklin (c. 1699–1797) was born Catholic and Irish-speaking in Donegal but converted to the Church of England and moved in Protestant circles easily in the second half of his life, while continuing to write plays that challenged pejorative stereotypes of the stage Irishman.

Movement between Ireland and England was relatively easy for ambitious writers and tended to draw literary talent to the imperial center. Most of the significant comic playwrights of the London stage in the eighteenth century were from Ireland. William Congreve (1670–1729)—born in Yorkshire but educated in Kilkenny and at Trinity College, Dublin—George Farquhar (1677–1707), Sir Richard Steele (1672–1729), Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), and Sir Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816) are perhaps the most famous, but Arthur Murphy (1727–1805) and Hugh Kelly (1739–1777) were also very successful. Their plays im-

ported from the London stage also provided much of the repertory for Dublin’s theaters. Nevertheless, it is difficult to discern a particularly “Irish” element in their works. While these playwrights were more likely than English playwrights to present positive Irish characters, a playwright whom most would regard as English, Richard Cumberland (1732–1811), whose father was bishop of Clonfert and Kilmore and who was himself Ulster secretary under Lord Halifax in 1761 and 1762, also depicted admirable Irish characters in the second half of the eighteenth century (for example, Major O’Flaherty in *The West Indian* [1771]). Cumberland’s sister Mary Alcock (1742–1798) also published two volumes of poetry, and she is included in the major anthology of Irish verse in English in the eighteenth century, *Verses in English from Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (1998). It was not unheard of for English writers to move to Ireland. Charles Shadwell, already a successful English playwright, was the equivalent of playwright-in-residence at Smock Alley Theatre from 1715 to 1720; his plays reveal a firm identification with the Whig principles of the revolutionary settlement of William III, while indicating a growing sympathy toward Anglo-Irish complaints of mistreatment. Shadwell’s conflicted allegiance is symptomatic. Robert Ashton’s (fl. 1725–1728) *The Battle of Aughrim* (1728) presents both the English and the Irish as heroic, and the hero is a doomed English soldier who fights for both sides.

If, however, there is a characteristic that Anglo-Irish authors share, it is a sense of grievance. In the aftermath of 1691 the Anglo-Irish regarded their sacrifice in the victory over the Jacobites as insufficiently appreciated, and they increasingly protested against the English parliament’s disadvantageous legislation limiting the Irish economy and usurping the ancient rights of the Irish parliament. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the towering literary figure was Jonathan Swift (1667–1745). Swift’s relationship with Ireland was profoundly ambivalent: He was frequently contemptuous of both the native Irish and the Anglo-Irish gentry, but the poor of Ireland never had a more impassioned defender than Swift, and the gentry had no more determined a supporter of Irish independence. Swift’s circle included Thomas Sheridan the Elder (1687–1736), Thomas Parnell (1679–1718), Patrick Delany (c. 1685–1768) and his wife Mary Delany (1700–1788), and Matthew (1701–1774) and Laetitia Pilkington (c. 1708–1750). Together, their poems, essays, and letters provide a valuable portrait of Georgian Ireland.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century Protestant writers increasingly regarded themselves as Irish patriots, although this disaffection to English authority

did not necessarily entail any allegiance to Catholic Emancipation. Novelist, playwright, and poet Henry Brooke (c. 1703–1783) wrote in support of the Dublin alderman Charles Lucas (1713–1771), whose advocacy of municipal electoral reform forced him to flee Ireland; nevertheless, he produced anti-Catholic propaganda as virulent as anything written at the time. Some cultural syncretism was present nonetheless. Brooke's daughter Charlotte (c. 1740–1793) was fluent in Irish and produced the important translations of Irish verse in *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789). Poets and playwrights from either side of the political spectrum in the second half of the eighteenth century wrapped themselves in Irish history, as evidenced by the radical Francis Dobbs's *The Patriot King; or Irish Chief* (1774) and the conservative Gorges Edmond Howard's *The Siege of Tamor* (1774). Moreover, individual political allegiances varied depending on the issue. During the Regency Crisis the poet and playwright Mary O'Brien (fl. 1785–1790) sided with the group surrounding Charles James Fox and Richard Brinsley Sheridan in her collection of poems *The Political Monitor; or Regent's Friend* (1790), but her play *The Fallen Patriot* (1790) is a plea for Irish economic independence (which Fox opposed) and for an Irish parliament unbribed by Dublin Castle. William Drennan (1754–1820) wrote poetry and satire in support of the agenda of the United Irishmen; his works reveal the influence of Thomas Paine and the French philosophes. As such, his politics are antithetical to those of Edmund Burke (1729–1797), whose *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) is one of the masterpieces of English prose, but Burke too campaigned often for Irish rights.

Anglo-Irish literature in this period should not be thought of only in political terms or even just in terms of the relationship between Ireland and England. Lawrence Sterne's (1713–1768) birth in Ireland probably did not affect his own sense of himself as English, but James Joyce and Flann O'Brien are the aesthetic heirs of Sterne's novel *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767). Frances Sheridan's (1724–1766) novel of suffering virtue *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Biddulph* (1761) was popular not just in Britain but also on the continent. Poets such as Lawrence Whyte (1683–1753), author of bucolics and panegyrics, Matthew Concanen (1701–1749), who celebrated Irish sport in his mock-epic *A Match at Football* (1720), and William Dunkin (1709–1765), the gleeful chronicler of Irish country life and the Hiberno-English dialect in poems such as *The Parson's Revels*, all represent a self-conscious identification with and a delight in Irish life that establishes an Anglo-Irish literary identity long before the romantic age.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; English Writing on Ireland before 1800; Literature: Gaelic Writing from 1607 to 1800; Swift, Jonathan

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Christopher J. Wheatley

ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

There are many possible definitions for the term *Anglo-Irish literature*. The designation can categorize works based on something as simple as the language of the work or more complicated notions such as the racial, religious, or class background of the author. The focus here is Irish writing in the nineteenth century that was composed in English by Protestant authors representing the interests of the landowning class primarily for audiences in England. Understanding Anglo-Irish writers and their work along these lines is intended to guide an initial inquiry, not to exclude anomalies, questions, and contradictions. Although the literature incorporates a wide range of themes, the tradition centrally comes to terms with the dynamic role of the landowning Protestant minority in a largely poor and Catholic country. Anglo-Irish literary works are intimately involved with three key periods of political tension and

change in the century: the Act of Union of 1800, the Great Famine of 1845–1851, and the land question of 1870–1903.

Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849) was among the first authors to examine the cultural effects of the Act of Union. Beginning with the novel *Castle Rackrent* (1800), she described the anxiety of the Anglo-Irish in the United Kingdom. Since they were no longer solely the unchallenged ruling ascendancy of the island, Edgeworth was concerned with establishing an identity separate from the cultural and political challenges of the English and managing the threat of Catholic Emancipation. In her later novels *Ennui* (1809), *The Absentee* (1812), and *Ormond* (1817), she laid further groundwork for two dominant elements of this struggle for identity within Anglo-Irish literature: family secrets and the Big House.

Sidney Owenson, Lady Morgan (1776?–1859), offers a romantic sensibility in her work that contrasts with Edgeworth's reform-minded anxieties about the Irish ruling class under the union. In novels such as *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806) she reconciles the uncertainty of the union by uniting Protestant and Catholic characters in both national and social matrimony. Her work also recognizes the challenge of representing Ireland fairly both to Irish readers and to a larger, less-informed, and more metropolitan English readership.

Standing out as a kind of irregularity among Anglo-Irish writers, William Carleton (1794–1869) grew up among Catholic farmers in County Tyrone and converted to Protestantism after an abortive attempt to join the priesthood. The literary successes of his fiction, notably "Wildgoose Lodge" in *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (1830) and *Valentine M'Clutchy* (1845), depend in part on his ability to critique the extremes of both his native Catholic and adopted Protestant cultures. His novels such as *The Black Prophet* (1847), *Emigrants of Ahadarra* (1848), and *The Tithe Proctor* (1849) portray the tragedy of famine among the Catholic peasantry for Anglo-Irish and English readers.

As both a political and human catastrophe, the Great Famine of 1845 to 1849 splits Anglo-Irish literature in two directions. One strain confronts the failure of the English government to deal with widespread starvation and emigration by moving toward cultural nationalism, while another remains entrenched in preserving the waning political capital of the ruling class. Many Anglo-Irish nationalists wrote for the *Nation*, a newspaper committed to Irish self-determination and run by both Catholics and Protestants. Important *Nation* contributors include Thomas Davis (1814–1845), the paper's founder and author of the poem "A Nation Once Again"; John Mitchel (1815–1875), whose radical

critique of the British empire led to his conviction and transportation to Van Diemen's Land, detailed in his *Jail Journal, or Five Years in British Prisons* (1854); and "Speranza" (1826–1896), the pen name of Jane Elgee, later known as Lady Wilde and the mother of Oscar, who inveighed against starvation and poverty in poems such as "To Ireland," "The Voice of the Poor," and "The Famine Year" and was among the nationalist women poets and critics writing for the *Nation*.

Although it existed well before the Great Famine, the Anglo-Irish Gothic is the representative genre of the class whose members did not become invested in one form or another of nationalism. Anglo-Irish Gothic works match Edgeworth's focus on Big Houses, locked rooms, and family secrets with a mounting anxiety about the decline of Protestant Ascendancy rule and the expanding power of the Catholic majority. Charles Maturin (1780–1824) explored the power of the fantastic to uncover the darkest secrets of the ruling class in the novel *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820). J. Sheridan Le Fanu (1814–1873) approached this anxiety psychologically, describing different states of consciousness during intense emotional situations in novels such as *Uncle Silas* (1864) and in short stories like "Carmilla" and "Green Tea," collected in *In a Glass Darkly* (1872). At the end of the century Bram Stoker (1847–1911) blended Irish and eastern European folklore with Anglo-Irish Gothic disquiet in *Dracula* (1897), in which the aristocratic title character is both connected to and divorced from his home soil in a manner that suggests the land question.

Although Charles Lever (1806–1872) was extremely popular in England throughout his career (rivaling even Charles Dickens in the 1840s), his novels focus almost exclusively on representing Ireland and the Irish to England. His works failed, however, to engage fully with the political anxieties of the Anglo-Irish, and he often cast the Irish peasantry in an unflattering, comic light in novels such as *Harry Lorrequer* (1839). Outraged nationalist criticism for his stereotypes and accusations of plagiarism were almost certainly contributing factors in his decision to live abroad in Europe after 1845.

Edith Somerville (1858–1949) and Martin Ross (the pseudonym of Violet Martin, 1862–1915) began their careers with cheerful yarns about hunting and country life such as *Some Experiences of an Irish RM* (1899). These stories employ stereotypical "stage Irish" representations of the peasantry reminiscent of Lever's novels. However, they describe the twilight of Anglo-Irish rule as a consequence of both its own excesses and increasing Catholic political power in their more serious novels *The Real Charlotte* (1894) and *The Big House at Inver* (1925). The destruction of the Big House in the latter novel provides a grim punctuation mark for the anxieties of

Edgeworth, the hopes of Owenson, and the fears and secrets of the Gothic writers.

The collapse of the Big House did not mark the end of Anglo-Irish literature, however. By incorporating European ideas of aesthetics and bohemian society into their work, writers such as George Moore (1852–1933), Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), and W. B. Yeats (1865–1939) were able to transform the anxieties of Anglo-Irish literature into a confident cultural nationalism. Moore explored a variety of unconventional social and aesthetic innovations in his feminist novels *A Drama in Muslin* (1886) and *Esther Waters* (1894). Oscar Wilde trained his critical eye on the audience itself in plays such as *An Ideal Husband* (1895) and *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895), thus reversing the traditional relationship between the Irish writer and the English reader. Yeats searched for a new form of literary expression by combining rereadings of heroic legends and mythology with a close examination of Irish folk culture and oral traditions in *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (1888). Yeats's blending of Anglo-Irish literary sensibilities with folk culture, mythology, and French aesthetics took shape in his play *The Countess Cathleen* (1892) and continued in the works of numerous writers during the Irish Literary Renaissance.

SEE ALSO Antiquarianism; Gaelic Revival; Literature: Gaelic Literature in the Nineteenth Century; Wilde, Oscar; Yeats, W. B.

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Sean T. O'Brien

EARLY AND MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

Early Irish literature stands out for its richness and excellence, encompassing not only a wide range of religious and secular poetry but also—uniquely in early

medieval Europe—a flourishing prose literature. Its range and breadth reveals a vibrant vernacular culture, unafraid of either its native roots or of the Latin Christian culture of the Continent.

Pre-modern literature in Irish is divided into periods on the basis of linguistic criteria: Old Irish (600–900), Middle Irish (900–1200), and Early Modern (or “Classical”) Irish (1200–1650). The transition from the Old Irish to the Middle Irish period, generally associated with the upheavals in the aftermath of the Viking incursions, was, in literary terms, less abrupt than the transition from Middle Irish to Early Modern Irish in the wake of the Anglo-Norman invasion.

THE EARLY CENTURIES

Literacy came to Ireland through contact with the Romano-Christian world. The practice of Christianity brought with it a knowledge of Latin; however, Irish played a significant role as a literary language in the church from an early date. The monks glossing Priscian's Latin grammar in Irish used a technical vocabulary suited to describe both Latin and Irish grammar, and the same literate bilingualism informs the Old Irish primer *Auraicept na n-Éces*. Along with the clergy's adoption of the vernacular went other aspects of traditional culture. While it is impossible to reconstruct the real nature of the encounter between missionary Christianity and native pagan culture, it is significant that in later tradition it is often portrayed as a conciliatory compromise. According to the preface of the native law code *Senchas Már*, Saint Patrick endorses the native laws, as long as they did not conflict with church law. Such anecdotes express the need that medieval scholars felt to legitimize elements of native culture, to baptize, as it were, their pre-Christian gods and heroes. Modern critics have been particularly fascinated by the native culture with its roots in a pre-Christian Celtic past. However, the traditional view of the “secular” parts of Irish literature—especially saga and law—as representing pagan survivals has largely been replaced by a new scholarly consensus that regards the entire literary production as emanating directly or indirectly from the monasteries.

PROSE

Ireland has the earliest developed prose tradition in medieval Europe. The preference for prose as a vehicle for narrative was such that when the verse epics of Virgil, Lucan, and Statius were translated into Irish, they were rendered into prose rather than verse. Early Irish prose covers a number of genres, including hagiography and homily, history, and translated literature, as well as he-



The story of the conversion and death of King Lóeguire from the Book of the Dun Cow (c. 1100), one of the major collections of Irish saga literature. COURTESY OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY. PHOTOGRAPH BY DECLAN CORRIGAN PHOTOGRAPHY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

roic epic and myth. The narrative prose is characterized by a distinctive style particularly associated with heroic saga but found equally in saints' lives and historical tales. Quick-paced action is offset by colorful, if impressionistic description and punctuated by memorable, often laconic dialogue. The themes, motifs, and narrative style of the sagas are traditional and may hark back to preliterate storytelling. The sagas are without exception anonymous. Their authors clearly did not think that they were inventing; they were retelling traditional subject matter in a traditional manner. They thought of themselves as historians and of their subject as history, albeit history told with the flair and gusto of heroic epic.

POETRY

Although the modern reader may find the prose literature more accessible, poetry had a higher prestige. Poems were regarded as individually authored. While prose texts are anonymous, poems were often attributed, and scores of Early Irish poets are known to us by name. Irish metrics are of dazzling complexity and variety. Much of the earliest poetry is stressed and alliterative. This poetry, referred to as *ros* or *retoiric*, is generally regarded as the original poetic mode. Stressed verse was eclipsed by syllabic verse, which soon became the dominant mode for poetry, although stressed poetry continued to be composed for several centuries, particularly in contexts that invited an archaizing treatment (Breatnach 1996). From 1200 on, the bardic schools maintained a standard literary language and a sophisticated system of metrics; the contemporary metrical tracts distinguish scores of individual meters. Syllabic poetry employs a variety of ornamentation, including alliteration, assonance, and rhyme. The definition of rhyme differs from other European traditions: Phonemes do not have to be identical in order to rhyme, but must belong to the same group of "rhyming" letters.

Modern scholarship has focused on the origins and development of Irish metrics. The lyric is well represented in anthologies (see, for example, Murphy 1956) and has received critical attention, especially the so-called "hermit" or "nature" poetry of monastic provenance; longer narrative and didactic verse fares less well. After 1200 the bulk of poetry is encomiastic.

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Two events made the twelfth century a watershed in Irish literary history: the introduction of the continental monastic orders, heralded by the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont in 1142, and the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169. The two events combined to shift the locus of native literary production from the

monasteries to the bardic schools maintained by the dozen or so families of hereditary poets that formed the Irish intelligentsia. The bardic schools oversaw a linguistic reform that created a new literary standard after the profound linguistic changes of the Middle Irish period. This new standard language, referred to as "Classical" or "Early Modern" Irish, was used by literati from Gaelic Scotland to the south of Ireland and remained essentially unchanged until the collapse of Gaelic rule in the seventeenth century.

The foreigners introduced new literary fashions; entertainment plays a larger part in the composition of prose. Anglo-Norman tastes are reflected by the Irish adaptations of *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hampton*, of the *Travels of John Mandeville* and the *Grail Quest*. Poetry, on the other hand, remained essentially unassimilated and maintained its distinctive metrics. But even in poetry, foreign fashions had an impact; the *dánta grádha* (courtly love poetry) are informed by European love poetry and often have direct models in contemporary English poems. The first amateur practitioner of syllabic verse, the Anglo-Norman Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, is an example of the much-invoked tendency for Ireland's invaders to "go native," becoming *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores* ("more Irish than the Irish"). While relations between the two cultures were by no means always amicable, a cultural regrouping beginning in the thirteenth century resulted in many Anglo-Norman lords patronizing native poets. One poet, Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, explains in a poem how he flattered native and foreign nobility alike. The poets, themselves of the aristocracy, looked at their profession as an independent institution that endowed them with the right to counsel and censure as well as praise their lords. Nevertheless, in economic terms they were largely dependent on the bounty of their patrons, whose careers they celebrated and whose deaths they lamented. Such official eulogies were preserved in a *duanaire* (poem book). A good many poem books survive, and the contents of a number of these have been published, as have the repertoires of individual poets, such as the exemplary edition of the oeuvre of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (Knott 1922 and 1926).

Throughout its long history, Irish literature weathered major political upheavals and successfully accommodated foreign influence, be it Latin, Norse, or Norman. It was only when the Anglo expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to the disestablishment of Gaelic rule that Irish ceased, for a couple of centuries, to be a literary language.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture; Latin and Old Irish Literacy; Middle English Lit-

erature; Myth and Saga; Norman French Literature; *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; **Primary Documents:** “The Vikings” (Early Ninth Century); “Writing out of Doors” (Early Ninth Century)

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Barbara Hillers

EARLY MODERN LITERATURE BEFORE THE STUARTS (1500–1603)

Despite the unprecedented political and social destabilization brought on by the Tudors’ consolidation of their colony, Irish literature in the sixteenth century exhibited a remarkable degree of formal and thematic continuity with that of earlier ages. The work of hereditary scholars continued apace, as older historical, genealogical, legal, and medical texts were assembled, revised, and copied in important manuscripts such as the *Book of Fenagh* (Rawlinson B502) and the second portion of *Yellow Book of Lecan*. The annalistic tradition continued, most notably with the *Annals of Ulster* (until 1541), the *Annals of Connacht* (to 1544), and the *Annals of Loch Cé* (to 1590). Bardic poetry was preserved in family poem-books (*duanaireadha*) such as the *Book of the O’Sweeneys* (commenced in 1513), the *Book of the O’Haras* (1597–1612), and the *Book of the O’Byrnes* (1550–1630).

This continuity is deceptive, however, for the traditional elements in prose and poetry came to be manipulated in new and subtle ways which reveal a gradual process of engagement with political and social change. It is not surprising that the poetry of the professional bards offers the clearest demonstration of this interplay between tradition and innovation. From the 1530s onwards, a series of ordinances was issued that specifically aimed at eliminating these professional classes (“Yryshe mynstrels, rymours, shannaghes, ne bardes”). Threatened with the loss of status and personal security under

the colonial dispensation, a new corporate consciousness and political acuteness emerged among the poets, and a sensitive reading of their work reveals that their hypertraditionalism is partly ironic and constitutes a strategic response to external threat.

Of the score or so of poets whose work survives, the most prominent belong to the second half of the century. One of the most highly regarded and paradigmatic poets of the period is Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591), a native of Sligo whose patrons included the O’Connors, Burkes, O’Rourke, and O’Haras. In a praise poem from the 1570s, “Fearann cloidhimh críoch Bhanbha” (The land of Ireland is sword land), there is a striking example of the poet’s political use of traditional material. Ó hUiginn cites precedents from the medieval *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (Book of invasions) and urges the Lower MacWilliam Burkes to take action against the English, arguing that the Gaelicized descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders—no less than the Gaels themselves—are entitled to their land by right of conquest. In a manner anticipating Geoffrey Keating’s historical project half a century later, Ó hUiginn imagines an inclusive Irish ethnicity based on shared linguistic and cultural traits.

Ó hUiginn’s corpus includes two early examples of the *aisling* (vision) poem, in which the sleeping poet is visited by a mysterious woman, presumably from the otherworld. In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this genre would be developed as the primary mode of political discourse in Irish poetry. In Ó hUiginn’s *aisling* poems the motif is quasi-political insofar as it serves to reinforce the mythical underpinnings of the poet’s social role.

Ó hUiginn is also credited with the earliest dateable poem in *amhrán* meter, the popular accentual form which eventually supplanted the syllabic bardic meters entirely. This poem, “Searc mná Ír dhuit, Aoidh, ná léig a bhfaill” (Do not spurn, Hugh, the love Íor’s wife has for you), is addressed to Hugh O’Byrne of Wicklow (d. 1579), praising him for the authority that he asserts over the native inhabitants of the Pale. A statute of 1549 prohibiting the composition of “aurane” to anyone but the king indicates that this meter had already been adopted by the professional poets for some time before Ó hUiginn’s poem was written.

Other notable poets of the period include Eochaidh Ó hEódhasa (?1560–1612), whose work offers insights into the personal relations between poet and patron; Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird (c. 1550–1620), who used traditional themes and motifs to question the status quo of contemporary Irish leadership; Eóghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird (?1570–?1630), whose post-Kinsale “Rob soruidh t’eachtra, a Aoidh Ruadh” (Fare thee well

on your journey, Hugh Roe) envisions the sovereignty of Ireland and all her hopes departing for Spain along with Hugh Roe O'Donnell in 1602; and Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh (?1545–?), who produced an impressive body of religious verse. New themes which emerged in the bardic poetry of this period also include the degeneration of the Irish as a result of English goods and fashions, the role of divine providence in the misfortunes of the native Irish, the need for unity under a single leader, English duplicity, and the equation of Protestantism with foreign intrusion.

Narrative poetry in the sixteenth century consisted almost entirely of Fenian ballads, which were gradually collected, concurred, and arranged in manuscripts to produce an overarching “history” of Fionn mac Cumhaill and the Fianna. The *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, compiled in Scotland by Sir James MacGregor in the first quarter of the century, contains a particularly fine and representative selection of this verse. In prose, the same matter provided the background for tales such as *Eachtra an ghiolla dheacair* (The adventure of the difficult lad), *An Bruidhean Chaorthainn* (The Rowan hostel), and *Feis tighe Chonáin* (A night at Conán's), in which the device of a frame tale is used effectively to combine several such stories in a single compilation. Comic elements frequently feature in the later Fenian tales as well as in independent tales such as *Eachtra an cheithearnaigh chaoil riabhaigh* (The adventure of the slender, swarthy kern) which are rooted in the oral story-telling tradition. Other story cycles were still productive, and during this period *Oidheadh Chloinne Lir* (Tragic fate of the children of Lir, c. 1500), was reworked and grouped with *Oidheadh chloinne Tuireann* and *Oidheadh choinne Uisnigh* as the “Three Sorrows of Story-telling.” Romantic tales based on continental models also continued to enjoy great popularity in this period, and Arthurian elements are featured in stories such as *Eachtra mhacaoimh an iolair* (The adventure of the eagle youth) and *Eachtra ridire na léomhan* (The adventure of the knight of the lions).

The influence of Renaissance aesthetics is notable in the life and work of Manus O'Donnell (?1490–1563), lord of Tirconnell, whose *Betha Colaim Chille* (Life of Colum Cille, 1532) was based on a variety of historical sources and written in an accessible form of the vernacular. O'Donnell also composed a number of *dánta grádh* (love poems), a courtly genre which was particularly popular with the nonprofessional poets and largely inspired by continental and English models.

After the accession of Elizabeth I, the colonial administration felt that the native language could be used to promote the Reformation in Ireland. The first book printed in Irish (in this case, in the “classical” form of the

language) was John Carswell's *Foirm na nUrrnuidheadh* (Edinburgh, 1567), a translation of the Presbyterian *Book of Common Order*. Four years later, in 1571, Seán Ó Cearnaigh's Anglican catechism, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticiosma*, was printed in Dublin. A translation of the New Testament had been commissioned by the Crown in the 1560s, but none appeared until William Daniel's *An tiomna nuadh* (the New Testament, 1602–1603) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Daniel based his translation on the original Greek and had the assistance of two professional poets, Maoilín Óg Ó Bruaideadha and Domhnall Óg Ó hUiginn, in formulating the Irish text.

A Catholic response to the Protestant printing venture was late in coming. During the 1590s, however, Irish recusant clerics established a number of centers in Spain and in the lowlands, and at this time Counter-Reformation elements began to appear in poetry. A notable example is “Léig dod chomhfhórtas dúinn” (Give up your vying with us) by the Franciscan Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh (d. 1590), in which he bitterly attacks prominent clerics who had gone over to the established religion.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Literature: Gaelic Writing from 1607 to 1800

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William J. Mahon

GAELIC WRITING FROM 1607 TO 1800

Seventeenth-century Gaelic literature registers the response of the traditional learned classes to the English colonial enterprise. The insecurity of the professional poets, for example, is evident in an increasing tendency to address poems to one another rather than to patrons.

In the decade following the Flight of the Earls (1607), their political differences provide the subtext for the “Contention of the Bards” (*Iomarbháigh na bhFileadh*), a poetic debate on the respective historical claims of the two halves of Ireland. Originating in a vituperative exchange between the Clare poet Tadhg mac Dáire Mac Bruaideadha (c. 1570–c. 1652), a supporter of the English interest, and Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh (c. 1580–c. 1640) of Donegal, it drew many prominent contemporaries into the fray.

The social reorientation of poetic activity was also reflected in the abandonment of the old syllabic meters and the gradual adoption of *amhrán*, a popular metrical form based on repeated patterns of stressed vowel sounds.

In this period, poets began to address the political situation faced by Ireland as a whole. Notable among these are two Tipperary-born clerics: Seathrún Céitinn (c. 1580–c. 1644), whose *Óm sceol ar ardmhagh Fáil ní chodlaim oídhche* (With this news of Ireland’s pain I cannot sleep) lamented the disappearance of the old nobility who might have defended Ireland from “the litter of every foreign sow,” and Pádraigín Haicéad (c. 1600–1654), whose impassioned verse reflected his hopes and disappointments as an active supporter of the Gaelic Party during the Confederate War. The disastrous events of the period between 1640 and 1660 were also detailed in six lengthy political poems, the most well known being the anonymous *An Síogaí Rómhánach* (The Roman fairy, c. 1650).

Keating and his contemporaries were the first to develop the *aisling*, or dream-vision motif, as an elegiac mode with political undertones. In an *aisling* the poet meets an otherworldly female—a personification of the locality or the nation—who laments the loss of her spouse, the deceased. Insofar as the conceit of this genre is that of a supernatural confrontation, it may be seen as a popularizing strategy whereby the poets exploit grass-roots cultural symbols connected with the traditional death ritual.

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century the personal plight of the traditional poet and the sociopolitical “shipwreck” (*longbhriseadh*) of Ireland after the Treaty of Limerick (1691) were powerfully expressed in the acerbic verse of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair (c. 1625–1698).

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PROSE

By the beginning of the seventeenth century many younger members of the learned classes had chosen ecclesiastical over secular patronage and entered holy orders. Established in 1606, the Franciscan College of St. Anthony of Padua in Louvain soon became a major cen-

ter of Irish recusant scholarship and publishing. As part of a general Counter-Reformation strategy, the devotional works produced there were written in a simple, natural Irish and designed for popular appeal. Among the most notable first-generation Louvain scholars were Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire (1560–1620), whose *Desiderius* (Louvain, 1616) is an expanded translation of a Catalan devotional work; Bonaventura Ó Heodhasa (d. 1614), whose catechism in prose and verse *An Teagasg Críosa-daidhe* (Antwerp, 1611), was the first Catholic work to be printed in Irish; and Aodh Mac Aingil (1571–1626), author of *Sgáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* (Mirror of the sacrament of repentance, Louvain, 1618), a devotional work with strong political undertones.

A project in Irish historical research was established at Louvain, and it was there that Brother Micheál Ó Cléirigh (c. 1590–1643) organized a team of scholars who returned to Ireland and produced between 1632 and 1636 *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*, a massive compendium of Irish chronicles popularly known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

The most influential historical work of the period, however, was Seathrún Céitinn’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (The basis for a knowledge of Ireland), an elegantly written narrative that promoted the concept of a Catholic Irish nation and established the framework in which the Irish viewed their own history for the next 250 years. Céitinn also produced important devotional works, the most important being *Trí Biorghaoithe an Bháis* (The three shafts of death), a lengthy treatise on sin, death, and judgment.

Protestant scholars were also active throughout the century. William Daniel’s Irish translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* was published 1609. In 1634 William Bedell (1571–1642), the bishop of Kilmore, assembled a team of scholars to translate the Old Testament into Irish. The work was finally published in 1685, and in 1690 it was printed along with Daniel’s translation of the New Testament (1603) as *An Bíobla Naomhtha*.

Popular prose at this time consisted mostly of short heroic romances and the reworking of traditional tales. Nevertheless, there were some very good works in a comical or satirical vein, the most notable being the anonymous *Parliament Chloinne Tomás* (The parliament of Thomas’s clan), a burlesque satire on the upstart peasantry, which once again registered the insecurity of the learned class.

A shift toward parody and mock-heroism had already been evident in the late Fionn-cycle literature, and it was used to full comic effect toward the end of the century in the anonymous *Siabhradh Mhic na Míchomhairle* (The hallucination of the Son of Ill-Counsel), a

skillful reworking of traditional material narrated in the first person.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POETRY AND PROSE

In the south of Ireland the strange mix of collegiality and factionalism that had manifested itself in the “Contention of the Bards” reemerged in the poetry of the *cúirteanna éigse*, or “courts of poetry,” local poetical associations that upheld formal standards, encouraged the composition and dissemination of new verse, and saw to the preservation and copying of manuscripts. Typical of this milieu were extended displays of repartee in which poets respond in verse to one another’s compositions, as for example in the work of Seán Ó Tuama (c. 1708–1775) and Aindrias Mac Craith (c. 1708–1795). Typical also was the satirical *barántas*, or “warrant poem,” a parody of a legal document in which “bailiffs” were called upon to apprehend and punish someone who had offended the court by some misdeed or minor theft.

The *aisling*, however, is the poetic genre most associated with eighteenth-century Ireland. From its roots in the elegiac verse of the previous century, it was developed as a mode of presenting political allegory. The most successful examples were probably those composed by Aogán Ó Rathaille (c. 1670–1729) at the end of the first decade of the century, when there existed a genuine hope for a Jacobite invasion of Ireland. The *aisling* eventually became the conventional genre for the expression of political aspiration and was indelibly associated with the Stuart cause. Many of the later *aislings*, like those of Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin (1748–1784), are admired more for their musicality and technical perfection than for their emotive power or sincerity.

The extemporaneous composition of a lament, or *caoineadh* (the English *keen*) was an essential feature of the funeral ritual in eighteenth-century Ireland. A particularly fine example that was preserved in oral tradition is *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoire* (“The Lament for Art O’Leary”), composed by Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill in 1773 after the occasion of her husband’s murder.

The most original and brilliant example of narrative verse from this period is undoubtedly Brian Merriman’s *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* (“The Midnight Court,” written in 1780), a poem of over one thousand lines in which the dreaming author, representing the men of Ireland, is forcibly brought before the fairy-queen of Thomond and put on trial for neglecting women and failing to marry. This work is an extraordinary blend of genres, successfully combining elements of the *aisling* with those of the *barántas*, and sparkling with technical virtuosity.

Prose composition did not fare so well in this century, and the most exciting experimentation occurred early on with the work of Seán Ó Neachtain (c. 1648–1729). A native of Roscommon, he eventually settled in Dublin where he and his son Tadhg were the central figures in an extremely productive circle of Irish scholars, scribes, and poets. Although he was a capable poet himself, Ó Neachtain’s best work was his prose, and he is primarily admired for *Stair Éamainn Uí Chléire* (*The History of Éamonn Ó Clery*, c. 1710), a comical and picaresque moral allegory on the dangers of alcohol.

SEE ALSO *Annals of the Four Masters*; Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Literacy and Popular Culture; Literature: Anglo-Irish Literary Tradition, Beginnings of; Literature: Early Modern Literature before the Stuarts (1500–1603)

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William J. Mahon

GAELIC LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Nineteenth-century Gaelic literature falls into two distinct and complex phases: The first extends from the revolutionary era of the 1790s to the Great Famine, and the second from the famine to the end of the century. In the first period written materials were principally transmitted via a robust manuscript tradition, as had been the case in the previous millennium. Some 2,000 documents from the period have survived, but much cataloging and editorial work has yet to be completed on these codices (de Brún 1987 and 1988). The scribal culture that persisted in Irish-speaking Ireland is reminiscent of those of other societies marginalized on geographic, ideological, or sociopolitical grounds. Ireland’s output in the early nineteenth century merits comparison with the handwritten production of medieval writings in contemporary Iceland, the manuscript circulation of clandestine philosophical compositions in early eighteenth-century France, and the surviving documentation of central European Judaica.

Gaelic copyists were active throughout much of Ireland. Manuscript writing was strong in the south in counties such as Cork, Limerick, and Waterford. Parts of Leinster, notably Kilkenny, were also productive. There is also evidence of the tradition in the north midlands, the northeast (especially Belfast), and distinctively, though less vigorously, the west. It was an urban as well as a rural phenomenon. We know of writers operating in or near towns and villages in County Clare, for example, including Conchúr Ó Maoilriain and Donnchadh Ulf from Sixmilebridge, Micheál Ó hAllúráin from Kiltrush, and Micheál Ó Raghallaigh from Ennistymon.

The manuscripts include business accounts, legal agreements, personal biographical details, and other records of their compilers' everyday lives, as well as literary compositions. There are two types of prefamine creative writings. The first are texts from medieval times and from the innovative seventeenth century that were recopied in the early nineteenth century, including sagas and bardic poetry as well as historical and devotional matter. The transmission of pre-1700 writings was not simply a passive, repetitive exercise. Nineteenth-century annotation of compositions such as the Deirdre story (Mac Giolla Léith 1993) reveals their compilers' thoughts about character or motivation in this and other legends. Material from the past continued to furnish literary allusions in works from the early nineteenth century. Medieval writings, especially those of the seventeenth-century chronicler and Catholic polemicist Geoffrey Keating, set standards of language and style. This holds true especially for scribes trained in reading and reproducing Gaelic script and spelling.

Original prefamine writings constitute the second strand of materials. Both verse and prose works have survived. Topics in the lives of the composers themselves feature in the compositions. The north Kerry poet Seán Ó Braonáin (de Brún 1972) was occupied with sectarian issues, millenarian hopes of delivery from English rule, the career of Daniel O'Connell, poverty, relations with his fellow scribes such as the Cork-based 1798 insurgent Micheál Óg Ó Longáin (1766–1837), and a range of other subjects. His output has particular value as the unmediated voice of the community for which he wrote; in this regard it resembles the work of other composers such as Antaine Raiftearaí (Anthony Raftery), whose texts are more obviously molded by oral culture. The compositions of Ó Braonáin and his counterparts are traditionalist in other ways. The meter of the poetry is accentual, reflecting ordinary speech patterns, but highly wrought. His verse demonstrates a continuation of poetic practices that came to fruition in the seventeenth century and were in full force

throughout the eighteenth century. Prose works that are rooted in the past, though less common than poetry, are also found in this period. The prolific County Cork writer Dáibhí de Barra (d. 1851) recast the story of his neighbors' defeat of officials levying Anglican tithes in the 1830s to make it read like a heroic saga (Ó Cuív 1960).

Other intriguing innovations in early nineteenth-century verse and prose writing deserve closer attention than they have received. One of these is the absorption into Irish poetry of the themes, style, and diction of near-contemporary literature in English, particularly various manifestations of romanticism. The works of County Louth-based Nioclás Ó Cearnaigh are a case in point. He translated pieces by Robert Burns such as "Sweet Afton" and "Highland Mary" into Irish (Ó Dufaigh and Ó Doibhlin 1989), and the process resulted in his Gaelic text having a convoluted syntax and a sentimental tone. These features resurface in the contorted language and phraseology of his own original Irish versification on topics such as love and politics. The scribe Amhlaoihbh Ó Súilleabháin is best known for his diary of everyday life in Callan, Co. Kilkenny, in the years 1827 to 1835. He also completed in manuscript form a tale entitled *Tóruigheacht Chalmair* (The pursuit of Calmar) (McGrath 1937). It is in effect a short Gothic novel about economic distress. Ó Súilleabháin and Ó Cearnaigh's works typify the writings of other, mostly urban-based bilingual writers who had access to printed sources. Although awkward in style, their material has relevance in cultural terms. Irish politics were edging toward an accommodation with British authority, particularly through the parliamentary tradition; similarly, new experimental Gaelic literature appears to have consciously established a rapprochement with a linguistic medium set to dominate not only in Ireland but also internationally as the nineteenth century advanced.

How far this modernizing tendency might have developed organically after the 1840s is uncertain; its development was interrupted by the devastating events of the decade, which ushered in the second phase of Irish-language writing in the nineteenth century. The Great Famine had as damaging an impact on Gaelic literature as on other aspects of Irish life. As it swept away speakers of the language, it also undermined scribal culture, which completely died out in certain regions and was attenuated in other locations. There were some critically important survivors, however, including Kilkenny-born John O'Donovan (1809–1861), who had worked with the Ordnance Survey (the branch of the British administration charged with producing up-to-date maps of Ireland on a county basis between 1825 and 1841) in the 1830s and translated some of the works of the phi-

losopher John Locke into Irish, and his colleague Eugene O'Curry (1796–1862), who had trained as a traditional copyist in his native Clare. In 1848 to 1851, O'Donovan issued his monumental edition and translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, one of the first authoritative large-scale works offering insights into life in Ireland before 1600. O'Curry became a professor of Irish history and archaeology at Newman's Catholic University in 1854. His teaching formed the basis for his *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (1861). In another example of the persistence of the scribal tradition, younger members of the Ó Longáin scribal family recopied some of the codices of the Royal Irish Academy in the 1860s and 1870s, establishing bridges between the prefamine past and subsequent generations who would draw on the earlier works in creating new forms of Irish writing in the late nineteenth century. This mutually reinforcing symbiosis between scholarship and literature has existed throughout the history of Irish civilization.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Irish-language enthusiasts adopted an organizational approach to the promotion of Gaelic culture. The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was established in 1876 to arrest the decline of Irish. A recent study (Ó Murchú 2001) has shown that its program of teaching Irish in schools and supplying textbooks was very successful in encouraging writing at a basic level. An offshoot body, the Gaelic Union, set up in 1880, produced the first successful printed periodical devoted to the modern Irish language in Ireland, the *Gaelic Journal/Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* (1882). It became a vehicle for the creation of new verse and prose (O'Leary 1994). By far the most influential organization, however, was the Gaelic League, established in 1893 (Ó Ríordáin 2000). The League set up elaborate branch networks and sponsored cultural events featuring evenings of song, storytelling, and dance. It developed competitions in music and literature at both local (*feis*) and national (*Oireachtas*) levels. These contests produced many writings, from essays to short stories and novels, some of which were conservative (for instance, those based on folk narrative), and others that were more adventurous, particularly when translations from European literature were used as exemplars. Infrequent publishing of key periodicals had an adverse effect on the strength of the material (Nic Pháidín 1998). Another, no less important result of the competitions was the formation of a readership for the new works. The principal achievement of the revivalists was the establishment of a platform on which a fully fledged modern Gaelic literature would be built, a process due to bear fruit throughout the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Antiquarianism; Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Gaelic Revival; Hyde, Douglas; Literature: Anglo-Irish Literature in the Nineteenth Century; O'Donovan, John

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Neíl Buttimer

TWENTIETH-CENTURY WOMEN WRITERS

The overriding twentieth-century question for both the newly independent Irish state and the six counties that remained united with Britain was that of national identity. While politicians charted public perspectives, writers presented varied possibilities, some mirroring the dominant models, others projecting liberating roles. Although excluded from many public arenas, Irish women were present in nationalist, suffragist, and literary circles. Their early twentieth-century literature reflects women's responses to national questions but also expresses their neglected concerns, revealing that women's identities transcended definition by a male-dominated state or by male writers. The educational and social advances that followed the economic reforms of the 1960s liberated women as well as men to imagine and create new possibilities and opportunities, which in turn resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of writers.



Lady Isabella Augusta Gregory, née Persse (1852–1932), Irish playwright and founder of the Abbey Theatre. © HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

WOMEN'S POSITION IN THE NEW NATION

Lady Gregory's position as codirector and founder of the important national literary endeavor the Abbey Theatre (1904) evidences her interest in national identity. A student of Irish legend and history as well as the Irish language, she, like her contemporaries in the Irish Renaissance, aimed to replace the picture of Ireland current on the British stage with that of the Irish people speaking for themselves, reflecting both historic and contemporary concerns. *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (1902), her first major work of folklore, reintroduces and interprets this legendary character as a dignified and idealistic hero. Lady Gregory wrote more than forty plays, most with nationalist themes. One of them, *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* (1902), cowritten with William Butler Yeats, celebrates Ireland as an old woman rejuvenated by the blood of young men who fight and die for her. Controversial and influential, this concept of Ireland has been criticized by feminist scholars as concealing the concerns of actual women. The 1912 play *Grania* suggests more concern with female identity, as Gregory remains true to the myth but underscores approvingly Grania's ability to take control of her own life.

Variations on Lady Gregory's nationalistic concerns were presented by women involved in the national struggle such as Alice Milligan and Maud Gonne, but increasingly, women's issues took center stage. The plays of Teresa Deevy and Maura Laverty focus on the conflicts that faced women particularly. Deevy's plays, produced between the 1930s and 1950s, critique the institution of marriage even as the Irish Constitution of 1937 foresaw no other identity for women. *The King of Spain's Daughter* and *Katie Roche*, produced by the Abbey in 1935 and 1936 respectively, underscore the gulf between male and female marital expectations: Katie Roche's husband finds marriage a threat to his autonomy, and Katie discovers therein neither the opportunity of emotional communion nor independence. In a brief career Katherine Cecil Thurston examined many aspects of Irish and English life, notably exposing, in *The Fly on the Wheel* (1908), the fragility of Irish Catholic middle-class identity. First-generation middle-class characters, male and female, dare not deviate in their choices of job and spouse from the narrow confines tacitly approved by their class—confines that neither religion nor love can breach.

Over the course of a long career Kate O'Brien dissected and analyzed the middle class, revealing its consolidation at the expense of women's independence and happiness. In *Without My Cloak* (1931), an Irish Catholic myth of origin, the principal male characters refuse to help their sister to escape a loveless but socially approved marriage, prompting the omniscient narrator to remark that it would never occur to them to set their sister's happiness above their own surname, thus underscoring their perception of the fragility and threatened nature of their position. In this novel the heroine dies giving birth to a son needed to continue the dynasty; a generation later, the son's lover, a beautiful daughter of unmarried parents, is ruthlessly dispatched to America, her "illegitimate" status still a threat to the family's social position. Women often sacrifice other women to male interests (which often parallel class interests) in O'Brien's novels: In her dying moments, a mother arranges her irresponsible son's marriage to her competent nurse in *The Anteroom* (1934); college education is seen as a waste for women in *Mary Lavelle* (1936); a young woman's education would be sacrificed for her brother's in *The Land of Spices* (1941). Women in O'Brien's novels are denied autonomy both before and after marriage, and marriage fails to provide emotional fulfilment; but O'Brien also depicts enlightened figures, such as an Irish bishop and an English nun in *The Land of Spices*, who see the benefits of an educated, responsible female populace.

Women's position in upper-class Anglo-Irish society is addressed by Elizabeth Bowen and Molly Keane.

In *The Last September* (1929) and *A World of Love* (1955), Bowen charts the coming-of-age of young women in disintegrating Anglo-Irish society. Bowen's women look to the past as Edenic but also burdensome; in *The Last September*, set during the Irish Civil War, characters are caught between their sympathy for a rebel family, whose circle is both dangerous and exciting, and their ties to their own class, which are depicted as passionless and enervated. The "Big Houses" of the Anglo-Irish families are themselves characters in Bowen's novels, reflecting the glorious and scarred histories of their inhabitants. Molly Keane's first novels are affectionate views of the disintegrating Anglo-Irish society that focus on plucky, unconventional girls who participate compulsively in what are depicted as the almost interchangeable, exciting, beautiful sports of fox- or man-hunting; servants and non-Anglo-Irish characters are practically ignored. *Conversation Piece* (1932) introduces the first of a series of awful Keane mothers—vicious elderly women who prey on, or dominate, the young. Janet McNeill sets her work in bourgeois Belfast; her *Tea at Four O'Clock* (1956) dissects the ceremonies of gracious living to reveal onerous demands on the youngest daughter. McNeill's characters lack the viciousness of Keane's, but her women, too, are implicated in preserving the patriarchal order at the expense of their daughters.

Religious bigotry and its consequences play a role in the work of Margaret Barrington, Anne Crone, and Nora Hoult. Crone's *Bridie Steen* (1948), her most complex novel, addresses the mystery of how children learn and play together, then become Protestant and Catholic adults denied any social interaction. Barrington's *My Cousin Justin* (1939) sees religious fears as rooted in centuries of repression of the Catholic Irish and, more importantly, twentieth-century repression of the working class.

EXORCIZING MYTH, INTRODUCING MOTHER

Despite the recurrence of the "Troubles" in the 1960s, women writers turned confidently to their own neglected concerns, introducing mother-daughter relationships into a national literature that had ignored them. Mary Lavin's short stories focus sympathetically but unsentimentally on the minutiae of women's lives, the beautiful prose awakening the reader to the human drama inherent in the mundane. Her final stories concentrate on the complex relationships of grandmothers, mothers, and daughters. In her Irish-language poetry Máire Mhac an tSaoi, like Lavin, turns to the drama of the urban housewife. Edna O'Brien's *The Country Girls* (1960) introduces the author's series of abused, dispirited, and often manipulative mothers—these characters

become more complex in her later work, including *Time and Tide* (1992), which reveals a daughter's inheritance of the very manipulative traits she resents in her mother. Mother-daughter relationships have been explored at length by many other authors, too, often in works that expose the daughters' exploitation, including Caroline Blackwood's *The Stepdaughter* (1976), Helen Lucy Burke's *A Season for Mothers* (1980), Jennifer Johnston's *The Christmas Tree* (1981), Clare Boylan's *Holy Pictures* (1983), and Mary Rose Callaghan's *The Awkward Girl* (1990). Eavan Boland's poetry often speaks of the loss of the mother's story; on the other hand, the poetry of Mary Dorcey and Paula Meehan deals with the mystery of filial inheritance, the continuing presence of the mother in the psyche and personality of the daughter. Deirdre Madden's *Birds of the Innocent Wood* (1988), Johnston's *The Railway Station Man* (1984) and *The Illusionist* (1995), Boylan's *Last Resorts* (1984), Maeve Kelly's "Orange Horses" (1990), and Catherine Dunne's *The Walled Garden* (2000) all depict the mother's pain that results from the child's rejection or lack of communication. Mary Morrissy's *Mother of Pearl* (1996) investigates maternal desire; Marina Carr's play *The Mai* (1995) examines sororal and maternal relationships.

Embracing and reinterpreting traditionally negative female images, the poetry of Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, Rita Ann Higgins, and Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill presents female consciousness actively revising and overturning conventional formulations of women to expose the reality concealed by the myth. Eavan Boland exorcizes traditional mythic images, which she blames for concealing the experiences of real women. The most minute aspect of nature is cause for wonder in the poetry of Biddu Jenkinson; another close observer, Moya Cannon, finds maternal comfort both in the neglected but resonant Irish language and in nature. The Irish-language poetry of Ní Dhomhnaill and Caitlin Maude has been translated and is very popular, but Jenkinson has refused English translation.

SEXUALITY

Irish women were not encouraged to explore their sexuality even in literature, but unhappiness owing to repressed sexuality was apparent in the works of even early writers. Molly Keane's second series of novels, beginning with *Good Behaviour* (1981), satirically contrasts the desires of undesirable girls with their fates in a dying society. The title of an Eithne Strong volume of poetry, *Flesh—The Greatest Sin* (1980), captures the repressive atmosphere. Remembering the child who died alone birthing a baby by a statue of Mary, Paula Meehan reveals the consequences of the ignorance that accompanies repression. Positive depictions of female sex-

uality appear in the 1980s work of Julia O'Faolain, and the poetry of Medbh McGuckian celebrates female sexuality. *The Dancers Dancing* (1999), an experimental novel by Éilís Ní Dhuibhne, charts female coming-of-age, joyfully, in a Donegal Gaeltacht. The possibility of a lesbian relationship, which might offer more than traditional (heterosexual) arrangements, is hinted at in Bowen's *The Last September*, whereas Molly Keane caricatures such relationships. Kate O'Brien presents the first extended lesbian portrait in *Mary Lavelle* (1936), albeit a negative one. In her last novel, *As Music and Splendour* (1958), O'Brien parallels the joys and difficulties in both heterosexual and lesbian relationships; the sense of joy and emotional closeness in the latter suggests that it is a richer relationship. In 1989 Mary Dorcey's collection of short stories, *A Noise from the Woodshed*, marked a new maturity in Irish fiction. In stories that focus on aging or class struggles, lesbian characters love and fight, their relationships now an authorial given that requires neither explanation nor defense, although the characters are frequently forced to address their identities in response to the ignorance or prejudices of other characters. Dorcey's *Biography of Desire* (1997) explores the many faces of love, chiefly between women, as does her volume of poetry *The River That Carries Me* (1995). Emma Donoghue's *Stir-fry* (1994) is a lesbian bildungsroman, and her *Hood* (1995) portrays the pain of a young woman who cannot reveal that her dead friend was her lover.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Irish women writers investigate many social problems; several reflect actual 1980s court cases that revealed that incest was more widespread than many believed possible. Leland Bardwell's "Dove of Peace" (1987), Dorothy Nelson's *In Night's City* (1982), Jennifer Johnston's *The Invisible Worm* (1991), and Edna O'Brien's *Down by the River* (1996) focus on the pain and shame of young girls molested by their fathers; Nelson's novel also reveals the mother's anger and confusion, as she, like the father in the O'Brien novel, blames her daughter for the ensuing pregnancy. This crime crosses social boundaries—those affected include: a distinguished Catholic politician married to a Protestant descendant of the ascendancy in Johnston's text, and a Traveller, a member of a distinctive and neglected nomadic culture, in Maeve Kelly's "Orange Horses."

The indignities that face working-class women are frequent subjects in the poetry of Rita Ann Higgins, Mary Dorcey, and Paula Meehan, and in the fiction of Frances Molloy. Evelyn Conlon captures both the drabness and the humor of middle-class women who are often confined to the company of children. Maeve Kelly

moves to the twice-disprivileged world of women Travellers. Discrimination against, and the fears of, the elderly are featured in Clare Boylan's *Beloved Stranger* (1999) and Mary Lavin's "Senility" and "A Family Likeness." Patricia Brogan explores the lot of "Magdalen women," pregnant and unmarried women, practically imprisoned in laundries run by nuns in her play *Eclipsed* (1994); Emma Donoghue's novel *Slammerkin* (2000) moves from a house of prostitution to a Magdalen home. Marie Jones's *Lay Up Your Ends* (1983) depicts the hardships of Belfast mill workers. Ronit Lentin uncovers the racism in late twentieth-century Ireland in *Songs on the Death of Children* (1996), as does Clare Boylan in her humorous *Black Baby* (1988). The separation and subsequent problems of the characters in Anne Enright's highly experimental novel, *What Are You Like?* (2000), spring from Irish social conditions and contribute to Irish-immigrant identity concerns in the high-tech worlds of New York and London.

THE "TROUBLES": A SECONDARY SUBJECT

Writers in the Republic initially responded to the "Troubles" by setting them in an historic context. Arguably, Johnston's *How Many Miles to Babylon?* (1974) and *The Old Jest* (1979), set during World War I and the Irish Civil War respectively, may be seen as attempts to contextualize the conflict. Later Johnston novels set during the "Troubles" focus on personal rather than national relationships, as do other works. Julia O'Faolain's 1980 novel *No Country for Young Men* bridges two periods of "Troubles" through the unreliable consciousness of an elderly nun whose memory of the troubles of the 1920s is stirred by contemporary TV footage; Mary Leland's works *The Killeen* (1985) and *Approaching Priests* (1991) condemn a nationalism based on violence; Edna O'Brien's *The House of Splendid Isolation* (1994) looks at the reception in the 1990s of the North and Northerners in the South. Northern writers make distinctive contributions: Frances Molloy's *No Mate for the Magpie* (1985) presents the Northern Irish situation as an insult to common sense. Class and gender, Molloy's plucky heroine comes to see, are as restrictive as politics. Mary Beckett's *A Belfast Woman* (1980) and *Give Them Stones* (1987) depict the difficulty of raising a family in the midst of violence and prejudice. The heroine in Deirdre Madden's *Hidden Symptoms* (1986) imagines the violence as the acts of a madman tearing his flesh. The dramatist Anne Devlin exposes the abuse of women within paramilitary groups in *Ourselves Alone* (1986), and presents a more optimistic view of women's possibilities in *After Easter* (1994); Devlin's short stories, particularly "Naming the Names" in *The Way-Paver* (1986), are unforgettable accounts of the horrors of urban vio-

lence. Christina Reid focuses on a group of Catholic unemployed teenagers in the topical play *Joyriders* (1987); her *Belle of Belfast City* (1989) explores the divisions in Unionist families. Members of the experimental Charabanc Theatre Company cowrote many plays between 1983 and 1990; writer-in-residence Marie Jones produced *A Night in November* (first published in 1995) in 1994, focusing on sectarian hatred. The experimental poetry of Medbh McGuckian often comments obliquely on the conflict, while Eavan Boland overtly exposes political violence in the North and South, past and present.

Texts by twentieth-century Irish women writers have not only represented women characters, women's concerns, and women's perspectives absent in earlier works by male writers; many of these authors have moved beyond mimesis, envisioning alternative futures. In so doing, they have altered the way in which Ireland itself can be read.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Drama, Modern; Fiction, Modern; Poetry, Modern; **Primary Documents:** "Scattering and Sorrow" (1936); "Inquisitio 1584" (c. 1985); "Feis" ("Carnival") (c. 1990)

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Ann Owens Weekes

Local Government since 1800

The nineteenth century saw a dramatic expansion in the scope and authority of local government together with its gradual democratization. This process was reversed in the twentieth century, with power moving back to the center.

In the early nineteenth century responsibility for urban government was shared by municipal corporations (where they existed), parish vestries, and manor courts. These bodies paid little attention to the provision of local services, and in 1828 urban property holders were empowered by act of Parliament to elect commissioners to provide such basic services as street lighting and the construction of sewers. The powers and responsibilities of town commissioners were gradually increased over the course of the century. The vast majority of Irish municipal corporations were abolished in 1840, having developed into exclusive, self-perpetuating oligarchies. Only ten (with the later addition of Wexford) survived to become elected councils.

The primary organ of local administration in rural areas was the grand jury, which was empowered to raise money by means of local taxation to provide for the upkeep of roads, bridges, and public buildings such as jails and courthouses. Many of the grand jury's taxing powers, such as those relating to the provision of county infirmaries, were discretionary and rarely utilized. Growing concerns about poverty, ill health, and disorder in Ireland led to the imposition of statutory responsibilities on grand juries. For example, beginning in 1817 they could be required to build and maintain district lunatic asylums that were managed by centrally appointed boards of governors. The county constabulary established in 1822 was similarly funded by but not administered by grand juries. As the century proceeded, the grand jury thus became increasingly important as a taxing rather than an administrative authority. As expenditure levels rose, criticism of the grand jury system increased: Not only were grand juries unrepresentative of the local community, but they were also alleged to be corrupt and inefficient. Grand jurors were nominated by the high sheriff from the leading property owners of the county, excluding nobles, and were widely believed to abuse the system for their own personal gains. Government ministers shared the popular dissatisfaction with the way in which grand-jury affairs were conducted, but they were reluctant to contemplate any major reform, believing that Ireland was not ready for local democracy in rural areas. Legislation passed in 1818, 1833, and 1836 did reduce the opportu-

nities for abuse by introducing stricter accounting procedures and by giving ratepayers a limited role in authorizing expenditures. More significantly, however, the administrative power of the grand jury was increasingly eclipsed by the poor-law board, which was composed partly of guardians elected by the ratepayers and partly of local magistrates sitting *ex officio*.

First introduced in 1838, poor-law boards were entrusted with a wide range of responsibilities in addition to their primary tasks of managing workhouses and distributing relief to the poor. Administration of local dispensaries was transferred from grand juries to poor-law boards in the 1850s, and the boards became the administering authorities of the health and safety legislation of the 1860s and 1870s. Changes in local expenditures illustrate the increasing importance of the poor-law system: while the level of county taxation, which had risen steeply in the first half of the nineteenth century, remained fairly static in the second half of the century, poor-law expenditure doubled. In the early decades of the poor-law system, landowners or their agents dominated most boards of guardians, but this changed in the 1880s following the radicalization of rural politics that took place during the years of the Land War. Poor-law elections were increasingly contested as part of the national campaign for self-government, and elected guardians began to replace *ex-officios* as board officers. The shift in power on many poor-law boards produced a far more politicized and polarized system. In addition to serving as training grounds for nationalist politicians, poor-law boards gave women, who became eligible to serve as guardians in 1896, their first experiences in holding local government office.

The Local Government Act of 1898 established a comprehensive system of democratic local government in Ireland. Based on the English measure of 1888, the act introduced a two-tier system of county and district councils. The administrative responsibilities of grand juries were transferred to elected county councils. Rural district councils took on the functions of poor-law boards and also became the sanitary authorities for their areas. (In urban areas municipal corporations and town commissioners operated largely unchanged and separate boards of guardians were retained.) The local government board was given the task of supervising the activities of the new councils, and its approval was required for many of their acts, including appointments and dismissals. All councillors and poor-law guardians were elected by a householder franchise that, unlike the parliamentary franchise, included women and peers. Following vigorous lobbying by women's organizations, women obtained the right to run for election as district councillors, though not, until 1911, as county

councillors. The most significant changes produced by the Local Government Act were not to the structure of local administration, but in the composition of its constituent bodies: In contrast to unionist-dominated grand juries, county councils were, in most cases, nationalist-dominated.

As the campaign for national self-government gathered momentum in the early decades of the twentieth century, relations between central and local governments deteriorated. After the establishment of the Dáil government in 1919 many local councils refused to recognize British authority and declared their allegiance to Dáil Éireann. Irish republicans regarded both the local-government system and its practitioners with suspicion, seeing the former as extravagant and expensive and the latter as inefficient and corrupt. While the basic structures remained in place in both parts of Ireland following independence, local government in the Free State lost many of its functions, including health and welfare administration, either to central government or to national or regional administrative boards. (Poor-law boards were abolished in 1923 and rural-district councils in 1925.) The establishment in the 1930s of the city- and county-manager system, whereby council services are administered not by committees of elected councillors but under the direction of an appointed manager, and the replacement of local property taxation with block grants from central government, further weakened the power and authority of local representatives. Since 1935 a universal adult franchise has operated in local elections.

In Northern Ireland, local government became the focus of allegations of gerrymandering and discrimination, primarily against Catholics. Proportional representation in local elections, intended to ensure minority representation, was abolished in 1922, and the retention of property and businessmen's votes, long after these had been abandoned in Britain and independent Ireland, gave unionists a significant electoral advantage. Universal adult suffrage was introduced for local elections in 1969. In the following year the Stormont government accepted the report of a review body chaired by Sir Patrick Macrory recommending the reorganization of local government. This led to the establishment in 1973 of twenty-six district councils responsible for services such as refuse disposal and environmental health, and area boards, whose members were nominated by government, to control health, education, and library services. Macrory had intended that this system would work in tandem with the Northern Ireland Assembly; the absence of this top tier of local government, often referred to as the "Macrory gap," resulted in a significant democratic deficit at the local level.

SEE ALSO Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; **Primary Documents:** Letter Advocating Federalism as an Alternative to Repeal (November 1844)

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Virginia Crossman

Lockout of 1913

The great Dublin Lockout was a seminal event in modern Irish history that marked the coming of age of the trade union movement in Ireland. Before the arrival of the lockout's charismatic leader James Larkin, efforts to organize unskilled Irish workers had been relatively unsuccessful. Larkin's great achievement was to convince workers to adopt his syndicalist tactics and use mass solidarity action, including widespread use of the sympathetic strike, to win major concessions from employers.

In the first six months of 1913 a series of strikes by the newly formed Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU), which Larkin founded as a breakaway from the more conservative British based National Union of Dock Labourers, secured pay increases of up to 25 percent for members. In July employers agreed to a conciliation board to curb industrial unrest, despite opposition from the city's most powerful business leader, William Martin Murphy. When Larkin tried to organize workers in the Dublin United Tramways Company (DUTC), of which Murphy was chairman, Murphy began systematically purging ITGWU members. On 26 August Larkin called a strike and urged workers to "black," or boycott, DUTC trams. Murphy, who was president of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, persuaded 400 of the city's main employers to lock out

ITGWU members. Other workers who refused to sign declarations denouncing the ITGWU were sacked. Within a month 100,000 people, a third of the city's population, was suffering hardship as a result of the dispute. The general mortality rate in Dublin rose by 17 percent during the lockout and the rate for young children by almost 100 percent (Dublin Corporation Reports 1913–1914). These figures would have been much higher but for aid worth more than £93,000 sent by the British Trades Council.

Inevitably, the dispute degenerated into naked class warfare. Murphy's antipathy toward Larkin and the ITGWU was ideological as well as economic. Like many conservative nationalists, he feared syndicalism as a vehicle for anglicization, socialism, and secularization. These fears were reinforced by the "Dublin Kiddies' Scheme," which provided foster homes for strikers' children in Britain. In opposing the scheme, employers were able to mobilize support from the main churches, the middle classes, and constitutional nationalists against the strikers. Radical nationalists such as Patrick Pearse and feminists such as Countess Markievicz and Hannah Sheehy Skeffington supported the strikers.

The ITGWU and many other unions supporting its actions such as the Bricklayers, Builders' Labourers, Carpenters and Jointers, Carpet Planners and Women Workers' Union, would have collapsed without the help of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC). However, Larkin's syndicalism and his verbal abuse of leading British trade union leaders alienated the TUC as much as Dublin employers. By February 1914 most strikers had returned to work on the employers' terms. Nevertheless, the lockout marked the beginning of a decade of upheaval. Workers formed the Irish Citizen Army in November 1913 to defend themselves against the police, new alliances between socialists and radical nationalists were forged, and the lockout convinced many trade unionists that they must embrace political action to achieve their objectives.

SEE ALSO Connolly, James; Labor Movement; Larkin, James; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Murphy, William Martin; O'Brien, William; Trade Unions

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Padraig Yeates

Lombard, Peter

Peter Lombard (c. 1555–1625), theologian and historian, archbishop of Armagh, was born in Waterford the son of a city merchant. He attended the grammar school of Peter White at Kilkenny and studied with the historian William Camden in London. He moved then to Louvain, where he studied theology and graduated in 1575 as “primus universitatis,” the leading scholar of his year. Having attained a doctorate in 1594 and taught with distinction at Louvain, Lombard went to Rome in 1598 to represent the interests of his university at the papal court. He was to spend the rest of his life there.

In his early years at Rome he became deeply involved as the agent of Hugh O’Neill, earl of Tyrone, who was championing the defense of Roman Catholicism in Ireland. To further O’Neill’s campaign he wrote *De insulae Hiberniae commentarius* (Commentary on the island of Ireland) in 1600 (unpublished until 1632) to contextualize for Pope Clement VIII O’Neill’s rebellion and to argue the case for the excommunication of those who refused to help him. Unlike the majority of his fellow Old Englishmen, he urged strenuously the transfer of the sovereignty of Ireland from Queen Elizabeth to a Catholic monarch, ideally a Spanish Habsburg. In constructing his case, Lombard presented a most persuasive vision of Ireland as a potentially rich and viable Catholic nation. It was due to his closeness to O’Neill that Lombard was appointed archbishop of Armagh in 1601, a post he held until his death in 1625, though he never resided in his diocese.

Thereafter, Lombard’s interests centered on theological issues and the advocacy of Tridentine renewal in Ireland. As a leading Vatican theologian, he adjudicated on matters concerning grace, the heliocentric theories of Galileo, the Roman church and churches of the eastern rite, and the question of church-state relations. In respect to the last, his position had changed since 1600: in 1616 he was prepared to countenance a heretic as monarch as long as tolerance of Catholicism was assured. This was particularly relevant to Ireland as he became reconciled to the monarchy of James I. Lombard

played a crucial role in promoting the Counter-Reformation in Ireland. He advised the Curia on the appointment of Irish bishops, arguing strongly for a resident episcopacy. His foresight is demonstrated by his concern for the establishment of an Irish College at Rome, though this was not fully accomplished until after his death.

SEE ALSO Council of Trent and the Catholic Mission; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690)

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Colm Lennon

Loyalist Paramilitaries after 1965

Hard-line unionist opposition to the modernizing policies of Terence O’Neill inspired quasi-military organizations modeled after the Ulster Volunteer Force of the Third Home Rule Bill period; these organizations also drew on near-continuous traditions of paramilitary action (especially in Belfast). Two of the most prominent were Tara (whose leader William McGrath was subsequently jailed for sexually abusing inmates of the Kin-cora Boys’ Home) and the Ulster Protestant Volunteers (UPV), who marched in support of Ian Paisley.

The present-day Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) was founded in 1965 by working-class loyalists on Belfast’s Shankill Road. They were linked to UPV, Tara, and similar organizations; they may have had tacit support from some middle-class Ulster Unionist Party activists. The UVF was banned on 28 June 1966 after members committed three murders. O’Neill denied any connection between this “sordid conspiracy of criminals” and the Carson-era UVF. UVF leader Gusty Spence was im-

prisoned for the murder of a Catholic barman but the organization survived, growing rapidly in response to the upheavals of the early 1970s. The Red Hand Commandos, founded in the early 1970s by John McKeague, has usually been a satellite of the UVF.

The other principal loyalist paramilitary group, the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), was founded in 1972 as a coalition of local vigilante groups formed during sectarian rioting from 1969 onwards. After internal feuding between East and West Belfast leaders, Andy Tyrie emerged as "Supreme Commander." Both the UVF and UDA engaged in extensive sectarian murder campaigns epitomized by Lenny Murphy (d. 1982), whose UVF "Shankill Butchers" became notorious in 1975–1976 for torturing random victims to death and mutilating their bodies. UDA violence was often claimed by the "Ulster Freedom Fighters," a codename intended to preserve the UDA's legality. Some particularly sectarian or repulsive UVF crimes were attributed to the equally nonexistent "Protestant Action Force." Both groups developed youth wings and prisoner support organizations: Ulster Young Militants and Loyalist Prisoners' Aid for the UDA, Young Citizen Volunteers and Loyalist Prisoners of War for the UVF.

The upheavals of the early 1970s caused large numbers of unionists to dabble in paramilitarism either through "home-guard" organizations (which saw themselves as a reserve army to be unleashed in a doomsday situation) or the militaristic symbolism of the Vanguard organization. Thousands of working-class Protestants marched in loyalist rallies. The high point of loyalist paramilitary influence occurred in 1974: In that year loyalist paramilitaries provided the muscle for the Ulster Workers' Council strike, which brought down the power-sharing executive established under the Sunningdale Agreement. However, the paramilitaries were unable to establish a coherent political program and were further discredited by infighting, criminal activity, and extreme violence; these have persistently undermined their self-projected image as "defenders of the community." Tougher state security policies reduced fears of a doomsday situation, and mainstream unionist politicians reasserted their leadership.

In response to these setbacks, some loyalists attempted to develop a distinct political agenda; Spence tried to influence younger loyalists associated with the nascent Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) toward an explicitly socialist and secular loyalism, while in the late 1970s onwards Tyrie's deputy John McMichael advocated an independent Northern Ireland. McMichael founded the Ulster Loyalist Democratic Party (later called the Ulster Democratic Party) but received little

electoral support; at the same time he reorganized the UDA's military structure and orchestrated further sectarian murders.

Loyalist paramilitarism revived in response to the Anglo-Irish Agreement and a massive leadership upheaval in the UDA, involving the IRA's assassination of John McMichael, the resignation of Tyrie after an attempt on his life, and the removal of other leading figures by arrest or exposure as informers. (Tyrie was replaced by a collective leadership—the six-member "Inner Council" that unleashed young, more violent activists.) Individuals such as Billy Wright ("King Rat"), Portadown-based Mid-Ulster UVF "Brigadier," and Johnny Adair ("Mad Dog"), UDA commander in the Shankill area of Belfast became feared celebrity gangsters who combined extensive racketeering with sectarian murder.

The PUP (which developed a small core of experienced activists led by Hugh Smyth, David Ervine, and Billy Hutchinson) and the UDP (nominally led by McMichael's son Gary) persuaded the loyalist paramilitaries to call a cease-fire in October 1994 (after the IRA cease-fire in August). The loyalists played a significant role in the Belfast Agreement of 1998; their record allowed them to undercut DUP accusations of "a sell-out." The PUP had initial success as a working-class rival to the DUP but failed to expand outside its core support in parts of Belfast. The UDP, whose leadership was less experienced and cohesive, had little electoral success and eventually disintegrated. (It was replaced by the Ulster Political Research Group.) The loyalist cease-fires were underpinned by prisoner releases and racketeering opportunities. However, the organizations continued to engage in vigilantism and to intimidate isolated Catholic minorities. The increasing political profile of republicans and the restlessness of activists whose status derived from the gun increased internal tensions. In 1996 Wright, his profile raised by the 1995 and 1996 Drumcree protests, sought the overall leadership of loyalism; he seceded from the UVF and established the Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF), combining anticompromise rhetoric with criminality. Wright was assassinated in prison by republicans in December 1997. Sectarian attacks were perpetrated by splinter groups calling themselves the Red Hand Defenders (generally regarded as a codename used by elements of the UDA and LVF) or the Orange Volunteers. Adair (jailed in 1994 for directing terrorism but released after the Belfast Agreement) became increasingly disruptive; in 1999 his alignment with the LVF led to a bloody UDA–UVF feud and his imprisonment. After his release in 2002, Adair attempted to displace the UDA leadership; another bloody feud again led to his arrest, while Adair supporters were driv-

en from their Shankill power base after the assassination of an anti-Adair “Brigadier,” John Gregg. Despite a renewed cease-fire loyalist organizations remained wracked by personal rivalries, criminality, and low-level violence. Loyalist paramilitary groups are generally less disciplined and politically aware than the IRA and contain a larger criminal element. (They have also been more prone to internal feuding than the IRA, though the Irish National Liberation Army [INLA] has experienced similar patterns of division and criminality.) Because of their traditional identification with the state, the loyalist working class does not have a history of creating a coherent oppositional subculture on the same scale as nationalists; the political opinions of the loyalist working class are largely reactive and their principal “oppositional” institutions—trade unions and independent churches—have been undermined by socioeconomic change. Protestant upper and middle-class elites have historically been more distant from their poorer co-religionists than their Catholic counterparts, who still tend to see themselves as part of a historically oppressed minority. The community’s pro-state orientation means that potential middle-class and skilled working-class recruits tend to join the security forces, leaving paramilitaries with a relatively restricted and low-quality support base among the unskilled working class. (This forms a notable contrast to the paramilitaries’ principal role model, the elite-led 1912–1914 UVF.) While shared origins have led some security force personnel to collaborate with loyalists, they also make it easier for security forces to detect, infiltrate, and capture or manipulate paramilitaries. The republican view of loyalist

paramilitaries as simply state puppets is an exaggeration, but there has unquestionably been information-passing and cooperation among loyalist paramilitaries and some locally recruited security-force elements. In recent years there have also been revelations (most prominently involving the activities of Brian Nelson, a high-level infiltrator within the UDA) about the willingness of some military and police agencies to tolerate crimes by loyalist informants or even to assist loyalists in targeting particular republicans.

Loyalist paramilitaries maintain a certain constituency, but their role has been primarily reactive and destructive. It is unlikely that this will change in the future.

SEE ALSO Hunger Strikes; Irish Republican Army (IRA); Paisley, Ian; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

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Patrick Maume



MacHale, John

John MacHale (1791–1881), Catholic archbishop of Tuam (1834–1881), was born in Tyrawley, County Mayo, on 6 March. He was educated for the priesthood at Maynooth, and he taught there from 1820 until he became a bishop in 1825. While on the Maynooth staff, he wrote the “Hierophilos” letters criticizing the activities of Bible societies and the tithe system. The British government tried unsuccessfully to prevent him from becoming archbishop of Tuam in 1834.

MacHale condemned the national school system in 1838 against the wishes of both his fellow archbishop, Daniel Murray, who sat on the National Board of Education, and a majority of the hierarchy. In the 1840s he strongly supported Daniel O’Connell’s campaign for repeal of the union of Great Britain and Ireland. MacHale was caustic in his criticisms of British government policy during the Great Famine, but he did not have any influence on that policy. MacHale opposed the third-level Queen’s Colleges, which Murray favored, and he went to Rome to secure papal condemnation of the colleges.

Even though he supported the appointment of Paul Cullen as archbishop of Armagh in 1850, MacHale subsequently had a very poor relationship with Cullen, who controlled the Irish church in line with Roman policy. MacHale voted against papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council.

MacHale was interested in the Irish language and heritage; he translated classics into Irish and he preached in Irish. He is not, however, known as a great pastoral bishop. Toward the end of his lengthy episcopacy his diocese was neglected, and his relatives held the best clerical appointments. When a coadjutor was appointed to

the 88-year-old MacHale, he refused to recognize him. A forceful and persistent critic of government policy in Ireland, he is regarded in Irish historiography as a powerful nationalist bishop and recalled as the “Lion of the West.”

SEE ALSO Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829;
Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891

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Thomas McGrath

MacMurrough, Dermot, and the Anglo-Norman Invasion

The origins of the Anglo-Norman invasion lie in the conquest of England in 1066. William the Conqueror and his sons, who ruled England until 1135, held no fear of frontiers, manmade or natural, and within years of the Conquest were thrusting into Wales where, at least figuratively, the shores of Ireland beckoned. The closeness of Irish-Welsh contacts led to occasional friction, and it was probably only the English civil war after 1135 that prevented the Normans from taking earlier action regarding Ireland. Things changed with the accession to the English throne in 1154 of Henry II, who

within a year held a royal council at Winchester to discuss the conquest of Ireland. The plan had the backing of the archbishop of Canterbury, still reeling from the decision of the papacy in 1152 to acknowledge the independence of the Irish church, ending Canterbury's dubious claim to primacy. The archbishop's secretary, John of Salisbury, was sent off to Rome, where an English abbot had been installed as Pope Adrian IV, and he obtained a letter, *Laudabiliter*, authorising Henry to invade Ireland to reform its church. This gave Henry his pretext and Canterbury its opportunity.

Unfortunately for Canterbury, Henry's influential mother advised against it, and in the following years King Henry was fully occupied in trying to keep intact an empire that stretched from Hadrian's Wall to the Pyrenees. Ireland would have to wait, and a full decade passed before there is evidence of contact. In 1165 the king was campaigning in Wales and, having spent his youth in Bristol, would have known the reputation of Ireland's Viking towns as suppliers of warships and warriors. Therefore, ships and troops were recruited from Dublin and probably Waterford and Wexford, but not in sufficient numbers to help force the Welsh into submission, so that Henry had to abandon his campaign. The overlord of these towns was the king of Leinster, Diarmait Mac Murchada (Dermot MacMurrough). As his vassals, it is unlikely that they were free to campaign without his assent, and he presumably lent his support to Henry's Welsh expedition. Perhaps he knew Henry, since Bristol was a port with trading links with Ireland's east-coast towns. In any case, it seems that after 1165 Henry owed Diarmait a favor, a return on which was soon sought.

Diarmait Mac Murchada was an ambitious ruler who had enjoyed since 1132 a successful reign in Leinster, lording it over the province's lesser rulers, although his power rarely extended further afield. He would have liked to breach Leinster's northern border, formed by the Liffey, and to conquer lands in Meath belonging to the declining southern Uí Néill dynasty, which had ruled for centuries as kings of Tara but were now gravely weakened. His problem was that the O'Connors were seeking to do the same from across the Shannon, while Tigernán Ó Ruairc, the relatively minor king of Bréifne, had similar aspirations. Conflict between them was inevitable, ongoing, and made more bitter by Mac Murchada's abduction of Ó Ruairc's wife Derbforgaill (Dervorgilla) in 1152, a slight to his honor that demanded retribution. There was little prospect of revenge while the high kingship was occupied by Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn of the northern Uí Néill dynasty, with whom Diarmait was allied; but his overthrow and death in 1166 left the high kingship in the hands of

Ruaidrí Ó Conchobair of Connacht, no friend of Mac Murchada's. It would not be long before Mac Murchada felt the brunt of his enemies' assault, especially since his own vassal kings within Leinster now rose against him.

Diarmait was fifty-nine years of age, and a lesser man might have had thoughts of retirement. Instead, when Ó Conchobair, Ó Ruairc, and the rebel Leinster kings rounded on him, Mac Murchada gathered his immediate family and on 1 August 1166 set sail for Bristol. The city fathers made him welcome and, undeterred by news that Henry II was off in Aquitaine, Mac Murchada headed for his court. Once there, he did fealty to the king, becoming his feudal vassal, holding Leinster as a fief. The potential of that act for Irish history was enormous, but first Diarmait had to recover his kingdom. He got little practical assistance from Henry—merely letters of introduction to vassals elsewhere, authorizing them to go to Mac Murchada's assistance. The latter would have known the Normans who had been in south Wales since the 1090s, and the Flemings whom Henry I had settled in Pembrokeshire a decade later, and of their thirst for adventure and skill at arms, and so headed directly for the area. Together with a small force of Flemings, led by Richard fitz Godebert (ancestor of the Roche family in Ireland), he returned to Ireland a year after his exile and recovered a foothold in his ancestral lands in Uí Chennselaig in southeast Leinster. That winter his old enemies came after him. Ó Ruairc received substantial financial compensation for the earlier insult to his honor, and Diarmait was allowed to retain possession of Uí Chennselaig, his enemies doubtless believing him suitably humbled.

It was a grave error as, in May of 1169, two fleets put ashore at Bannow Bay, Co. Wexford, the first led by the Norman-Welsh Robert fitz Stephen, as well as Maurice FitzGerald (ancestor of the Geraldines) and Robert de Barri (founder of the Barry family), the second by the Fleming Maurice de Prendergast, altogether consisting of about one hundred cavalry and at least three hundred infantry and archers. Together they conquered Wexford town and the surrounding area, which Mac Murchada bestowed on his new vassals, before proceeding to the task of recovering all Leinster. The high king, Ruaidrí Ó Conchobair, acquiesced in this, following Mac Murchada's promise to send the foreigners packing as soon as his position was secure. But the latter had no such intention, as was made plain in May 1170 when fresh Norman troops under Raymond le Gros (ancestor of the Carews) landed at Baginbun, Co. Wexford, and in August when there landed the most prominent figure yet, Richard "Strongbow" de Clare, lord of Pembroke and Chepstow. In return for his promised aid in securing all of Ireland for Mac Murchada, Strongbow was

given Diarmait's daughter Aífe in marriage and the right of succession to the kingdom of Leinster. Shortly afterwards, in September 1170, the combined Norman and Leinster army marched on Dublin, by then effectively the capital of Ireland, which in spite of Ó Concho-bair's best efforts they managed to storm and conquer. Their successes were so rapid and so far-reaching that few contemporaries can now have been in any doubt but that the Normans were in Ireland to stay.

SEE ALSO Norman Conquest and Colonization; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence

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Seán Duffy

McQuaid, John Charles

Archbishop of Dublin John Charles McQuaid (1895–1973) was born in Cootehill, Co. Cavan, on 28 July 1895. Ordained a Roman Catholic priest on 29 June 1924, he served as a member of the staff at Blackrock College, a Catholic boys' school on the south side of Dublin, between 1925 and 1939. He became president of the college in 1931, a post he retained until 1939, and was ordained archbishop of Dublin on 27 December 1940.

McQuaid was opposed to interdenominational cooperation, fearing proselytism by Protestants and the moral weakness of his own flock. In 1942 he successfully objected to the proposed Anti-Tuberculosis League because of its nondenominational makeup and declared the enrollment of Catholics at Protestant Trinity College to be a mortal sin. McQuaid's anxiety to protect Catholic interests also led to proactive initiatives like the Cath-

olic Social Service Conference, a federation of previously disparate charities to aid the Catholic poor of Dublin. Within the Irish context his Catholic Social Welfare Bureau was a pioneering venture that offered protection to Irish emigrants and trained Catholic social workers.

McQuaid believed in cooperating with the Irish government to secure the predominance of Catholic principles in social policy and legislation. He played an important role in drawing up the Irish Constitution of 1937 and in shaping other pieces of legislation concerning censorship, contraception, liquor licensing, adoption, education, and health. He is best remembered for his role in the "Mother and Child Controversy" of 1951 when he objected to a new and free health scheme for mothers. His objection led to the resignation of the minister for health, Noël Browne. The controversy, heralded as the most significant church-state clash in the history of the state, revealed the latent power of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland and exposed the raw nerves of social change. McQuaid was seen to have defeated Browne's scheme; however, he received public criticism for his interference and failed to wield as much influence when Eamon de Valera's government introduced a modified version of the same scheme in 1953. Although reassured by the papal encyclical *Humanae vitae* (On human life) issued in July 1968, which reiterated the church's stance on the immorality of contraception, McQuaid was unable to accept the new ecumenical era introduced by the Second Vatican Council beginning in 1962. He retired on 29 December 1971 and died on 7 April 1973.

SEE ALSO Ecumenism and Interchurch Relations; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Mother and Child Crisis; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Secularization; **Primary Documents:** Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951)

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Lindsey Earner-Byrne

Magnates, Gaelic and Anglo-Irish

The Anglo-Norman invasion, by reducing the arena of warfare that was left in the hands of native Irish lords to less than half of the island, meant that the days had ended when great royal circuits of Ireland were made by provincial kings to assert their claim to the elusive high-kingship. Instead, those who retained their territories intact, primarily in the north and west of the island, raided their neighbors in petty pursuit of cattle-prey, while those who lost lands in the colonial settlement compensated by expanding into their neighbors' territory. As the colony expanded, two strategies were variously employed: one, never very effective for long, was to unite with their fellow Irish against a common threat; the other was the temptation to align with the all-conquering invader against a neighbor who had, after all, been an enemy for generations.

As for the Anglo-Normans, antagonisms fueled by land-hunger had been in evidence from the beginning, and for them too an alliance with the Irish "enemy" (frequently sealed by marriage, fosterage, or the bond of *gossipred* [sponsorship at baptism]) could prove useful if it undermined the ambitions of a rival Anglo-Norman. Thus, although there was undoubtedly an ongoing war in medieval Ireland between native lords and newcomers, the paramount powers on both sides had much in common, and as time wore on, the differences became fewer. On the Irish side, by and large, the dynasties most prominent at the time of the invasion remained so after its initial shockwave, an exception being the MacDunleavys of Ulaidh (east Ulster), while the Mac Lochlainns of Cineál Eoghain were supplanted by their O'Neill cousins in the early thirteenth century. Some thrived, but at the expense of other Irish dynasties: when the Mac Carthys lost Cork, they compensated in Kerry; when the O'Briens lost Limerick, they fell back on their Clare birthright.

It would have been harder to predict at the start of the invasion which of the invaders would stand the test of time. This was because of the feudal law of inheritance, which stipulated that an estate without a direct male heir passed to another family or families through heiresses, as in the case of Strongbow's lordship of Leinster and de Lacy's lordship of Meath. Predictability came only with the creation in the early fourteenth century of three new earldoms entailed in the male line, so that the estates were never subdivided among heiresses but were inherited by the nearest male family member. Henceforth, therefore, the paramount Anglo-Irish magnates were the Geraldine earls of Kildare and Desmond,



Tomb effigy of Thomas de Cantwell (d. 1320), Kilfane Church, Co. Kilkenny (early fourteenth century), an example of Gothic sculpture.
© MICHAEL CARTER; CORDAII PHOTO LIBRARY LTD./CORBIS.
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and the Butler earls of Ormond. Unfortunately for the vast de Burgh (Burke) estate of Connacht and Ulster, it was not so entailed, and the earl's murder in 1333 saw the inheritance go to an absentee heiress, a situation having two main consequences: cadet branches of the family in Connacht filled the vacuum and flourished while the absence of a resident Anglo-Norman magnate in Ulster was an enormous stroke of luck for the O'Neill family.

These were the dominant players on the Irish political scene in the fifteenth century, troubled only by the turbulence of the contemporary English scene: the Butlers had Lancastrian affiliations and strong English landed interests, the Geraldines were Yorkist sympathizers, largely free of English interests and much more immersed in native Irish politics. Control by the various families over government waxed and waned with developments in England, the Kildares emerging preeminent, despite supporting Yorkist pretenders in the early Tudor years. Their downfall came only with their failed rebel-

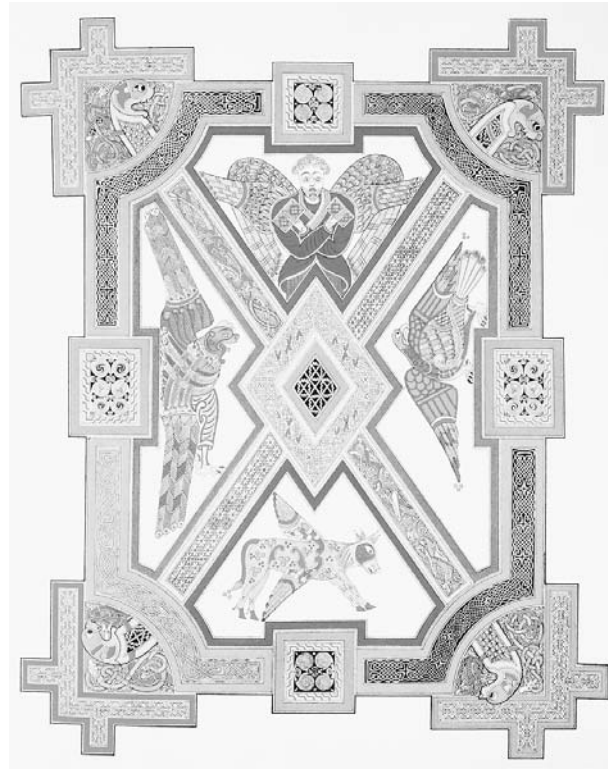
lion in 1534, a key factor in the collapse of the superstructure of power in medieval Ireland.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland; Gaelic Recovery; Gaelic Society in the Late Middle Ages; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence

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Seán Duffy



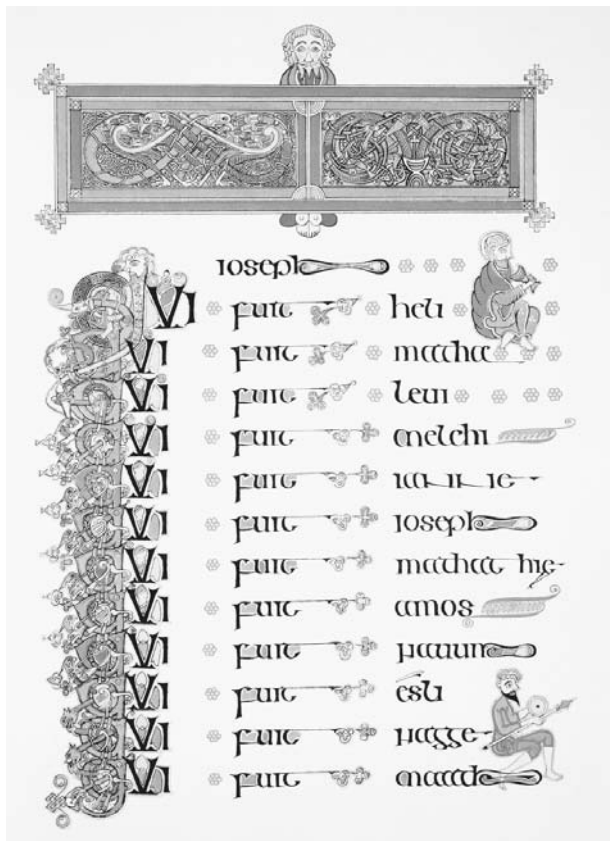
Symbols of the Four Evangelists from the Book of Kells (c. 800 C.E.). Clockwise from top: Man (St. Matthew), Eagle (St. John), Ox (St. Luke), and Lion (St. Mark). © STAPLETON COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Manuscript Writing and Illumination

The promotion of Latin literacy was a high priority for the young Irish church, and later tradition frequently describes Saint Patrick leaving the necessary books in churches that he had founded. Saint Columba (Colmille; died at Iona in 597 C.E.) was said to have been involved in a dispute in his youth about copying a new version of the psalter, and to have been copying a manuscript on his last day on earth. In later times some books were regarded as precious relics and enshrined in metal reliquaries—a practice that may have originated in an Irish reflex of the Roman tradition of keeping the book for papal masses in a sealed casket.

Scholars have disputed the locations where important Irish manuscripts of the early medieval period were written. In some cases it is impossible to establish the provenance of a manuscript, so the term *insular* is often used in preference to more precise geographical ascriptions. The earliest extended text to survive from Ireland is the bundle of wax tablets from Springmount Bog, Co.

Antrim, on which a student practiced the psalms in a script that owes much to late Roman cursive writing but is already distinctively Irish. The first almost complete manuscript that has come down to us is the *Cathach* of Saint Columba, a psalter, or book of the psalms, written on vellum in an Irish half-uncial script around the year 600 C.E. It was preserved until modern times by the O'Donnells (the saint's kin). The *Cathach* already shows the principal stylistic traits of later Irish manuscripts. Psalms begin with an enlarged capital, often embellished, followed by letters of smaller size that diminish in height until they merge with the body of the text—the effect is called *diminuendo*. The ornament is very simple: Letters are enriched by spiral scrolls and simple trumpet devices in the La Tène tradition, and Christian symbols (a dolphin or fish and the cross) appear. (The La Tène style is an abstract art form based on stylized vegetal motifs, spirals, and curvilinear scrolls associated with the Iron Age Celtic peoples of mainland Europe, Ireland, and Britain.) A fragmentary gospel book of about the same date in Trinity College Library, *Codex Usserianus Primus*, has a single leaf devoted entirely to a painted cross of eastern style with an abbreviated Chi-Rho (monogram of Christ) and alpha and omega.



Genealogy of Christ from the *Book of Kells*, a Hiberno-Saxon manuscript illumination. © STAPLETON COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Nothing further is known of Irish manuscript production until the later seventh century, by which time Irish missions in north Britain and on the continent had created an entirely new climate. Influences from Anglo-Saxon England, Gaul, and probably Italy gave rise to a new eclectic ornamental style in monastic scriptoria.

The first manifestation of the mature insular style is the *Book of Durrow*, a luxury codex of the New Testament with prefatory matter and canon tables, which was preserved at Durrow, Co. Offaly, until it was given to Trinity College in the seventeenth century. With its remarkable carpet pages devoted entirely to ornament and to the cross and its highly original depiction of the symbols of the evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the authors of the Gospels), it is a splendid hybrid. The spiral and trumpet scrolls of the La Tène tradition dominate its decoration—one carpet page is a remarkable evocation of the spirit of the bronzesmith and enameller. The initial letters and diminuendo of the *Cathach* have been recreated here with great virtuosity and magnificence. Interlace, varied in rhythm and color, makes its appearance for the first time in insular art. A page devoted to animal art of Germanic inspiration has

led some to attribute the manuscript to Northumbria or Iona. The careful observer will see even on pages that are ostensibly wholly “Celtic” stylized animal heads, but expressed in the idiom of spirals and trumpets. Gospels are prefaced by whole-page representations of the evangelists’ symbols, and the genealogy of Christ in Matthew’s gospel is introduced by a finely decorated Chi-Rho.

The Anglo-Saxon-style beasts have been compared to metalwork from the Sutton Hoo ship burial, suggesting an early seventh-century date for Durrow, but a late seventh-century date is more plausible. The art-historical arguments can tell us nothing about provenance, for the style could well have been present in the Irish midlands in the seventh century. The *Book of Durrow* is associated with Columba, and it is clearly related to the tradition of the later *Book of Kells*. The style could conceivably have been practiced in Durrow, itself a Columban monastery. Probably, though, it was produced in Iona and belonged to a tradition that was intimately connected, as the evangelists’ symbols show, with the emergence of very similar beast symbols on Pictish carved stones, and in contact with both the Irish and Anglo-Saxon worlds.

Two manuscripts now in Durham and probably originally in the monastery of Lindisfarne (founded by Aidan of Iona in the 630s) belong to the mixed traditions of Northumbrian Christianity, which owed much to Irish ecclesiastics. One of these shows the development of a more fluid animal style that would be greatly elaborated in the eighth century; the other has the imprint of a now lost crucifixion scene in which Christ’s body is enveloped in a tightly wound garment. This is the earliest evidence that painted scenes were part of the insular repertoire.

The Lindisfarne Gospels, associated with the cult of Saint Cuthbert, are remarkable. The book may have been created for the translation of Cuthbert’s relics in 698 c.e. to Lindisfarne. It is the greatest and most elaborate of the earliest insular gospel books. Art-historically, a date of about 700 c.e. for the manuscript is plausible. Its animal ornament with tightly wound, fabulous, but entirely believable interlaced beasts, its elegantly caricatured birds, a remarkable cross-carpet page, stunning zoomorphized spiral scrollwork, and beautiful script make the book a tour de force. Symbolism of beasts and birds is prominent, but its evangelist portraits, bearing the unmistakable impress of the Mediterranean culture of the monasteries of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, place this manuscript at the heart of the Northumbrian Renaissance. Nevertheless, the style of ornament is uncannily close to that of the Tara Brooch and Donore Hoard—both from eastern Ire-

land—and of the Hunterston Brooch from Ayrshire in Scotland (almost certainly of Irish manufacture). These seem to locate the origin of its decoration partly in the art of the metalworkers patronized by Irish potentates. The legacy of Lindisfarne is apparent in the greatly inferior Lichfield Gospels and in the persistence of elements of the La Tène style in later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscript styles diverged during the eighth century. The sample of Irish survivors is very small, and only a few “pocket” gospel books are known. These have a smaller, often cursive script, simplified decoration of capitals, and charming if rather naïve evangelist portraits and symbols. Good examples are the *Book of Mulling* and the *Book of Dimma* in Trinity College and part of the Stowe Missal in the Royal Irish Academy—the latter almost certainly dates from after 800 C.E.

Opinion is sharply divided on the date and origin of the famous *Book of Kells*. The current consensus is that it was created on the island of Iona toward the end of the eighth century. The book was probably brought to Kells, Co. Meath, a refuge of Columban monks from the Viking onslaught, in the tenth century C.E. It was at Kells in 1007 C.E. when it was stolen from the church and later found with the ornaments torn off the cover. The *Annals of Ulster*, recording both the theft and the recovery in that year, call it “the chief relic of the western world.” It was given to Trinity College in the seventeenth century. Though 340 folios survive, the book is incomplete. Kells has highly decorated canon tables, carpet pages, evangelist portraits and symbols, and figured scenes (the Temptation, the Virgin and Child, the Arrest of Christ)—all the work of a number of artists who employed with élan interlace, animal interlace, and beast ornament, especially of felines (lions?), birds, and serpents. There are vignettes in minor initials and interlinear paintings—an eagle seizing a fish, a warrior, chickens, and butterflies—some of which reflect on the adjacent text. Christological symbolism is everywhere. A particularly important page is devoted to the Chi-Rho that introduces the genealogy of Christ. This is a remarkable composition based on La Tène spirals and trumpets, combined with tiny illustrations of cats, mice, and butterflies, and other extraordinary displays of fine, almost microscopic decoration. A fragmentary manuscript in Turin may have approached Kells in ambition, and another in the Library of Sankt Gallen shared the Kells scriptorium’s interest in figured scenes, but neither approaches Kells in virtuosity and ornamental skill.

In the ninth century a gospel book decorated with animal ornament, evangelist portraits, and fine geometric ornament was written by MacRegol, abbot of Birr (d.

822). It is preserved in the Bodleian Library. A much more elegant product is the *Book of Armagh*, created by the scribe Ferdomnach for the Abbot Torbach early in the ninth century. It contains the four gospels, documents relating to Saint Patrick, and a life of Saint Martin of Tours. Its elegant script and evangelist symbols are in black ink.

The high style of manuscript production was dealt a fatal blow by the Viking wars of the ninth and tenth centuries, and later books do not approach in quality and ambition the work of the early period.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture; Hiberno-Latin Culture

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Michael Ryan



Marianism

The antiquity of devotion to the Virgin Mary among the educated and the literate in Ireland in the Christian era before 1800 is not in doubt, but the emergence of an intense Marian piety taking organized forms among the mass of the Catholic population was mostly a development of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Evidence of Marian devotion prior to 1800 survives in Bardic poetry, in traditional prayers, and in the use of the rosary among some Irish Catholics. But before the Great Famine the orientation of so much of popular religion toward sacred spaces in the natural environment (holy wells, sacred trees and stones, the reputed graves of saintly men and women, revered monastic ruins, and other ancient pilgrimage sites) meant that Catholic piety was not yet focused on the Virgin Mary.

The rapid spread of the Marian cult after 1850 can be traced to a combination of external and internal factors. During the long reign of Pope Pius IX (1846–1878) the papacy itself and the Vatican bureaucracy were squarely behind the propagation of devotion to the Blessed Mother throughout the Western world. In numerous instances this campaign impinged directly on Ireland. Rome was a vigorous proponent of parish missions as a means of religious revival and evangelization, and parish missions were perhaps the single most important agency in the extension of the Devotional Revolution in Ireland after 1850. The male religious orders that conducted parish missions usually placed a heavy emphasis on the cult of Mary by erecting statues and altars to her in the churches they visited, by establishing Marian sodalities and confraternities, and by encouraging the praying of the rosary through their preaching and example.

The swiftly multiplying female religious orders were also of great importance in the spread of the Marian cult. In their schools the nuns promoted devotion to the Blessed Mother especially by setting up sodalities, the most widespread of which were those connected with the Children of Mary. In the general extension of this sodality the apparitions at Lourdes in 1858 exercised a major impetus. The Lourdes phenomenon, which deeply influenced Catholic popular piety all over Western Europe, had an extraordinary impact in Ireland. It greatly multiplied the number of Children of Mary sodalities in Irish convent schools over the course of the following decade. More broadly, it led to a remarkable intensification of the Marian cult throughout most of Catholic Ireland. One dramatic sign of this development was the famous series of apparitions of the Virgin Mary (and other visions) beginning in August 1879 at Knock in County Mayo. That small western village became for a few years the site of great religious fervor (including claims of hundreds of cures) and the focus of large pilgrimages from other parts of Ireland.

Although Knock had steeply declined as a pilgrimage center by the late 1880s, the broader Marian wave gathered even more force and crested in the years 1930 to 1960. In those decades signs of the cult of Mary were everywhere in Ireland. There was a proliferation of books, pamphlets, periodicals, films, and plays linked to the cult. A pilgrimage to Lourdes became an annual exercise for many thousands of Irish Catholics, and many more thousands who remained at home supported the pilgrims with money, prayers, and benevolent actions. So strong was the Marian zeal gripping Irish Catholicism that Knock shrine itself experienced an extraordinary revival. According to shrine authorities, pilgrim

traffic to Knock roughly tripled in the late 1930s, rising from about 80,000 in 1937 to nearly 250,000 in 1940. By the time of the “Marian Year” in 1954 the shrine authorities were boasting of a million pilgrims at Knock, though this figure appears to be a serious exaggeration.

Three explanations have been offered for the steep upward curve in Irish Marian enthusiasm over the period 1930 to 1960. First, the fierce anticlerical violence and desecration associated with the Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939 produced an intensified Marianism by way of reaction. A second factor was anticommunism, which flourished especially during the Cold War and took Our Lady of Fatima as its central icon. The cult of Fatima, with its central anticommunist message, eclipsed the cult of Lourdes in Ireland after 1945, and Irish Catholics embraced the praying of the rosary with unprecedented fervor. And third, there was a strong social and cultural dimension to Marianism in this period, when swiftly changing sexual mores outside of Ireland seemed to threaten the severe sexual restraint associated with the Irish demographic characteristics of late marriages and high rates of bachelorhood and spinsterhood. As the epitome of sexual purity, the Virgin Mary was perceived as the most essential bulwark of the traditional moral order.

Then, rather suddenly in the 1960s and 1970s, the Marian wave swiftly receded, and Irish Catholicism as a whole entered a troubled new era which has not yet ended. Already by the late 1960s traditionalists were bemoaning the near-collapse of the praying of the family rosary, for which they mostly blamed the impact of television on patterns of family life. Also clearly on the wane before 1970 were other Marian devotions such as May processions, the erection of household altars in the month of May, and the wearing of Miraculous Medals and Brown Scapulars. The flagship institutions of Irish Marianism—the Legion of Mary and Our Lady’s Sodality—went into steep decline as well. The notorious episode of the “moving statues” in the summer of 1985, when thousands flocked to Marian shrines, was one of the last gasps of the old order. Among the leading reasons for this marginalization of Marianism in Ireland (and elsewhere) were the dramatic weakening (and eventual reversal) of the Cold War, the revolution in sexual attitudes, and the impact of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) in certain critical areas, especially liturgical reform (emphasizing Christ much more than Mary) and the sidelining of devotional practices linked to popular belief in miracles. These factors operated in a fundamentally new context hostile to Marian enthusiasm: From the 1960s Irish society was increasingly characterized by

materialist values and cultural openness to the outside world.

SEE ALSO Devotional Revolution; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Secularization; Sodalities and Confraternities

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James S. Donnelly, Jr.



Marian Restoration

The death of Edward VI and the succession of Mary in July 1553 marked a significant shift in religious policy in both Ireland and England, as a committed Protestant monarch was replaced by a firmly Catholic one. Mary, with the help of her cousin, the papal legate Cardinal Pole, restored England to papal obedience and the English church to Roman Catholic practice and belief. In England this was accompanied by the execution of several hundred Protestant heretics; in Ireland, however, where the Reformation's roots were far shallower, the return to Catholicism was less traumatic. Thus, rather than going to the stake for his beliefs, the Protestant archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, abandoned his wife, conformed to the new regime, and was allowed to remain as a prebendary of the re-Catholicized Saint Patrick's Cathedral. The only hint of violence was in Kil-

kenny, where the aggressively Protestant Bishop Bale was forced to flee the city by an angry Catholic populace.

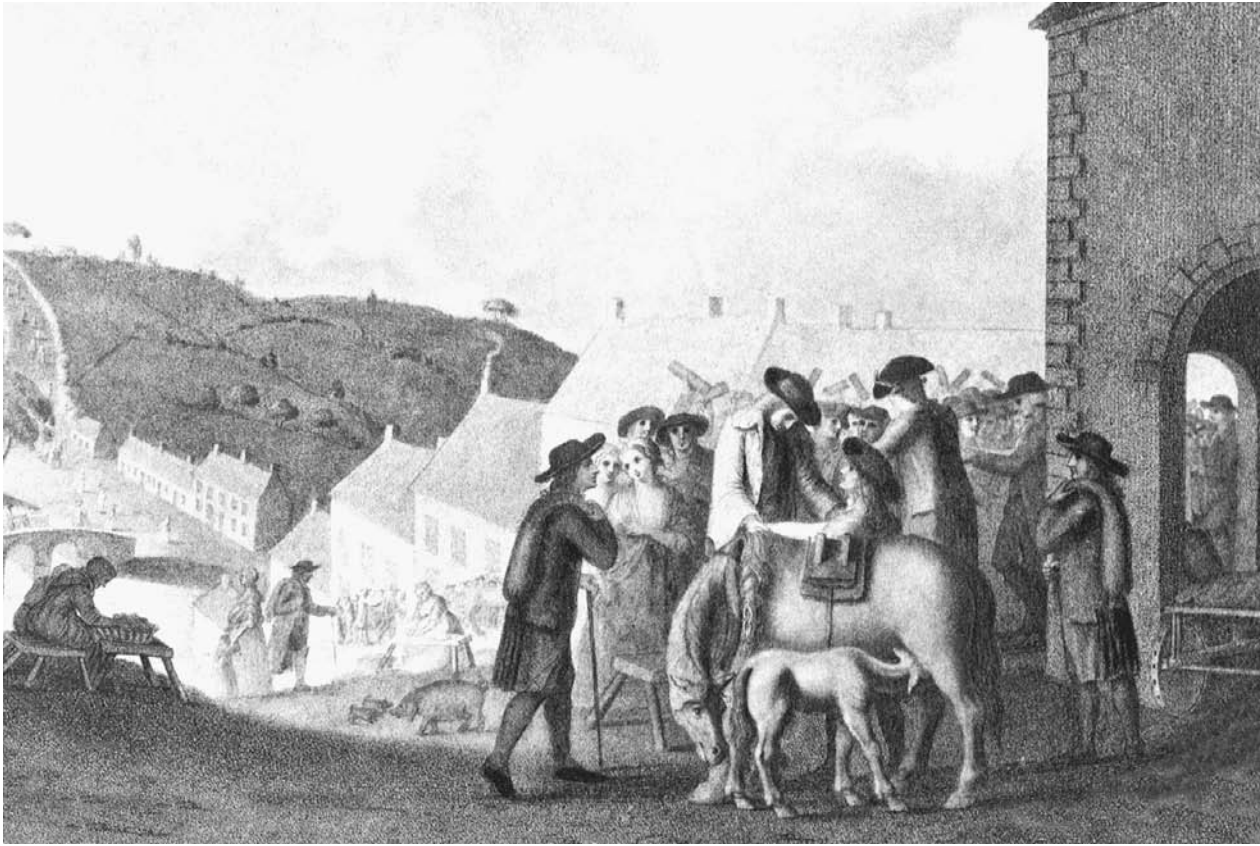
The leading figure in the restoration of Catholicism in Ireland was George Dowdall, who returned from exile and was reinstated at his former see of Armagh in March 1553. As a good lawyer, Dowdall saw the revival of canon law as the essential vehicle for restoring Catholicism and reasserting the preeminence and standing of the church. He began by calling a provincial council of his clergy and issued seventeen canons. He may also have been influential in securing a papal bull that erected Ireland into a kingdom, thus restoring the link between Ireland, the English Crown, and the papacy that had been established by the 1155 papal bull *Laudabiliter*. Dowdall was certainly instrumental in securing the restoration of Saint Patrick's as a cathedral in 1554 to 1555 (despite the opposition of Lord Deputy Saint Leger). In 1554 a royal commission was appointed, which weeded out married bishops such as Browne, Staples in Meath, and Lancaster in Kildare and replaced them by conforming Catholics. Thus Browne was replaced in June 1555 by an English canon lawyer, Hugh Curwin, who set about restoring the Mass and the Roman Catholic liturgy to the Dublin cathedrals. The restoration of Catholicism was completed in 1557 when the Irish parliament repealed the Henrician Reformation legislation, and when a further royal commission was issued to identify and return the church plate and valuables that had been lost and distrained during the Reformation. After the death of Mary in 1558 it became apparent, from the grave difficulties which her half-sister Elizabeth I encountered in her attempts to reimpose Protestantism, just how effective the Marian re-Catholicization of Ireland had been.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Edwardian Reform; Protestant Reformation in the Early Sixteenth Century; Religion: 1500 to 1690

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Alan Ford



Handloom weavers offering their bolts of cloth for sale to bleachers at the brown-linen market of Banbridge, Co. Down. Engraving by William Hincks, c. 1783. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF DAVID W. MILLER.

Markets and Fairs in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

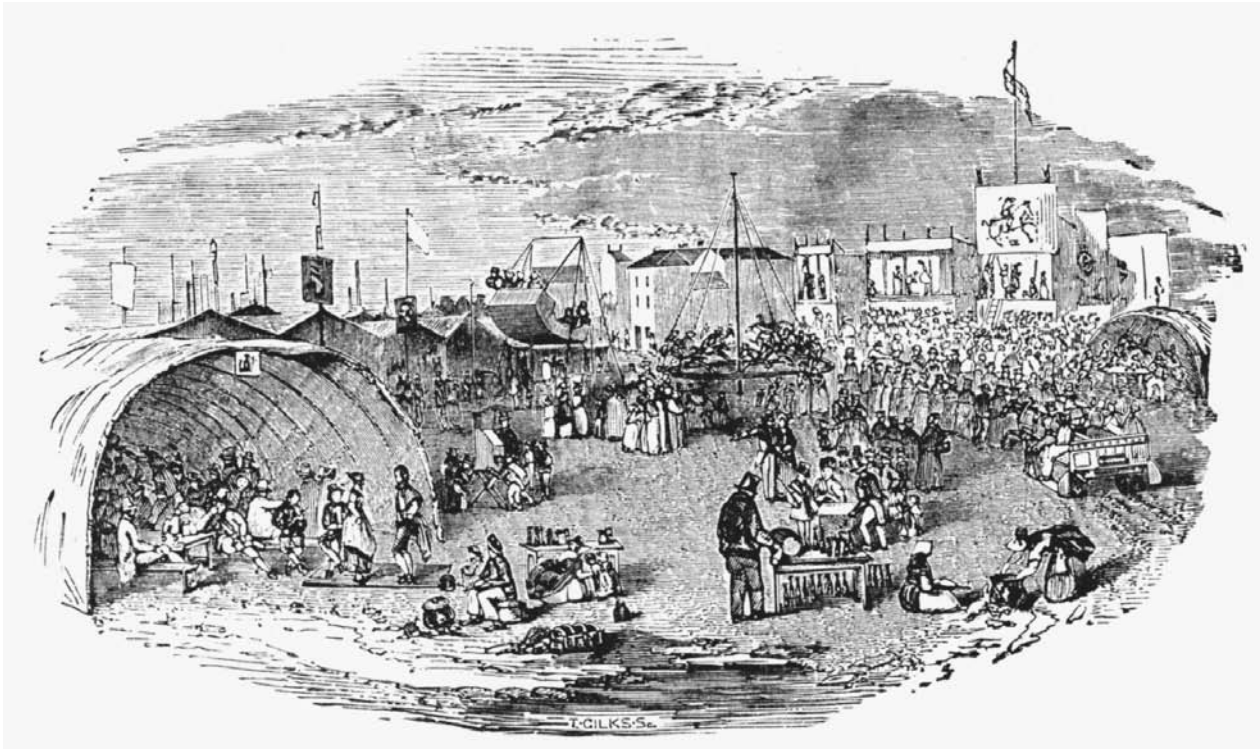
Markets and fairs have ancient origins in Ireland, reaching back to the *aonach* (fair) in the native Irish tradition and to *margadh* (market), a loan word from the Viking world. Over the course of history, markets and fairs underwent mutations, yet their days remain fixed in the Irish psyche. *Lá aonaigh* (fair day) and *lá margaidh* (market day) engage the range of the senses and carry a raft of cultural meaning.

For the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the most complete inventory of markets and fairs is to be found in a parliamentary report of 1853. This report records the name of each market and fair by location and county. It specifies the date of the patent or license, the name of the licensee, and the days on which the market or fair was held. The majority of the patents were allocated to individuals, usually landowners. Their provi-

sion ushered in modernizing influences. This much is clear from an analysis of some of the original licenses and from an examination of the associated tolls. Taken together, these demonstrate that the intended function of markets and fairs was to facilitate the sale of local agricultural produce for cash and thereby promote the commercialization of agriculture.

Once or twice a week the market served as an exchange center for a surrounding rural area. Most of the produce on offer, including butter, oats, wheat, flax, cattle, and horses, derived from local farms, whereas the market also afforded to landowners and their tenants opportunities for purchasing goods ranging from salt to domestic utensils and agricultural implements. The market as a mechanism of trade fitted routinely into the life of small towns and villages, of which there were 349 dispersed throughout the island in 1853.

The location of fairs was far less discriminating. According to the report of 1853, fairs were held at 1,297 different places in Ireland. However, towns and villages were the site of greatest frequency, with many of their fairs graduating to monthly occurrences by the mid-nineteenth century. This is well seen in County Limer-



Fair at Donnybrook (now a Dublin suburb) around 1840. Despite the quiet appearance in this illustration, the reputation of this fair for riotous disorder is reflected in the usage of "donnybrook" for an acrimonious quarrel. FROM MR. AND MRS. SAMUEL CARTER HALL, *IRELAND: ITS SCENERY, CHARACTER, ETC.* (1841–1843).

ick. By the second half of the eighteenth century this mid-Munster county had formed part of the most extensive of the fair hearths of Ireland, and the aggregate of its fairs in urban locations increased from 102 in 1787 to 175 in 1850.

Fair day spawned a whole range of transactional activity, including the buying and selling of cattle, sheep, pigs, pedlery (items and commodities offered for sale by peddlers or itinerant traders), sometimes horses, agricultural implements, and linen and woolen cloth; and it brought a much-needed injection of capital into the life of small urban settlements. About 1900, the Limerick town of Newcastle West, for instance, acted as a veritable catchall on a fair day. Here knotted gatherings assembled and broke, money changed hands, bills got paid, and publicans and shopkeepers waxed rich for the day. Even in the case of small villages the significance of fair day should not be underestimated. At Kiltely, County Limerick, for example, fairs in the 1840s drew large numbers of victuallers from County Cork and from the various towns of County Limerick, and sufficient transactional activity was generated for proceedings to last two days at a time.

Markets and fairs tended to sometimes occupy dual locations. On the one hand, the market came to be cen-

trally located in the market square or main street; on the other, the fair was consigned to a marginal venue. Such duality is well seen in estate villages like Dunlavin in County Wicklow or Milltown Malbay in County Clare, where the centrally located market house contrasts with the peripheral fair green. The first may be taken to represent the world of the landlord; the second, that of his tenants, and the symbolic interplay between the two was often expressed in terms of conflict.

Conflict and violence were common features of fair days; market days were in general more muted. At the heart of much of the violence of a fair day were: a lashing out at the makers of painful historical change by the various agrarian collectivities from the 1760s onward; an inveterate love of feuding and a commitment to clan and territory as epitomized by faction fighting; and a hardening of ethnic or religious cleavage, as exemplified by sectarian conflict. Faction fighters in particular targeted towns and villages whenever great assemblies were in session. Of these, fairs constituted the great majority, and most of the recorded encounters pertain to fair days. In the period 1806 through 1811, for example, frequent fights occurred at fairs in south Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Waterford. The contending factions were known as the Caravats (Carabhait) and Shanavests

(Sean-Bheisteanna). Hundreds of men usually took part, sometimes thousands. Once, at the fair of Kilgobnet in County Waterford, an Armageddon between the two sides failed to materialize, owing to prior disclosure to the military. But many encounters did occur at a time when the traditional faction stick was replaced by the ash plant weighted with lead. These weapons were supplemented by homemade swords and spears, and by whatever firearms could be mustered. Not surprisingly, many fights ended in fatalities. No fewer than twenty people were killed at the May fair of Golden, County Tipperary, in 1807. Altogether, hundreds must have died.

As well as notoriety, fairs also attracted celebrity. The Ould Lammas Fair at Ballycastle in County Antrim and Spancel Hill Fair in east Clare are celebrated in song. The Puck Fair of Killorglin, County Kerry, takes its name from the eponymous male goat that was “sometimes ornamented and paraded about the fair.” It was the midsummer horse fair which first drew the Travelers (or Tinkers, then known as horse dealers) to Rathkeale around 1840, and a fair on the Cork–Kerry borderland brought “long-tailed” (an expression often used to denote a strong sense of identity and extensive itinerant connections) clans to converge “on a green fit / for a fabled stud of horses: / the hearth of Knocknagree.” Ultimately, after 1900 nearly all the fairs and many of the markets failed to withstand the ruthless thrust of modernity.

SEE ALSO Migration: Seasonal Migration; Rural Industry; Towns and Villages

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Patrick J. O’Connor

Markievicz, Countess Constance

Constance Markievicz (1868–1927), the first Irish woman cabinet minister and the first woman to be elected to the House of Commons, was born Constance Gore-Booth to a landed Sligo family. She became a countess on her marriage to Casimir Markievicz, from whom she separated amicably in the 1890s; they had one daughter, Maeve. Her first political involvement was with Maud Gonne’s Inghinidhe na hEireann; in 1909 she founded the Fianna, a nationalist equivalent to the Boy Scouts. Her association with James Connolly and her involvement in the Dublin Lockout of 1913 led her to become a member of Connolly’s Irish Citizen Army, in which women and men were equal combatants. Although she was not first and foremost a feminist, she commented in 1913 that there were three great struggles in Ireland: the national question, labor, and suffrage. As an Irish Citizen Army commandant, Markievicz was second in command to Michael Mallin at the Royal College of Surgeons during the 1916 Rising. Her death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, from which she was released in the general amnesty of 1917. Rearrested in 1918 because of the “German plot” (an attempt by the British government to prove that nationalists were conspiring with the Germans), she was elected a member of Parliament while in Holloway gaol in December of that year. As a member of the absenteeist Sinn Féin, upon her release in 1919 she was appointed minister for labour in the first Dáil. She told Kathleen Clarke that she had to “bully” her male colleagues for this position, arguing that women deserved this recognition for their essential work during the Rising and after it. Markievicz was a very active minister for labour during the War for Independence of 1919 to 1921, when industrial and agricultural disputes were legion, and the Dáil was busily implementing an alternative administration. Like many other prominent nationalist women, she opposed the Anglo–Irish Treaty of 1921, and although she initially abstained from taking her Dáil seat, she eventually joined Eamon de Valera’s Fian-na Fáil when it was founded in 1926. A year later, having been reelected to the Dáil, she died in a public ward of Sir Patrick Dun’s hospital in Dublin. The people of Dublin thronged the streets for her state funeral in testament to their affection for her. Like Maud Gonne, Markievicz was romanticized by W. B. Yeats, who played an even more marginal role in Markievicz’s life than he had in Gonne’s.

SEE ALSO Anglo–Irish Treaty of 1921; Connolly, James; Cumann na mBan; Labor Movement; Larkin,

James; Lockout of 1913; O'Brien, William; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Women's Parliamentary Representation since 1922

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Caitriona Clear



Marshall Aid

On 5 June 1947, George C. Marshall, the U.S. secretary of state, painting a grim picture of the conditions prevailing in post–World War II Europe, offered financial aid, technical assistance, and economic advice to European countries. Nations that accepted the offer would have to produce a joint plan of their needs; in this way, Europe would cooperate and recover along democratic, capitalist lines. Ireland was one of the sixteen countries that accepted the invitation to participate in the European Recovery Programme (ERP), also known as the Marshall Plan.

Ireland's inclusion in the ERP was surprising because its wartime policy of neutrality still rankled in the U.S. State Department, the White House, and Congress. On the other hand, the United States could not afford to omit Ireland, because of its strategic importance to U.S. and British security and its role as an exporter of food to Britain. More importantly, excluding Ireland would have been contrary to the U.S. aim of uniting Europe. The United States did illustrate its disapprobation, though, by awarding Ireland only \$128.2 million in loans and \$18 million in grants between 1948 and 1952, representing the second-smallest grant awarded to any of the ERP countries.

The job of using the dollars began in September 1948 when officials from the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), the U.S. body that supervised the Marshall Plan, arrived in Ireland. The ECA's economic plans for Ireland initially focused on encouraging farmers and officials in the Irish Department of Agriculture to develop the sector along more modern, efficient lines. But beginning in 1949, when it became clear that dollar shortages would continue past 1952 when ERP funding

was to end, the ECA prioritized the development of the industrial sector—which could export to dollar markets—and the tourism industry. Along with spreading the messages of growth, productivity, and modernization, ECA officials oversaw the utilization of ERP-funded raw materials and goods, the establishment of the technical-assistance program, and distribution of grant funds for research, development, and educational projects that benefited the economy.

In the short term the ERP did not result in economic prosperity in Ireland. But it funded essential imports and capital projects, encouraged economic planning in the government administration, and exposed industry officials, workers, and business managers and owners to modernizing forces that could not be ignored in the long term.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; Industry since 1920

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Bernadette Whelan



Maynooth

There are two separate universities on the Maynooth campus in County Kildare, eighteen kilometers from Dublin: Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, the national seminary for the training of priests, is a Pontifical University; the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, was established by an act of the Irish parliament in 1997.

The Royal College of Saint Patrick at Maynooth was founded by an act of Parliament in 1795 during a brief period when the interests of a liberal Dublin Castle administration and the Irish Catholic bishops coincided. In the 1790s both the government and the Catholic bishops feared that seminarians traveling to the Continent to be educated would be infected by democratic principles. In the nineteenth century, state funding of Maynooth was regularly attacked in Parliament by Protes-

tant evangelicals as a “national sin.” When the prime minister, Sir Robert Peel, raised the Maynooth grant in 1845, it almost split his own party. The grant was removed when the Established Church was disestablished in 1869.

Maynooth has functioned as a national seminary since its foundation, and more than 11,000 priests have been ordained there, mainly for Irish dioceses, though also for overseas missions. Pontifical-university status was not granted to Maynooth until 1896. In 1910 the College became a recognized college of the new National University of Ireland. In 1966 its doors were opened to lay students, including women, for the first time.

Since then the number of seminarians has dramatically declined while the number of lay students has equally dramatically increased. In 1997 the secular faculties were legally separated from Saint Patrick’s College under a new university arrangement. The seminary suffered in the general decline in the standing of the Catholic Church in Ireland at the turn of the twenty-first century. In the popular mind Maynooth has long been considered the corporate headquarters of the Irish Catholic Church.

SEE ALSO Trinity College

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Thomas McGrath



Media since 1960

At the launch of Irish television on New Years Eve 1961, the Irish president, Eamon de Valera, knew that he was ushering in change. After suggesting that the new medium could impart knowledge, he came to what he really thought: Television, he said, “can lead through demoralisation to decadence and disillusion. Sometimes one hears that one must give the people what they want. And the competition unfortunately is in the wrong direction, so standards become lower and lower” (Hall, p. 69).

De Valera himself had been responsible for a previous seismic shift in the Irish media when he founded the

Irish Press in 1931. The *Irish Press* was the only newspaper established since independence that overtly supported one political party, Fianna Fáil. In 1949 the *Sunday Press* was launched, and a further paper was added to the press group when the *Evening Press* was founded in 1954. By 1961 the Irish Press Group, now consisting of three newspapers, still supported the political party founded by de Valera, Fianna Fáil; the Independent Group, which also included three titles, was conservative, middle-class, and Catholic, broadly supporting the Fine Gael Party. The *Irish Times* was bought mainly by the small Protestant population but also provided a space for dissenting voices in an otherwise conformist Ireland. Around the country in every small town there were family-owned weekly provincial newspapers that reported on the local courts, the cattle marts, and other local events, much as they had done since the nineteenth century. Irish radio consisted of one station, Radio Éireann, which later became part of RTÉ (Radio Telefís Éireann), the state radio and television company, funded by license fees and advertising.

The 1960s was a period of rapid change in Ireland as elsewhere. Television, through current-affairs coverage and chat shows, was a modernizing force. The “Late Late Show,” presented by Gay Byrne until the late 1990s, became a forum for discussion and debate about issues relating to the church, the family, and politics, of a kind which had never existed before. The *Irish Times*, which was in decline along with its Protestant readership, took advantage of the opportunities offered by social developments. Under its editor Douglas Gageby and news editor Donal Foley, it tapped into a middle class emerging in urban centers that worked in new industries and the public services. The newspaper became the voice for this new liberal constituency. Instead of being concerned with the traditional loyalties of newspaper buying in Ireland, where one bought the newspaper closest to one’s family’s political allegiance, the *Irish Times* introduced new writers, often women, and began to use specialist correspondents and more foreign news. Change at the *Independent* was slower but speeded up with the purchase of a major stake in the newspaper by an international businessman, Tony O’Reilly, in 1973. Under O’Reilly the press group Independent Newspapers became more middle-market in its audience, led by human-interest stories. It gradually shook off its Catholic conservatism, and the *Sunday Independent* especially became a platform for controversial and sometimes outrageous columnists and celebrity and fashion news. The Irish Press group, which had offered an alternative to the unionist *Irish Times* and the conservative *Irish Independent*, failed to respond to the change. By the 1980s the influence on the newspaper group of the de Valera family had ceased to be dynamic. For advertisers, the

Irish Press's readership profile compared badly with its competitors': It consisted mainly of older men living in rural Ireland with little disposable income. The company's financial problems were exacerbated by management problems, and the three Irish Press titles folded in 1995.

In addition to Irish newspapers, a number of British newspapers are sold widely in Ireland, where they are read avidly. This is not a new phenomenon, but has been growing since at least the foundation of the Free State in 1922. The enduring presence in Ireland of the British media is a colonial legacy that has never been completely explained: Nowhere else in the world does the population of one country read in such great numbers the newspapers of another. One-third of all Sunday newspaper sales in Ireland and a quarter of all daily sales are of newspapers, mainly tabloids, published in Britain. In the mid-1990s British newspapers, especially Rupert Murdoch's News International titles, began to produce so-called Irish editions, with Irish news on the front page and some sports on the back, wrapped around an essentially British product. Traditionally, Irish newspapers have seen their role as essentially serious; this has left a gap for entertainment-led media, which has been filled by British newspapers, especially the tabloids. Irish publishers have also moved to fill that market gap with newspapers that are similar in style to their British counterparts, such as Ireland's daily tabloid, *Star*, and the *Sunday World*.

While huge changes were taking place within the existing Irish media, the Broadcasting Act of 1988 was the most significant institutional change. The act allowed for the establishment of commercial radio and television, and soon there were several local radio stations. They quickly won audience approval. In time a new national radio service, Today FM, came on air and then in 1998, TV3, a national commercial television station, was launched.

Foreign ownership of the Irish media became an issue when the *Irish Press* closed in 1995. A number of overseas companies had indicated interest in buying the group's three titles, but various factors, including a purchase of 24 percent of the company by Independent Newspapers, made it a less attractive proposition. (In fact, an American newspaper owner, Ralph Ingersoll, had already invested in the *Irish Press* in 1989.) TV3 was 45 percent owned, and fully managed, by the Canadian company CanWest. Later, a British television company also bought into TV3, thereby ensuring its access to a number of popular television programs, to the detriment of RTÉ. RTÉ's public-service role is now constantly challenged by those who believe that RTÉ's license-fee income gives it an unfair advantage and distorts the

market. In 2001 the commercial broadcasting regulator, the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland, changed its rules, making it easier for bigger media players to buy into Ireland's radio and television industry. The British company Scottish Radio Holdings immediately bought the national commercial radio station Today FM. Early in 2003 the government announced an increase in the license fee, which will be linked to inflation, increasing automatically rather than as the each current government sees fit. This move guaranteed the RTÉ's future.

Ireland's economic performance since the mid-1990s has attracted overseas interest, but at the same time, Ireland's largest media company, Independent News and Media, the owner of the Independent group, now dominates Irish media to an alarming extent. It has three Independent titles, including the best-selling *Irish Independent*, *Sunday Independent*, and *Evening Herald*, as well as the *Sunday World*. It also has interests in the *Sunday Tribune*, the *Star*, and a string of weekly local newspapers in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland, as well as interests in a cable-television franchise and telecommunications companies. Independent News and Media also owns the *London Independent* as well as newspaper groups in South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia.

Back in 1961 de Valera saw a small, Irish-owned, conservative media that was still coming to terms with its place in an independent Ireland. Television was the force that pushed the media to look outwards, to engage in debate about Ireland's role in the world, modernization, and social and political development. With the advent of television, the forces de Valera represented lost control of the political and cultural agenda. Today the Irish media is one of the most competitive in Europe, with four daily national newspaper titles and five Sunday national newspaper titles serving a population of around four million. Its television competes for viewers and advertising revenue with British channels, which can be accessed by over 70 percent of Irish homes. Within the Irish media, assumptions about public service, quality, ownership, and diversity are constantly challenged.

SEE ALSO de Valera, Eamon; Newspapers; Social Change since 1922

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Michael Foley



Metalwork, Early and Medieval

The study of metalwork in Ireland in the period from c. 450 C.E. to c. 1600 C.E. reveals much more than changing fashions in art styles. One can observe changes in the supply of raw materials, the adoption of new techniques, alternations to patterns of patronage and craft organization, and the appearance of new military tactics. Careful reading of the evidence brings to light periods of rapid development under exotic influences as well as those of conservatism and relative isolation.

EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD, c. 450 TO c. 800 C.E.

Archaeological evidence shows that almost every farmstead in early medieval Ireland was a site of subsistence-related ironworking for the repair of tools and farm implements. High-quality iron objects (for example, the collar and chain from Lagore, Co. Meath) were also fabricated. Sword blades were at first relatively small and made of fairly soft iron, but by the Viking period, imported blades provided models for better weapons. Decorative work in gold, bronze, and enamel was manufactured on important secular sites (for example, Lagore and Moynagh Lough crannogs, Co. Meath; Garranes, Co. Cork; and Clogher, Co. Tyrone) and on church sites such as Armagh and Clonmacnoise.

During the fifth and sixth centuries fine metalwork was predominantly in bronze, with engraved ornament of spirals, trumpets, and peltae, occasionally enamelled in red. Most bronze pieces were personal ornaments—pins, penannular (gapped-ring) brooches, and latches (disc-shaped cloak fasteners with sinuous tails) were the principal types. Most derive from late and early post-Roman Britain, where there was a resurgence of Iron



St. Patrick's Bell, c. fifth century C.E., found in the reputed tomb of St. Patrick. COPYRIGHT © NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Age La Tène style, modified by provincial Roman military taste. Debate in Ireland has centered on how much the ornament of spiral scrollwork owes to the native Irish Iron Age tradition and how much was imported. The repertoire of smiths in southern Britain before the Anglo-Saxon conquest and in Pictland was wider than that of Irish craftsmen, but the variety and sophistication of Irish work has been underestimated. By about the year 600 experiments in silver had occurred, and new embellishments in millefiore glass and new colors of enamel were adopted. Sophisticated products include the tinned bronze brooch from Ballinderry Crannog, Co. Westmeath, the decoration of which is close to that of the great enamelled hanging bowl from the Sutton Hoo burial around 630 C.E.

Irish missions in northern Britain and mainland Europe provide the context for the flowering of Irish art in the late seventh century. Sophisticated casting in silver, fire gilding, polychrome glasswork used as a substitute for gemstones, and consummate gold filigree work appeared. The range of motifs was enriched by the addition of animal ornament of Germanic (especially Anglo-Saxon) and late Roman origin. Interlace from the



The Tara Brooch, discovered in Berrystown, Co. Meath, is made of cast silver gilt covered by gold foil and precious stones, eighth century c.e.
 © ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, NY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Mediterranean world and a number of geometric patterns were added to the surviving traditions of spiral scrollwork. This new art was almost certainly first synthesized in monastic scriptoria and royal workshops. From simple beginnings such as the engraved curvilinear decoration of seventh-century shrines in Bobbio (Italy) and Clonmore, Co. Armagh, by 700 c.e. craftsmen were producing distinctive, yet cosmopolitan objects. The Tara Brooch—which has, like many lavish brooches of eighth- and ninth-century date, a closed ring—bears ornament similar to that of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Donore door-furniture that harks back to classical prototypes. By the end of the eighth century surviving pieces like the Ardagh Chalice and Derrynaflan Paten had taken the symbolic filigree motifs and polychrome glasswork to the highest standards of elegance. These remarkable altar vessels copied the communion services of the great churches of Christianity. Reliquaries (containers in which sacred relics were kept)

shaped like little churches were common. The practice of enshrining books developed, and other reliquaries (for example, the Moylough belt-shrine, a major work of about 800 c.e. designed to preserve the belt of an unknown saint) show how the church challenged craftsmen to extend their range.

THE VIKING PERIOD, c. 795–1020 c.e.

The Viking raids on Ireland began in the 790s and increased in ferocity in the following century. Nevertheless, fine metalworking continued; the Derrynaflan Chalice, with its numerous gold filigree and amber ornaments, seems to have been commissioned during the ninth century. Splendid brooches were also produced, though they were less colorful and more dependent on silver for effect. By the late ninth century the increased supply of silver through Viking trade gave rise to a new series of penannular brooches, international in style but



Head of crozier of the abbots of the monastery at Clonmacnoise, late eleventh century. COPYRIGHT © NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of strong Irish influence, made entirely of solid silver—the “bossed” and “thistle” brooches. These are found widely in Britain and Ireland. A few brooches with long pins and hinged heads (“kite-brooches”) emerged in Ireland under Viking influence; they remained in vogue into the eleventh century. A few examples are decorated with gold filigree ornament (e.g., a brooch from Waterford).

THE RENAISSANCE OF THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

During the eleventh century large personal ornaments went out of style and effort turned to repairing some of the losses of the Viking age. Some ancient shrines were restored—for example, a silver cross embracing evangelists’ symbols was applied to the restored front of the bookshrine known as the *Soiscél Molaise* in County Fermanagh. The later eleventh century saw the enshrinement of the *Cathach* of Saint Columba at Kells in County Meath. It carries on its sides animal ornament of Scandinavian inspiration. The badly preserved Inishfallen Crozier, decorated with fine panels of gold filigree of later Viking style, was also made at this time.

The final flowering of native metalworking took place in the first third of the twelfth century with the creation of the magnificent croziers of Clonmacnoise and Lismore, the shrines of Saint Patrick’s Bell and Saint Lachtin’s Arm, and Saint Manchan’s shrine in Boher, Co. Offaly. The summa of the style is the Cross of Cong (about 1120 c.e.), which was made to enshrine a relic of the True Cross. Inscriptions on most of these great pieces link prominent kings with leading churchmen in their commissioning and name the craftsmen who made them. Although all show the strong, if anachronistic, Scandinavian influence, especially in the animal ornament in the so-called Urnes style, they combine this with unmistakable efforts to revive ancient glories and elements of Romanesque influence.

Changes in church governance and dynastic warfare began to change the pattern of patronage that supported the native craftsmen in the twelfth century. Ecclesiastical metalwork from continental workshops (e.g., the crozier from Cashel, Co. Tipperary, made at Limoges) undercut native production, and the traditional workshops seem to have died out with astonishing speed.

LATER MEDIEVAL METALWORK

With the Anglo-Norman invasion came organized guilds of metalworkers based in towns. We know very little of their production because of the confiscations of the sixteenth century following the dissolution of the monasteries and the transfer of major churches from the Catholic to the Reformed Church. A few personal ornaments, such as a gold ring-brooch from Waterford in a continental style, have come to light. Some repairs to ancient shrines were made. The *Domhnach Airgid* (ninth century) was remodelled about 1350, adding a crucifixion scene and other religious and heraldic devices. Intact original pieces are rare. A silver-gilt crozier in gothic taste was made by a native craftsman for the bishop of Limerick in 1418 c.e. A processional cross, found at Lislaghtin, Co. Kerry, was made for John O’Connor, lord of Kerry, in 1479. International in style, its workmanship is markedly provincial. To a large extent the history of Irish fine metalworking in the High Middle Ages is mirrored in what we know of weapons and armor in the period. As late as the sixteenth century Irish warriors were appearing on the battlefield in mail shirts and fluted helmets—armor that had changed little since the fourteenth century.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture; Sculpture, Early and Medieval

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Michael Ryan

Methodism

Originating in mid-eighteenth-century England under the leadership of John Wesley, Methodism began as part of a wider evangelical revival within the Church of England. Wesley, an ordained Anglican minister, felt that the church had lost its sense of missionary zeal and was failing particularly to appeal to the poor in society. Heavily influenced by the pietism of the Moravians, he set out to reform and revive religious life.

ORIGIN

Ignoring the confines of ecclesiastical boundaries, Wesley journeyed extensively throughout Britain, preaching outdoors, forming local societies, and using lay preachers to spread his message of Christian perfection and justification by faith (that the individual, alienated from God by sin, is reconciled not by his merits or good works but through faith in Christ). He particularly emphasized the importance of personal salvation and conversion, and Methodism, with its emotional class meetings, spiritual discipline, and practical support, reached out to many of those neglected by the more established religions. The importance attached to thrift and temperance perhaps appealed particularly to women, while the early use of women preachers introduced a dimension of novelty into popular religious life. But although Wesley's zeal and organizational talents ensured rapid growth, both his methods and his criticism of established religious authorities led to clashes with more conventional clerics. The first annual conference took place in 1744, and with Wesley ordaining his own preachers from 1784, Methodism emerged as a distinct religious body, which broke with the Church of England after his death in 1791.



John Wesley (1703–1791), founder of Methodism who made several preaching tours of Ireland. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

METHODISM IN IRELAND

Wesley considered Ireland to be an important mission field and visited the country on a total of twenty-one occasions, beginning in August 1747. Although Methodist preachers were often denounced as “black caps,” “swaddlers” or “cavalry preachers,” growth was rapid in these early years, with outdoor meetings at markets, fairs, and wakes generating intense religious emotion and excitement. Following the United Irish rebellion in 1798, a mission was established, engaging Irish-speaking preachers in an attempt to win over the Catholic peasantry. Demographic data, however, indicate that although early Methodism was strong in southern cities and market towns from the 1780s onwards, the province of Ulster was the most successful recruiting ground. Indeed, it has been suggested that Methodism was both a beneficiary of and a contributor to sectarian tensions in south Ulster during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, with its vehement anti-Catholicism helping to reinforce and revitalize northern Protestantism. Wesley's links with ascendancy figures in Ireland, and Methodist input into the so-called Second Reformation of the 1820s, also reflect the perceived link between social unrest and religious allegiance. The sect

was particularly strong within traditional Anglican areas and in the “linen triangle” of south Ulster, and, by 1815, 68 percent of Irish Methodists lived north of a line drawn from Sligo to Dundalk.

Many divisions followed Wesley’s death. In Ireland the Wesleyan Methodists became an autonomous Church, while the Primitive Methodists retained their Anglican links. These groups were united in 1878 following the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. Membership numbers reached their peak in 1844. Thereafter, with increased financial and administrative responsibilities, Methodism became progressively institutionalized, moving away from outside preaching and its more spontaneous activities.

Rather than its numerical strength, however, Methodism’s most important contribution to Irish society was the stimulus that it gave to a much wider evangelicalism. Many Methodist characteristics, particularly itinerant preaching, and the establishment of voluntary religious societies were taken up by individuals, missionary organizations, and eventually the main churches themselves. The 1859 revival, known as the Great Awakening, provides the best evidence of the extent to which evangelicalism had infiltrated mainstream religions by the middle of the nineteenth century.

METHODISM IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Today’s Methodist ministers undergo a period of probation: five years for university graduates, six for others, and spend a maximum of eight years on one circuit (group of local societies of churches). Early female preaching had been brought to an end in 1804, but in line with developments elsewhere, the first Methodist woman to be ordained entered the ministry in 1977. There are currently seventy-six circuits in Irish Methodism, administered by quarterly meetings of ministers and officials. Circuits are grouped into districts, which hold a synod twice yearly. The annual conference remains the governing body and is made up of both ministerial and lay representatives who have equal voting rights. Ministerial sessions deal with the admission, probation, discipline, appointment, expulsion, and retirement of ministers, as well as with appeals and ministerial and pastoral concerns. The representative session deals with matters of government and management. The president of the Methodist Church in Ireland is elected annually from among the Irish ministers.

Concerned to spread the gospel message, the Methodist church has long been involved with overseas missions and continues to send both lay and clerical mis-

sionaries to all parts of the world. In contrast to the situation in late-eighteenth-century Ireland, it also enjoys harmonious relationships with other religious denominations, and participates in joint prayer and study groups with the Catholic Church.

SEE ALSO Evangelicalism and Revivals; Religion: Since 1690; Second Reformation from 1822 to 1869; Temperance Movements

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Myrtle Hill

Middle English Literature

Since the year 1169 and the Anglo-Norman “conquest,” literature in Middle English started being written in Ireland. Its surviving quantity is comparatively small, but some is of premier historical and literary importance. It also exhibits an idiosyncratic combination of word spellings that permits us to identify it as medieval Hiberno-English, a distinctive written dialect of late Middle English.

One reason for the relative lack of surviving texts is the fact that from the late twelfth century to the fifteenth, English in Ireland was always a minority language, even if that of the powerful minority congregating in and around the colonial centers and the walled towns. (The other principal vernacular introduced after 1169, Anglo-Norman French, seems by the late fourteenth century to have been in substantial decline.)

The poetry of some major Middle English authors was imported, including William Langland’s *Piers Plowman* and Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* (the

latter appears in a 1526 catalogue of the library of the earl of Kildare). Some ambitious Middle English prose translations were also undertaken by Irishmen, including in 1422 one done by James Yonge of Dublin of the French *Secreta Secretorum*. At about this time an anonymous translator also rendered into English the late twelfth-century Latin *Expugnatio Hibernica* of Giraldus Cambrensis.

However, the most important Middle English literary collection to have survived is contained in London, Harley MS 913, an anthology mainly of verse on religious and satirical topics, compiled probably by a Franciscan friar in Waterford circa 1331. Some of his items were imported, but many are indigenous, one of the most striking being *The Land of Cokaygne*, a surreal account of monastic hedonism in which abbeys are built of food, and geese fly ready-cooked into the open mouth. (Compare this edible architecture with the motif of the land of food appearing in the late twelfth-century Gaelic story *Aisling Meic Con Glinne*.) Outside the Harley anthology, Middle English poetry from Ireland is not otherwise extensive. Middle English lyrics are known from Kilkenny and from Armagh, for example, but their quantity is small.

Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, however. The field of drama is similar, where the chance survival of part of the text of *The Pride of Life*, the earliest known morality play in English, suggests that a dramatic tradition formerly existed that was far broader and sturdier than this solitary, sophisticated play might otherwise lead us to suspect.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture; Hiberno-English; Literature: Early and Medieval Literature; Norman French Literature

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Alan J. Fletcher

Migration

EMIGRATION FROM
THE
SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY TO
1845

KERBY MILLER

EMIGRATION FROM
1850 TO 1960

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EMIGRATION AND
IMMIGRATION
SINCE 1950

ENDA DELANEY

SEASONAL
MIGRATION

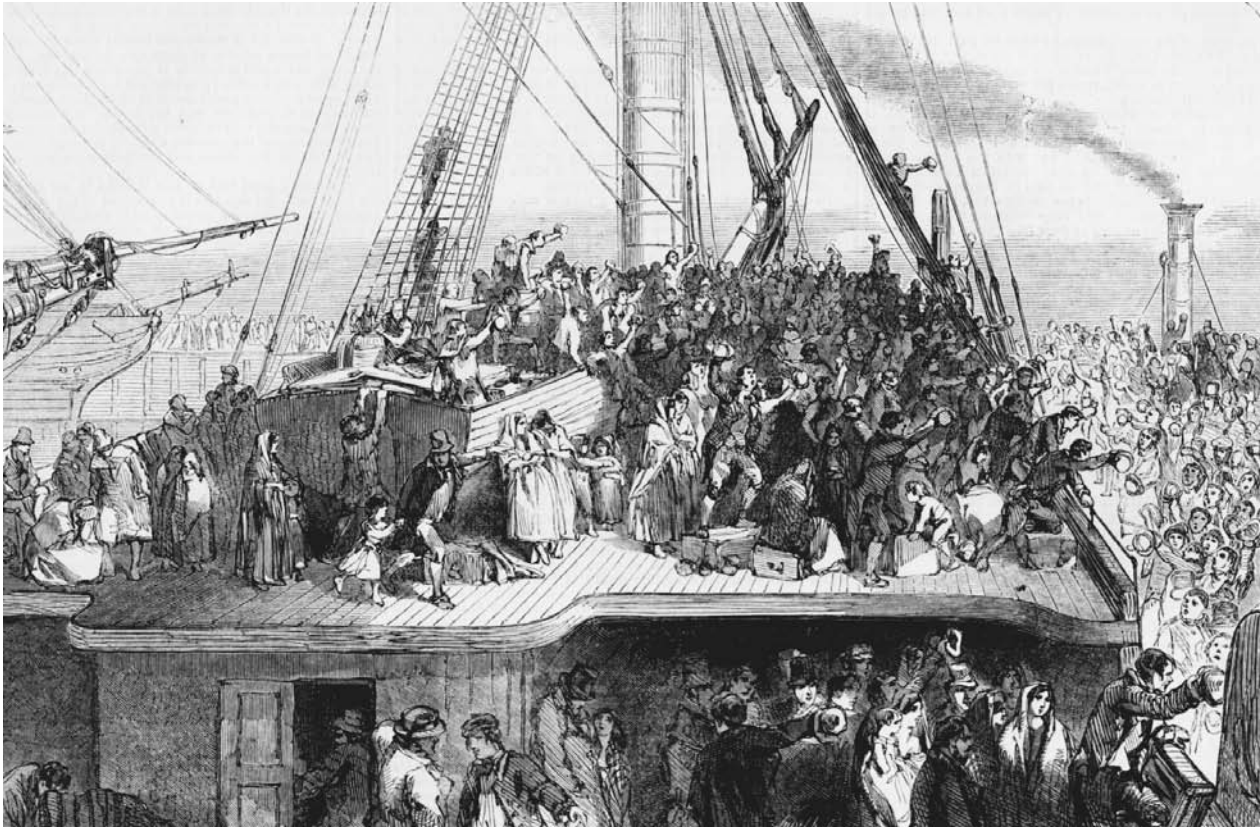
ANNE O'DOWD

EMIGRATION FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO 1845

The number of Irish who emigrated prior to the Great Famine (1845–1852) is uncertain and disputed. Recent scholarship (e.g., by Cullen and Wokeck) has revised steeply downward older estimates (e.g., by Dickson) of eighteenth-century migration to North America. The higher numbers remain credible, however, and other historians (e.g., Bríc and Kirkham) suggest that even these may be too low.

During the 1600s migration to Ireland exceeded emigration from Ireland. Perhaps 250,000 English, Welsh, and Scottish Protestants settled in Ireland (Canny, Smout), whereas about 50,000 Catholic soldiers and others left the island, primarily for Europe (Cullen), and perhaps as many again emigrated to the Americas. Most of that last group were Catholics—primarily indentured servants, rebels, or "vagabonds"—transported to the British West Indies. Smaller numbers of Catholic servants and convicts disembarked in the Chesapeake region, and a few seasonal migrants from east Munster—servants and laborers on the Grand Banks fisheries—settled permanently in Newfoundland. Also, the 1680s and 1690s witnessed the start of Irish Protestant migration to North America, as Ulster Presbyterians migrated to the Chesapeake, while Irish Quakers and Baptists sailed to Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The frequent wars, famines, and economic crises of the seventeenth century were the principal causes of these migrations.

Between 1700 and the American Revolution, movement from Ireland greatly exceeded migration to Ireland, and North America prevailed among overseas destinations. In the period 1700 to 1775 perhaps 25,000 Britons settled in Ireland (Canny, Landsman). By contrast,



From 1815 to 1845 alone, between 800,000 and 1,000,000 emigrants left Ireland for North America—a figure about double that of the previous two centuries. Among emigrants after 1815 the proportion of Protestant farmers and artisans from Ulster was falling and the proportion of poorer Catholic farmers and laborers from the other three provinces was rising. Traffic between Liverpool and New York City was already heavy before 1845. This illustration shows an emigrant ship leaving Liverpool in 1850. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 6 JULY 1850.

some 88,000 military and nonmilitary migrants left Ireland for Europe or Britain or to work for the British East India Company (Cullen). Moreover, at least 150,000 Irish migrated to North America, although some historians (Cullen, Wockeck) suggest that they numbered merely 60,000. Of the migrants to the New World, about three-fourths left from Ulster, and the remainder from commercialized and anglicized areas in southern Ireland. Perhaps 60 percent of the total were Ulster Presbyterians (or Scots-Irish); a fifth to a fourth were Catholics from both Ulster and southern Ireland, and (despite continued Quaker migration) most of the remainder were Anglicans, members of the legally established Church of Ireland.

Between 1700 and 1775 Catholic settlement in Newfoundland increased and migration to the West Indies diminished. However, Catholics and Anglicans were relatively reluctant to migrate to America—the former because legal discrimination in Britain’s colonies reinforced archaic Catholic notions that emigration (at least to Protestant countries) was tantamount to exile or

banishment, the latter because of their privileged position in Ireland and the empire. Although indentured servitude enabled Ireland’s poor to obtain free transatlantic passages, the great majority of Irish Catholics—still monolingual Irish-speakers—were insulated from America’s attractions as promoted by newspapers and shipping agents. Most Catholics and Anglicans who did cross the Atlantic were subsumed in the Scots-Irish migration, and the dearth of priests and chapels in the colonies promoted the absorption of Catholic emigrants into Presbyterian sociocultural networks. Thus nineteenth-century America’s “Scotch-Irish” community would include many Protestants whose ancestors had been Catholics or Anglicans.

R. J. Dickson identified four major phases of Ulster Presbyterian migration to prerevolutionary America: 1717 to 1720, when several clergymen led entire congregations to New England; 1725 to 1729, when some 8,000 Scots-Irish disembarked at or near Philadelphia and, in lesser numbers, at Charleston; 1730 to 1769, when perhaps 70,000 Presbyterians left Ulster, primar-

ily for the Delaware River; and 1770 to 1775, when Ulster emigration, mostly to Philadelphia and to the Deep South, peaked at 40,000 or more. Voyages from Ulster typically lasted eight to ten weeks, and the costs of passage and provisions ranged between 9 pounds and 3 pounds 5 shillings. Many Presbyterian farmers could afford to transport entire families, but most Protestant artisans and laborers—and nearly all Catholic migrants—emigrated as indentured servants, bound to labor in America for three to five years in return for their passages. (Yet another 25,000 Irish migrants, mostly Catholics, were convicts sent to the southern colonies.) Most of the Scots-Irish and others initially settled in the middle colonies. However, from the 1730s through the early 1770s many of them, with their American-born offspring, moved south down the Great Path into the Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia backcountries, where they met others who had disembarked at Charleston or Savannah. By 1790 the Irish-born and their descendants comprised a fourth of the whites in Pennsylvania, more than a fourth of those in South Carolina and Georgia, and perhaps a third of those in Kentucky and Tennessee (Doyle).

In the years 1700 to 1775 Scots-Irish departures often were responses to specific crises—for example, to sharp rent increases, famines, and depressions in Ulster's linen industry. However, Quaker and Scots-Irish emigration quickly became routine and self-perpetuating, spurred by letters from America. There was also a religious and political dimension to early Scots-Irish emigration, as their spokesmen often claimed that they were fleeing Anglican "oppression." Most emigrants were motivated chiefly by America's cheap land and high wages; Presbyterians' resentments were real, coloring a communal exodus from what their clergy called "Egyptian bondage."

After the American Revolution, in the period 1783 to 1815, at least 150,000 migrants sailed to the United States, a large but unknown number settled in Britain, and 25,000 or more left home to serve in the British army and navy. Also, in 1791 British vessels began shipping Irish convicts to New South Wales, and even Irish migration to the United States was not entirely voluntary, as it included about 2,500 Protestants and Catholics who fled the suppression of the United Irish rebellion in 1798. Most transatlantic migrants were still Ulster Presbyterians, although scholars (e.g., Bríc) discern a rise in Catholic departures from southern Ireland. The 1783 to 1815 emigration may be seen as a continuation of the migration of the early 1770s or as a harbinger of the larger exodus of 1815 to 1845; evidence exists to support either perspective. Evidence on the social character of the emigrants is equally mixed: after 1783

the rapid decline of indentured servitude curtailed pauper emigration, yet while some observers reported an increase of skilled and propertied migrants, others complained that they represented "a very inferior class." Likewise, although most new arrivals followed their predecessors to the U.S. frontier, there is evidence of early Irish-American urbanization and political organization in cities such as Philadelphia (still the major debarkation port) and New York City. Finally, although most of the migration between 1783 and 1815 was crisis-driven—by economic depression in 1783 to 1785, by near-famine in 1799 to 1801, and by political upheavals and high wartime taxes from 1793 on—many emigrants followed paths blazed by kinsmen who had departed prior to 1776. Surely, overseas migration would have been even greater had not the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars precluded many departures after 1793, and had not the 1803 British Passenger Act impeded lower-class emigration by raising passage costs.

In the prefamine era of 1815 to 1845 most of the "modern" or "classic" patterns of Irish emigration, especially to North America, were established. In the three decades prior to the Great Famine, between 800,000 and one million Irish moved to North America, and perhaps at least another half-million, unable to afford transatlantic fares, went to Great Britain. At least 35,000 more, mostly convicts, disembarked in Australia; others went to serve the British empire; and a few settled in Argentina and elsewhere. Altogether, the 1815 to 1845 emigrants were roughly twice as numerous as those who left Ireland in the two preceding centuries.

Despite a surge in departures between 1815 and 1816 and the dampening effects of the U.S. financial panics of 1819 and 1837, overall Irish migration to the New World increased steadily (from 20,000 in 1826 to 65,000 in 1832, and to a record 92,000 in 1842). Before the 1830s a majority of emigrants were Protestants—mostly Presbyterians from Ulster, although many Anglicans left southern Ireland. However, Catholic departures from both Ulster and the southern provinces steadily increased, and from the mid-1830s Catholics—primarily from the most commercialized and anglicized areas in south Ulster, Leinster, east Munster, and east Connacht—comprised a growing majority. The social complexion of the migration changed accordingly: Numbers of poor and unskilled emigrants rose steadily, outnumbering farmers and artisans by the prefamine decade. Alongside agricultural laborers were many non-inheriting sons and daughters of middling and poor tenant farmers who recently had adopted impartible inheritance—a custom whereby only one son inherited land and only one daughter received a dowry. This custom

became universal after the famine. Male emigrants remained a slight majority, but departures by young, single women steadily increased. Most prefamine emigrants traveled alone or with siblings, not as members of multigenerational families. Growing numbers (a majority among Catholics) financed their passages with remittances or prepaid passage tickets sent by kinfolk in the United States. Of those who sailed directly to the United States, in voyages lasting six to eight weeks, most now sailed from Liverpool, not from Irish ports as formerly, and most disembarked at New York City rather than Philadelphia.

However, most prefamine migrants landed in British North America rather than the United States. In the 1820s British passenger laws and a growing timber trade between Canada and Britain reduced passage costs to the Maritimes or Quebec to merely 1 or 2 pounds, compared with fares to New York of 4 to 10 pounds. Fares equalized in the 1830s, however, and between 1838 and 1844 Irish migrants to the United States outnumbered those to Canada by 202,000 to 150,000. Moreover, despite British and Canadian inducements, many emigrants who landed in British America, particularly poor Catholics, quickly migrated to the United States for greater opportunities. Most prefamine emigrants to the United States (and the great majority of those who remained in Canada) pursued farming, primarily in the states/territories as far east as Ohio as well as states/territories farther west, such as Illinois and Wisconsin (rather than in the South, as formerly). However, growing numbers engaged in semiskilled and unskilled occupations on public works (such as the Erie Canal) and in construction, dock laboring, and (for women) domestic service—work located primarily in northern seaports and industrial towns. Likewise, Irish migrants to Britain concentrated overwhelmingly in urban industrial centers and on public-works sites.

The magnitude of prefamine emigration reflected the contrast between U.S. economic attractions and Irish poverty and population pressure. Between 1790 and 1844 Ireland's population grew from about four million to perhaps eight and one-half million, and from 1815 the island suffered severe economic depression and dislocation. Economic crises following the Napoleonic wars brought rapid deindustrialization in most of Ulster and southern Ireland, as rural and (outside Belfast) urban spinning, weaving, and other crafts contracted or collapsed, unable to compete with British manufactures. Consequently, most Irish country people became totally dependent on agriculture in a period when prices for farm products and wages for agricultural laborers declined steeply, when hard-pressed landlords and commercial farmers strove to rationalize their holdings by

evicting "superfluous" tenants, subtenants, and laborers, and when fierce competition for land kept rent levels (especially for subtenants and laborers) exceptionally high. By the eve of the Great Famine 70 percent of Ireland's rural families lived in or barely above poverty, largely or entirely dependent for subsistence on their annual potato crops. Another consequence was increased social, religious, and political strife, which only spurred more emigration, as Catholics and Protestants competed violently for economic advantage. The rural poor joined secret agrarian societies to defend traditional economic "rights" against the agents of capitalism; and Daniel O'Connell mobilized Catholic peasants' grievances in a series of political crusades against Ireland's Protestant Ascendancy. Even had the Great Famine not occurred, emigration would have continued to rise in a country whose people were, after the Act of Union in 1800, powerless to shape economic or social policies to Irish advantage. Despite Irish-speaking Catholics' traditional reluctance to emigrate (already dissipating as a result of anglicization as well as desperation), increasing numbers of Irish people now focused their hopes for economic improvement or survival overseas.

SEE ALSO American Wakes; Diaspora: The Irish in Australia; Diaspora: The Irish in Britain; Diaspora: The Irish in North America; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Migration: Seasonal Migration; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Population Explosion; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century

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Kerby Miller

EMIGRATION FROM 1850 TO 1960

Irish emigration between 1850 and 1960 is best divided into three periods: 1850 to 1854, when most migrants still responded to the Great Famine's immediate effects; 1855 to 1929, when (as in 1850 to 1854) the great majority of Irish migrants went to the United States; and 1930 to 1960, when Irish emigration flowed primarily to Great Britain.

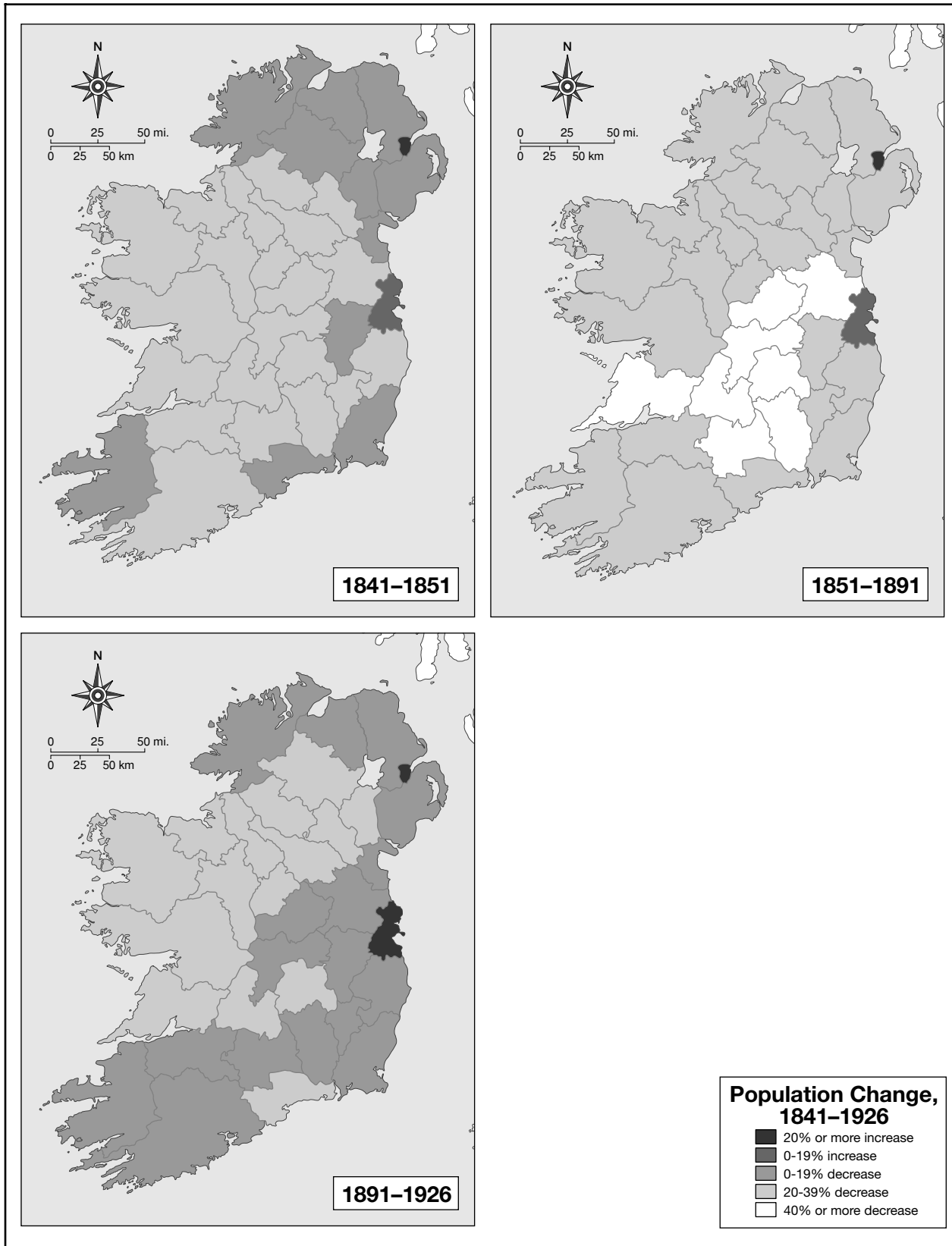
In the years 1850 to 1854, between 900,000 and one million Irish emigrated overseas (i.e., to destinations other than Britain), an average of 180,000 to 200,000 per year; not until 1855 did overseas migration decline to prefamine levels. Of these, some 80 percent emigrated to the United States, another 10 to 12 percent to British North America (Canada), and most of the remainder to Australia. In addition, an unknown number settled in England, Wales, or Scotland, and by 1861 Britain contained more than 800,000 Irish-born residents (up from

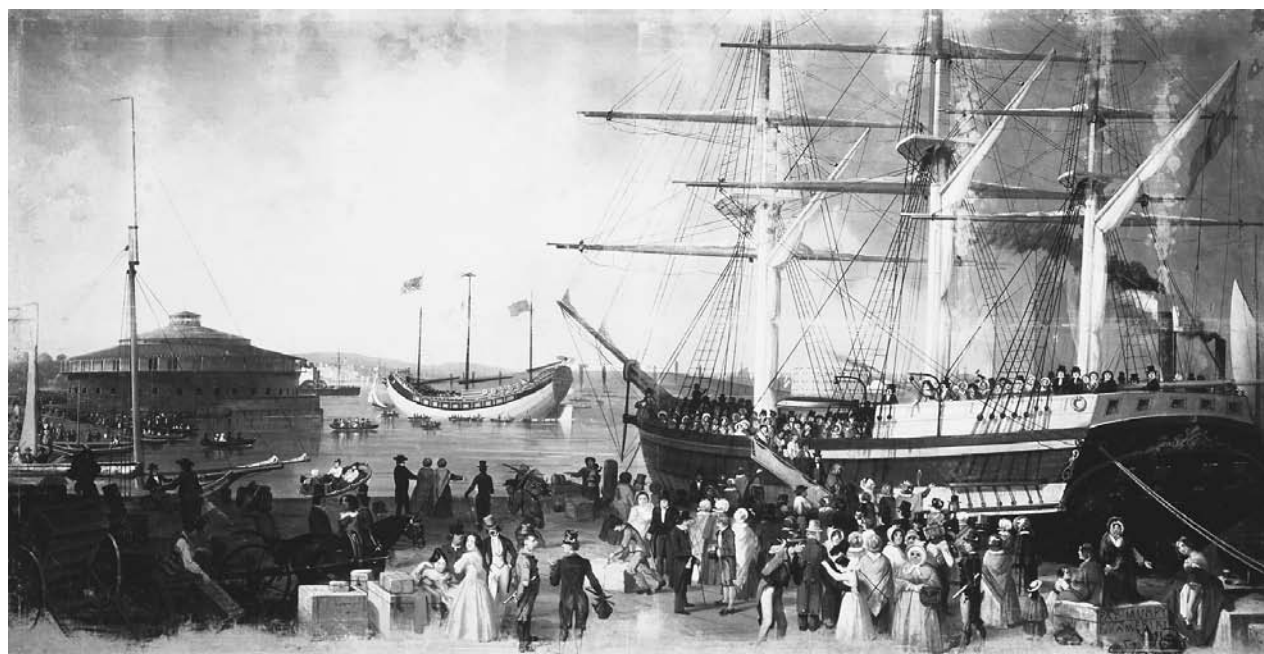
416,000 in 1841 and 727,000 in 1851). About two-fifths of the overseas migrants left Munster, with another 13 percent from Connacht, and 23 percent each from Leinster and Ulster. In terms of its 1851 population Munster was overrepresented among the overseas emigrants, and Ulster was underrepresented, but the northern province probably contributed a disproportionate share of the migrants to Scotland and the north of England. Catholics likely constituted an overwhelming majority of the 1850 to 1854 migrants, as during the famine itself. Much of the migration between 1850 and 1854 reflected the famine's aftershocks—the effects of high poor-rates imposed on Irish farmers generally and of continued distress and evictions in western Ireland. However, large numbers (probably the great majority) responded to remittances and prepaid passage tickets sent by Famine emigrants who strove to reunite their families abroad. Thus, although most of the migrants of 1850 to 1854 were single men and women in their twenties and early thirties, family reunions help explain why about 40 percent were under age nineteen and 13 to 14 percent were over age thirty-five.

Between 1855 and 1929, the classic period of post-famine emigration, nearly five million Irish men and women emigrated to overseas destinations. The great majority, about 85 percent, settled in the United States; about 7 percent migrated to Canada, another 8 percent to Australia and New Zealand, and the remaining 1 to 2 percent to South Africa, Argentina, and other countries. In addition, scholars (for example, Cormac Ó Gráda) estimate that between 500,000 and one million unrecorded emigrants settled permanently in Great Britain. In all, more than two and one-half times the number of Irish people left their native land between 1855 and 1929 than had emigrated in all preceding periods combined. As a result, Ireland's population fell from 6.55 million in 1851 to merely 4.23 million in 1926. Although other European countries also experienced mass emigration in this period, only Ireland suffered what amounted to demographic catastrophe.

Except during World War I, annual Irish migration overseas in the period 1855 to 1929 never fell below 23,300 and was rarely less than 35,000. However, emigration fluctuated in response to economic conditions at home and abroad. Most notably, there was a surge in departures in the late 1870s and early 1880s; this was associated with poor harvests, evictions, agrarian turmoil (the Land War), and, most important, the steep price declines for Irish farm products that followed a period of relative prosperity in rural Ireland. Another fluctuation resulted from the U.S. economic depression of 1873 to 1877. Overseas migration normalized after 1883, but in the 1890s more than 427,000 Irish jour-







By 1900 emigration had removed nearly four million people from Ireland since 1846. The famine emigrants had a hard lot in the United States for at least a generation after their arrival. In this painting of c. 1855 by Samuel Waugh, Irish emigrants disembarking at the Battery in New York City appear to be in better circumstances than those of the great majority of Irish New Yorkers in the 1850s. © MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

neyed to the United States alone, and annual departures averaged about 43,000 from 1900 to 1913, and about 25,000 between the end of World War I and the Great Depression. In general, the origins of postfamine migration shifted steadily to the south and west of Ireland. Whereas most prefamine emigrants had left Ulster and Leinster, slightly more than half the overseas migrants from 1855 to 1929, perhaps 60 percent from 1880 to 1929, came from Munster and Connacht. A disproportionate share, especially from the late 1870s on, left the most impoverished and socially and culturally archaic “congested districts” in western Ireland and almost equally poor counties such as Cavan, Longford, and Tyrone. At least four-fifths of those who migrated to the United States between 1855 and 1929 were listed on shipping manifests as laborers and servants; the great majority were single men and women in their late teens and early twenties. Unusually among contemporary emigrants, women comprised about half the Irish migrants—slightly more than half after 1880. The overwhelming majority were Catholics, and given their regional origins, a large minority were Irish-speakers. In contrast to those general patterns, however, Ulster migration rose sharply in the 1870s and early 1900s, when it is probable that Protestant emigration also increased. In addition, it appears that relatively affluent, skilled and/or educated Protestants (and Catholics) from Ulster and Leinster were disproportionately repre-

sented among migrants to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, whereas poorer Ulster men and women probably comprised a majority of migrants to Britain.

Postfamine emigration was encouraged by cheap, improved transportation: Transatlantic steamships called regularly at Queenstown (now Cobh, Co. Cork) and at Moville (Co. Donegal), crossed the ocean in merely 10 to 15 days, and charged fares as low as 1 or 2 pounds. Most overseas migrants paid their passages with remittances or prepaid tickets sent by relatives abroad; between the Great Famine and 1900 the value of these from the United States alone exceeded 52 million pounds (260 million dollars). This in turn reflected the growth, stability, and relative prosperity of an Irish-American society, concentrated in northern centers, able to offer the newcomers shelter and employment. Also, the peculiar evolution of postfamine Irish society virtually mandated massive out-migration, even during the U.S. Civil War and the U.S. depression of 1893 to 1897. Continued deindustrialization provided no alternative to underemployed or unemployed rural and urban dwellers, only a minority of whom could be absorbed in northeast Ulster’s industrialized but highly selective and sectarian job market. Most important, the increasing commercialization of Irish agriculture exposed Ireland’s tenant farmers to international price fluctuations. It persuaded them (even in the west of Ireland

after 1880) to adopt impartible inheritance and late-marriage patterns, which consigned most of their sons and daughters to emigration. It also dictated a pronounced shift from tillage to pasture farming, which in turn sharply reduced both employment and opportunities to rent land among agricultural laborers and noninheriting farmers' children. More broadly, the commercialization and concomitant anglicization of rural Irish society eroded the emigrants' familial, social, and cultural bonds to their homeland. These converging trends made emigration more a fundamental imperative—rooted in the inequities and processes of Irish society—than a matter of personal choice. Irish nationalists wrongly believed that winning self-government alone could bring prosperity and full employment; continued migration in the 1920s, after the creation of the Irish Free State, demonstrated that its causes were structural.

Irish migration to the United States dropped sharply after 1929 and never recovered its former levels. In the decade from 1931 to 1940, according to U.S. data, Irish emigrants to the United States numbered merely 13,000 (versus 23,000 to Australia and New Zealand), rising only to 27,500 in 1941 to 1950, and to 40,000 in 1951 to 1961. However, the Irish economy stagnated from the 1930s to the 1950s, and Britain's relatively early recovery from the depression and its enormous need for labor (and wartime nurses) during the war and in postwar reconstruction persuaded at least 634,000 Irish men and women to settle in the United Kingdom. Between 1931 and 1961 Britain's Irish-born residents increased from 505,000 to 951,000. In 1948 the Dublin government created a commission to propose policies to stem emigration, but not until the 1960s would Irish economic growth check a floodtide that had been flowing since the Great Famine.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; American Wakes; Diaspora: The Irish in Australia; Diaspora: The Irish in Britain; Diaspora: The Irish in North America; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Migration: Seasonal Migration; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century; **Primary Documents:** From the *Report of the Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, 1948–1954* (1955)

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Kerby Miller

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION SINCE 1950

The evolution of Irish society since 1950, north and south, was shaped fundamentally by the continued experience of emigration. Immigration was always less significant in both societies, though by the end of the twentieth century independent Ireland was an immigrant country. In the early 1950s, as they watched thousands of young people leaving Ireland for new lives



This photograph appeared in *Ireland Is Building*, a government brochure that urged Irish emigrants in Britain to return to Ireland. Almost 500,000 men and women left Ireland during the 1950s to seek better opportunities abroad. COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF IRELAND, DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH, S14670. FROM *IRELAND IS BUILDING*, PROMOTIONAL BROCHURE PRODUCED BY THE DEPARTMENTS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE, 1949.

elsewhere, few contemporaries could have foreseen this development. Irish population history since the mid-twentieth century vividly illustrates how the wider economic environment determines the levels of either emigration or immigration.

The years following the end of the Second World War witnessed the large-scale movement of Irish emigrants to Britain. The late 1940s and the 1950s constituted a remarkable era of mass emigration. Over 500,000 people left independent Ireland between 1945 and 1960—stark evidence of the poor state of the Irish economy at this time. The following decade saw reduced emigration, a significant decrease that, together with substantial return migration in the 1960s, contributed to a rise in the population of independent Ireland by 1971—reversing the downward trend since the late 1840s. In the 1970s the numbers immigrating remained, for a sustained period, higher than the numbers leaving. This inflow was due mainly to the return home of emigrants who had left in the 1940s and 1950s. The 1980s and 1990s were a watershed in Irish population history. Emigration again became a major feature of life in the 1980s—the so-called new wave of Irish emigra-

tion. By the mid-1990s, however, as a consequence of the rapid economic growth associated with the Celtic Tiger, the inflow again exceeded the exodus. For instance, in 2001–2002 the population rose by 58,100 people, and the net inflow of 28,800 accounted for roughly half of this increase.

Similarly, Northern Ireland experienced large-scale emigration in the 1950s, although the northern exodus remained at less than half the rate of the southern state. In the 1960s the level of emigration decreased, mirroring the trend in independent Ireland. In the 1970s the numbers leaving Northern Ireland rose, and this trend continued into the 1980s, leading to a slight decrease in the total population by 1991. Throughout the 1990s the gross outflow averaged roughly 17,000 people, although this was offset by a slightly larger inflow of migrants.

Where did Irish emigrants travel in the second half of the twentieth century? From the 1940s on, roughly three out of every four Irish emigrants were destined for Britain, and one out of eight for the United States, with Canada, Australia, and New Zealand accounting for

most of the remainder. It was only in the 1980s that the United States regained its popularity as a destination for Irish emigrants, with many of them entering the country illegally. In the 1980s about one in seven leaving independent Ireland traveled to the United States. The redirection of emigration across the Atlantic was a reflection of the employment opportunities available there, and the severity of the economic recession in Ireland and Britain. One significant feature of the “new wave” of Irish emigration of the 1980s and early 1990s was the greater variety of destinations. Mainland Europe received small but significant numbers of young Irish people in the 1980s and 1990s.

It was only with the establishment of the Assisted Passage Scheme (1947–1971) that Australia again became an attractive option. Under this scheme, which aimed to attract white settlers to Australia, emigrants were provided with assistance toward the cost of the fare, hostel accommodation on arrival, access to public housing, and voting rights within six months. Citizens of Northern Ireland, as British subjects, paid only £10 to migrate to Australia, with all their other expenses being defrayed. An agreement reached with the Irish state in November 1948 limited assistance to £30 for each adult fare for Irish citizens. The numbers leaving both parts of Ireland for Australia peaked in the 1960s and early 1970s, and by 1981 the Irish-born population amounted to almost 68,000 people.

Most other European migrant flows were dominated by single males, but Ireland, north and south, differed in this key respect, following a pattern established in the nineteenth century. In Northern Ireland the gender differential was more marked in the 1950s and 1960s, with a greater number of males emigrating than females, though by the 1980s this gap had narrowed. Throughout the 1990s roughly equal numbers of males and females emigrated from Northern Ireland. An overriding characteristic of the emigrant profile was their relative youth. Young people made up the great bulk of the outflow, as in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Detailed information on the socioeconomic profile of Irish emigrants after 1950 is not available, although it appears that the majority came from poorer backgrounds, especially in parts of western and north-western Ireland. Throughout this period the emigration of highly skilled workers was also significant, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, reflecting the huge expansion in secondary and university education in the 1970s and 1980s.

In Northern Ireland the failure of the traditionally higher birth rate among Catholics to produce a substantial rise in the Catholic share of total population is generally explained by the higher level of Catholic emigra-

tion up to the 1960s. But patterns shifted over time. In the 1950s almost two-thirds of emigrants were Catholic. In the following decade the differences narrowed somewhat, and throughout the 1970s and 1980s Protestants emigrated from Northern Ireland at a higher rate than Catholics, a trend that continued into the 1990s and reflected the demand in Britain for skilled labor and the preference of young Protestants for education at English and Scottish universities.

Inflows into independent Ireland from the 1960s onward were mostly composed of emigrants returning from Britain or the United States. In the 1970s a net inflow of over 100,000 people was recorded. From the late 1980s until the mid-1990s immigration averaged 30,000 persons per annum. Between 1997 and 2002 the average annual inflow rose to 45,000 persons. Returned Irish emigrants were the largest immigrant group throughout the 1990s, although the proportion of non-European Union (EU) nationals increased steadily from 1999 onward. The attractions of rapid economic growth together with higher living standards ensured that immigration from other parts of Europe and non-EU countries gradually increased. While the immigration of large numbers of skilled workers received little attention, the arrival of relatively small numbers of migrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers from eastern Europe, Africa, and elsewhere has generated much public controversy. For Northern Ireland the annual gross inflow between 1975 and 1990 fluctuated between 6,000 and 10,000 persons. In the 1990s immigration into Northern Ireland increased and averaged 19,000 persons per annum, many of whom were migrants returning after spending time living and working in Britain.

Emigration was a defining feature of Irish life after 1950. For most of this period it ensured that a significant proportion of each generation born in Ireland would in time leave for other countries, and only in the 1970s and 1990s did substantial immigration reverse this well-established historical pattern. From the mid-1990s the immigrant flow has included an increasing number of economic migrants from other countries—a remarkable discontinuity within the past two hundred years. For a country accustomed to bidding farewell to so many of its young citizens, welcoming immigrants, especially from non-EU countries, proves to be an extremely difficult process and remains one of the central ironies of contemporary Irish society: a nation of emigrants now displays a remarkable reluctance to embrace non-European nationals and to accept that immigration is an inevitable outcome of economic success.

SEE ALSO Celtic Tiger; Diaspora: The Irish in Australia; Diaspora: The Irish in Britain; Diaspora: The Irish in North America; Family: Fertility, Marriage, and the Family since 1950; Social Change since 1922; **Primary Documents:** From the *Report of the Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, 1948–1954* (1955)

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Enda Delaney

SEASONAL MIGRATION

Irish emigration has long been a subject of study, though the short-term seasonal and temporary movement of workers has not received the same attention. This is surprising considering the great number of agricultural workers involved during the heyday of seasonal migration in the nineteenth century and the interchange of ideas, values, and customs that occurred.

Although there is some evidence that Irish farm laborers were already traveling to Britain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, their numbers increased only with population pressures in Ireland during the second half of the eighteenth century. With the establishment of the first regular passenger steamship service between Britain and Ireland in 1815, the one serious obstacle to reaching places where work was available—the expense of the journey—was removed. Already by the 1830s, by conservative estimate there were 35,000–40,000 Irish people working on a temporary basis in Britain, and numbers continued to increase to more than double this figure by the 1860s. In many areas of Ireland, especially in Counties Mayo and Donegal, people were dependent on earnings from seasonal work well into the opening decades of the twentieth century. The introduction of “new” agricultural crops to Britain in the late nineteenth century fostered a mutual dependence: Britain needed seasonal laborers to plant and lift potatoes, hoe turnips, pick fruit and hops, and ready crops for transport to the local market. In Scotland the extension of the railway resulted in the rapid growth of the potato industry after the 1860s, providing plenty of seasonal employment for Irish migrants. The Irish had worked as reapers of corn in the Scottish lowlands dur-

ing the Napoleonic war years and had become general agricultural laborers, working from seed-time to crop gathering, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They were still working as “tattie hokers” in the Scottish potato fields in the 1940s and 1950s.

Equally significant were the travels of seasonal migrants within Ireland, predominantly from western areas to counties in the east. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poets mention these *spailpíní*, as the workers were generally known. Their numbers were greatest during the difficult years of the 1820s and 1830s. On the whole, the seasonal workers were people who had close ties to the land: small farmers, cottiers, agricultural laborers, and generally poor people with family responsibilities and no means of earning cash at home. Women began to participate as workers to an important degree only in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the Scottish potato fields. Although there were few women migrant workers before this time, women were nevertheless an essential part of the movement in other ways: they provided support for the men by traveling with them; they begged for food and money to keep themselves and their children alive until the men returned home, and they undertook and organized essential farm work back in Ireland, thereby maintaining the small holding of land as the family home.

SEE ALSO Markets and Fairs in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921

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Anne O'Dowd

Military Forces from 1690 to 1800

After the Battle of the Boyne, King William's army comprised about 30,000 men, composed of English, Dutch, and French Huguenots, plus locally raised Protestant regiments. The English parliament's Disbanding Act of 1699 limited the regular army in Ireland to 12,000 men in peacetime. Though in effect part of the English army, this force was paid for by the Irish parliament. It was seen as a strategic reserve that could be increased during wartime, when Irish regiments fought in Britain's overseas wars. The limit of 12,000 was maintained until 1769, when it was raised to 15,000 with the stipulation that the former total was retained for home defense. Legislation of 1701 required that no Catholics serve in this force, nor Protestant Irishmen in the ranks. The increasing demands of eighteenth-century warfare saw the removal of the bar on Protestants in 1745 and, from the 1760s, a slackening on Catholic exclusion. During the American Revolution Catholics were recruited for overseas service. During the French Revolution Ireland's military establishment expanded considerably, due to its vulnerability to French invasion and domestic insurrection. On the eve of the 1798 rebellion the total stood at over 42,000, and during the "bloody summer" of the insurrection reinforcements were rushed over from Britain, bringing the total to nearly 70,000 men. The force that defeated the United Irishmen was comprised of regular soldiers, fencible regiments enlisted for wartime service within the British Isles, Irish yeomanry, and British and Irish militia.

MILITIA

Militia were civilians who engaged to serve in an emergency. William's forces in 1690 were supplemented by a locally raised militia of 15,000 men. This hastily raised force had no statutory existence. The first militia legislation came during the Jacobite scare in 1715. In compliance with the prevailing Penal Laws, only Protestants could serve. Though there were several mobilizations during invasion scares in the 1740s and 1750s, the militia remained largely moribund, with its weapons stored away. The militia legislation lapsed after 1776 and was not renewed, because of the unavailability of finance, when the American Revolution began. With the regular troops depleted by war, the Irish Volunteers took over the militia's home-defense role. In 1793, at the outbreak of war with France, a new militia was raised. This radically different force included Catholics as privates and required full-time service. Initially, these

men were levied by parish lottery, but this practice was deeply resented and rioting often resulted. The regulations were soon changed. The militia was organized in county regiments that were rotated to avoid soldiers' serving in their home districts and becoming embroiled in local unrest. The southern regiments were predominantly Catholic, and with sectarian and revolutionary tensions rising, fears were expressed about their reliability. Some did join the United Irishmen, but several well-publicized and harrowing executions discouraged defections. Despite earlier reservations, the militia fought well in 1798, when it totalled 30,000 men.

VOLUNTEERS AND YEOMANRY

The Irish Volunteers were raised in 1778 after France and Spain had joined the American colonists in their war against Britain. They were composed of Protestant civilians organized into small corps, raised by local initiative, and provided with their own arms and equipment. Volunteer officers held no commissions from the government and in many cases were elected from the ranks. They proudly saw this independence as signifying their patriotism and citizenship. The Volunteers willingly undertook law-and-order duties and were prepared to defend Ireland against invasion from France or Spain, but many sympathized with the plight of the American colonists. No invasion of Ireland came, and the Volunteer movement, which had grown from 12,000 in 1779 to over 60,000 in 1782, began functioning as an extra-parliamentary political-pressure group. A relationship was formed with the "Patriot" opposition in the Irish parliament to secure more equal treatment from the Westminster parliament, which could veto Irish legislation. Astutely realizing the British government's difficulty in fighting the unpopular war with the Americans, the Volunteers pressed for rectification of a range of their own grievances. Typically, they combined political protest with military reviews. On one occasion a cannon was paraded in front of the Irish parliament, draped with placards demanding concessions. In 1782 a Volunteer convention in Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, published political resolutions that were adopted throughout Ireland. With this public support and a change of government in London the Patriot leader Henry Grattan obtained the legislative independence of the Irish parliament.

This has been seen as the high point in Volunteerism; afterward, some of the more radical Volunteers began recruiting Catholics and wanted to press on for franchise reform and full political rights for Catholics. The majority, however, were satisfied with their achievements and stood down. The radical Volunteers languished until the French Revolution of 1789 encour-



Demonstration by the Dublin Volunteers, 4 November 1779, in favor of "free trade," that is, the right of Ireland to the full benefits of membership in the British mercantile system. Painting by Francis Wheatley. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 125. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

aged them to resurrect their demands. In 1792 radical Volunteers in Dublin and in Ulster reorganized and re-armed as National Volunteers, emulating the French Gardes Nationale. With war against France beginning, the government suppressed them in 1793 when the new Irish militia was raised. Many National Volunteers were concurrently United Irishmen, and others of the original Volunteers later joined the government's new home-defense force—the Irish yeomanry. The revolutionary climate thus simplified the Volunteers' equivocal relationship with the government into polarities of loyalty and disloyalty.

In 1796, with a United Irish rebellion and a French invasion expected, the government raised a force modelled on the English yeomanry. In many respects the yeomanry was like the original Volunteers. It was part-time and was constituted in small, locally based corps of cavalry and infantry. The crucial difference was that the yeomanry was completely under government control. Its officers held commissions and its men were paid and equipped by the government. The initial levy was for 20,000 men, but the growing crisis saw that total rise to 50,000 by May 1798. Mostly Protestant in composition, the yeomanry became increasingly associated with Orangeism. Initially intended for law-and-order

duties, yeomen were increasingly used in a military capacity and were heavily involved in the fighting in 1798, when, depending on one's perspective, they developed a reputation for brutality or bravery.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Government from 1690 to 1800; Grattan, Henry; **Primary Documents:** The Ulster Volunteer Resolutions (1782)

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Allan Blackstock

Mitchel, John

A journalist and Irish nationalist best known for his critical analysis of British relief policy during the Great Famine, John Mitchel (1815–1875) was born at Camnash, Co. Londonderry, on 3 November 1815. The son of a Presbyterian minister, Mitchel attended Trinity College and practiced as a solicitor in Banbridge, Co. Down, for several years.

In 1843 he enrolled in the Repeal Association and two years later joined the editorial staff of the nationalist newspaper, the *Nation*. Although he was a leading figure among the Young Irelanders and the Irish Confederation, Mitchel left the *Nation* after failing to convince moderates in the Confederation to support Fintan Lalor's radical schemes for land reform. In February 1848 Mitchel established another newspaper, the *United Irishman*, in which he openly preached armed revolution. Arrested in March 1848 and charged with treason-felony for his writings, Mitchel was convicted by a jury packed by the government to ensure a conviction and sentenced to fourteen years' banishment to a penal colony in Tasmania. In 1853 Mitchel escaped to the United States, where he quickly rekindled his career as a controversial journalist. Mitchel also published several books that formed the basis of the nationalist genocide interpretation of the Great Famine, including *Jail Journal* (1854), *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (1858), *An Apology for the British Government in Ireland* (1860), and his *History of Ireland* (1868).

With an acid pen Mitchel depicted the famine and resulting mass mortality and emigration as a deliberate policy pursued by officials of the British government to clear poor Irish farmers off the land. A central, although incorrect, element of Mitchel's argument was his contention that imports of maize and other grain into Famine Ireland by relief officials were far outstripped by exports of Irish foodstuffs to British markets. Mitchel also railed against the British government for its inadequate financial contributions and denounced the inequity of forcing a region of the United Kingdom to provide for its own relief. Mitchel's interpretation of the famine is best summarized by his famous maxim, "The Almighty indeed sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine" (Mitchel 1858, p. 219).

Mitchel returned to Ireland in 1875 after he was elected an MP for Tipperary, but Parliament voided the election on the grounds that he was a convicted felon. The voters re-elected Mitchel but he died shortly afterward on 20 March 1875. Mitchel is regarded as one of the founding fathers of Irish revolutionary republican-



Son of a northern Presbyterian minister, the journalist John Mitchel (1815–1875) at first took over from Thomas Davis (d. 1845) at the *Nation*. Mitchel became a revolutionary after breaking with O'Connell's Repeal Association in 1846 and with Smith O'Brien's Irish Confederation in 1848. Sentenced to fourteen years' transportation for treason-felony (May 1848), he remained in Tasmania until 1853, when he escaped to the United States. A bitter antagonist of Britain and Victorian values, Mitchel did more than any other nationalist to propagate the genocide interpretation of the Great Famine. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 10 119. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ism and provided the most enduring nationalist interpretation of the famine.

SEE ALSO Davis, Thomas; Great Famine; Newspapers; O'Connell, Daniel; Repeal Movement; Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation

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Molyneux, William

William Molyneux (1656–1698), pamphleteer and scientist, was born in Dublin on 17 April into a long-established Protestant family. Educated at Saint Patrick's Cathedral School and Trinity College, Dublin (1671–1674), he graduated with a B.A. in 1674 and was admitted to the Middle Temple (1675–1678). On his return to Dublin he threw himself into scholarly activity, which led to his prominent role in the foundation in 1683 of the Dublin Philosophical Society on the model of London's Royal Society. From 1684 to 1687 he served as chief engineer and surveyor-general in Ireland, but in 1688, like many other Dublin Protestants, he and his wife took refuge in Chester, England. After William III's victory at the Boyne they returned to Dublin, where Molyneux was reappointed as chief engineer and surveyor-general and given other official responsibilities. As MP for Dublin University in 1692 and again from 1695 to 1698, he played an active role in the House of Commons but was not associated with the vociferous opposition. In 1695 he was appointed a master in chancery.

It was in the last year of his life that Molyneux published *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated* (1698). He wrote it at a time when the English House of Commons was considering a bill to prohibit the export of Irish woollens overseas and the English House of Lords was asserting an appellate jurisdiction for Ireland. In effect, Molyneux argued that Ireland was a kingdom, with a parliament of medieval origin, and that subjects of William III in Ireland possessed the same right to the principles of representation and consent as subjects in England. To make his case he drew heavily not only on history and legal precedent but also on arguments based on John Locke's natural-rights theory. He readily admitted that a parliamentary union would equally guarantee to Ireland the principles of representation and consent, but that was "an happiness we can hardly hope for." The *Case* might well have faded into obscurity, as with other similar tracts based on precedent, had not the English House of Commons roundly condemned it, gaining for tract and author an enduring place in the eighteenth-century patriot canon.

Molyneux and Locke had corresponded throughout the 1690s, and though Locke was deeply unhappy at being mentioned in the *Case*, he received Molyneux with great civility when he visited England in August 1698, and was greatly saddened when he learned that Molyneux had died on 11 October, within a month of his return to Ireland.

SEE ALSO Dublin Philosophical Society; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement

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Monarchy

On 18 June 1541 the Irish parliament declared Ireland to be a kingdom. It was a decisive change in Ireland's constitutional status that was to endure until the Act of Union created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801. Yet Ireland was no ordinary kingdom. Only in legal theory did its king exist as an individual distinct from the English monarch. The Irish kingdom remained de facto a dependency of the English Crown, but the vision of a sovereign Irish kingdom was to inspire separatist sentiments over many subsequent years.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION?

Since Pope Adrian IV granted the bull *Laudabiliter* to Henry II, king of England, in 1155, Ireland was considered to be a papal fief held by the kings of England. With Henry VIII's breach with the papacy in 1534 the sovereignty of Ireland was disputed. The preamble of the Irish act of 1541 justified the adoption of the royal title as a means of clarifying Ireland's constitutional status, but the act was part of a broader, constitutional strategy to confederate Ireland with England and Wales.

This constitutional "revolution" was the brainchild of Sir Thomas Cusack, a local official in the Dublin administration. Cusack had been influenced by humanist thought during his legal studies at the Inner Temple in London, and he returned to Ireland with a sense of mission. He wanted to see the government of Ireland reformed so that the native Irish and the English colonial community in Ireland could live harmoniously together within a common political framework. Following recent developments in Wales, in particular the so-called Act of Union of 1536, he believed that the two commu-

nities in Ireland (Gaelic and “Old English”) could be reconciled and reformed through constitutional means. Cusack won support from Sir Anthony Saint Leger, whom Henry VIII appointed as his lord deputy in Ireland in July 1540. Saint Leger was more an administrator than a soldier, and he boldly grasped the opportunity to try to pacify Ireland through constitutional means.

The 1541 “act for the kingly title” was the centerpiece of the Cusack–Saint Leger initiative. Ostensibly, the act was to encourage the Irish to accept Henry VIII as their true sovereign, but Cusack explained to the English Privy Council that it had far deeper implications. It required the abolition of the *de facto* constitutional and juridical division of Ireland into the English colony on the one hand and the independent Irish lordships on the other. It made all of the people of Ireland into subjects of Henry VIII, with the same rights and privileges as the king’s English subjects. Henry became now honor-bound to dispense justice and good government throughout his new kingdom. A public holiday was declared in Ireland to mark the passing of the act, and it was promulgated in Dublin with a high mass, cannonades, bonfires, and free wine.

The Irish parliament that adopted the act for the kingly title was historic for another reason: an Irish layman sat as a member for the first time. He was Barnaby MacGilpatrick, made baron of Upper Ossory only two days before the parliament had convened. Other Irish lords attended as observers, ahead of their elevation to the peerage. The presence of these Irish nobles in this parliament was a revolutionary innovation. It signified that in the future the Irish parliament would become the representative assembly of all the people in Ireland—Gaelic Irish and Old English colonists alike. By involving the two communities in the government in this way, Saint Leger and Cusack hoped to unite the peoples of Ireland as the Welsh and English people in Wales had been brought together.

SURRENDER AND REGRANT

With the constitutional framework in place, Saint Leger introduced the policy known as “surrender and regrant.” This involved the Irish lords surrendering their territories to the Crown in return for letters patent by which the king regranted them their lands with a title valid under English law. This formula was designed to regularize the relationship between the Crown and the greatest Irish lords. It also began the process by which the independent Irish lordships were to be transformed, more or less as they stood, into feudal lordships held of the Crown of Ireland. As part of this process each Irish

lord had to abandon his Gaelic title and accept instead an English title of nobility, such as earl or baron. He agreed to assist and obey the king’s officers, to do military service for the Crown, and to pay taxes. Furthermore, the lord was obliged to learn to speak English, and to adopt English clothes and customs, and to reject the pope’s authority.

Saint Leger realized that the assimilation of all of Ireland into the Tudor dominions could not be achieved overnight. He worked to bring about change gradually and relatively peacefully. He appreciated that some compulsion would be necessary on occasion to enforce the desired degree of constitutional change and social engineering. Already, the first breakthrough had come in January 1541 when James FitzGerald, fourteenth earl of Desmond, was formally reconciled to the English Crown. As Cusack observed, “the winning of the earl of Desmond was the winning of the rest of Munster at small charge.” Progress with the Gaelic Irish lords was necessarily more difficult and slow. Yet, in September 1542 Conn O’Neill, lord of Tyrone and descendent of the ancient kings of Ireland, traveled to the English court to become the first earl of Tyrone. On 1 July 1543, Murrrough O’Brien, prince of Thomond, traveled to court to become the first earl of Thomond. With him went Ulick MacWilliam Burke, a magnate from southern Connaught, who became the first earl of Clanrickard.

REFORMATION

In religion too Saint Leger made progress, winning widespread acquiescence for a moderated version of the Henrician reformation, a schismatic, if essentially Catholic religious settlement in which the pope’s authority was renounced by Ireland’s political and ecclesiastical elites—Irish as well as colonial—while traditional religious practices were permitted. The first Jesuit mission to Ireland, in 1542 was quickly aborted when the missionaries concluded that the Irish were irredeemably lost to Rome.

SUSPENSION

The Cusack–Saint Leger initiative was making remarkable progress toward a peaceful settlement of the political divisions in Ireland when it was suddenly suspended. In July 1543 Henry embarked on a war with France and Scotland. Many Irishmen fought with the English army against the French and the Scots; however, the constitutional revolution never recovered from its suspension. The protracted negotiations to reform the internal structures of the Irish lordships were interrupted and left incomplete, a major deficiency which undermined the prospects of future success. Saint Leger might have

been able to inject new momentum into the would-be revolution once the war with France and Scotland had ended, but the death of Henry VIII in January 1547 also spelled the end of the Cusack–Saint Leger initiative. The government of Henry VIII's son and successor Edward VI, adopted militarist strategies to subjugate the Irish and rejected Saint Leger's achievement of religious consensus in favor of more full-blooded Protestantism.

CONCLUSIONS

The Irish monarchy established in 1541 failed to reconcile the people of Ireland to English, and later British, governance. In fact, the monarchy was a legal fiction that did little to diminish Ireland's constitutional subordination to the English Crown and government. Irish people were not granted political and legal rights equal to those of English subjects under Henry VIII or his son, and in Elizabeth I's reign conformity to the Anglican Church began to be used as a test of who was a true subject and who was not. Nevertheless, after the repeated failure of rebellions against Elizabeth, the idea of an Irish monarchy came to be accepted, and Irish and Old English scholars supplied the monarchy with an ancient Irish pedigree. The ideal of Ireland as a kingdom separate from England, though sharing the same monarch, was promoted at different times over the centuries by groups as diverse as the Kilkenny Confederates of the 1640s, the late-eighteenth-century Patriots, and even by the nascent Sinn Féin.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); Fitzgerald, Thomas, Tenth Earl of Kildare (“Silken Thomas”); Old English; Politics: 1500 to 1690; Protestant Reformation in the Early Sixteenth Century; Surrender and Regrant; Wentworth, Thomas, First Earl of Strafford

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Monasticism in the Early Middle Ages

Irish Christians embraced monasticism as enthusiastically as they had accepted the Christian religion itself. As with the doctrines and rituals of Christianity, the Irish created a form of institutionalized ascetic life dependent upon continental originals but unique to the society and culture of Ireland. What is more, by the end of the seventh century Irish monks had thoroughly organized churches and parishes throughout the island according to monastic models, and had even begun to send missionaries abroad to bring Christianity to formerly Roman territories. They also built schools and scriptoria (copying rooms) where they began producing the artistic and scholarly works that made them famous throughout Christendom.

Both bishops and monastic men and women helped to create Irish Christianity. Saint Patrick (d. 461? or 493?), the legendary missionary to Ireland and its primary patron saint, was a bishop, not a monk, but his two fellow patron saints, Saint Brigit of Kildare (d. 524?) and Saint Columba (Colum Cille) of Iona (d. 5??), were both heads of monasteries. Around 450, Saint Patrick himself made the first possible references to people pursuing ascetic vocations in his descriptions of “virgins in Christ” and “religious women,” including noblewomen who endured harassment from their parents, Irish and British slaves, and widows (*Confessio*, sec. 41, 49, trans. De Paor 1998, pp. 250–253). No communities of nuns or monks appeared in Ireland for another thirty or forty years. Patrick's female comrades in religion were probably following the advice of theologians such as Saint Jerome, who explained to Roman women exactly how to organize and educate themselves for an ascetic life in their own homes.

The first monastic community in Ireland may have been created by women at Kildare under the leadership of Brigit. Cogitosus, a monk of Kildare around 670, wrote the earliest Irish saint's life about Brigit. He suggested that she had established a church and a community of women, along with a bishop, at or near an old pagan center in the province of Leinster around 500. Kildare was patronized and staffed by the local nobility and royalty of the province. Abbesses and bishops usually came from leading families of the dynasty that controlled the kingship of Leinster or were the children of local chiefs. The monastery owned properties near its main church, and had tenants who provided income. The abbess of Kildare also demanded allegiance and revenues from other monasteries and churches scattered

around Ireland dedicated to Saint Brigit, as well as from other local Leinster churches. Already a major pilgrimage site in the seventh century, Kildare had become by 650 a place of legal refuge, treasury of kings, and cultural center, where crowds flocked, as Cogitosus wrote, “for the abundance of festivals” and “to watch the crowds go by” (*Vita Sanctae Brigidae*, in Migne, *PL* 72, col. 789).

By the time that Kildare had acquired a major church and island-wide fame, it had competition as the most flourishing site of Irish monastic practice. Around the time of Brigit, many founders of ascetic communities built their settlements and established their own reputations as saintly monks and nuns. In particular, a community dedicated to Saint Patrick at Armagh in Ulster had become his primary church and acquired dependent foundations of its own. In the late seventh century, via two lives of Patrick and a collection of jurisdictional statements called the *Liber Angeli* (Book of the angel), Armagh’s leaders claimed the governance of a *paruchia* (network of churches and monasteries) that spread throughout Ireland, inferior in authority and size to none. The *Liber Angeli*, supposedly handed to Patrick by an angel, declared that the bishop at Armagh had the right to adjudicate all rivalries and disputes among Irish monasteries and churches. Other *paruchiae*, especially those of Brigit and Columba (based on the Irish island monastery of Iona off the coast of Scotland) contested Armagh’s claims to authority, territory, and dues in the seventh century, but Armagh eventually won the battle for dominance. As a consequence, each monastery or convent in Ireland had its own patron among the hundreds of Irish saints, but supposedly all were obedient to the abbot of Armagh.

Life in most Irish monasteries was challenging physically, intellectually, or both. No one built the stone cloisters typical of continental monasteries in Ireland until the Cistercians arrived in the twelfth century, and even then the Irish preferred their wattle and daub huts to the masonry angles of the European reformers. In the sixth and seventh centuries monasteries included everything from a single round hut built of sticks and mud to a collection of circular and rectangular buildings jostling together inside an encircling wall. Typically, though, every monastic settlement had three features: a church, a patron saint’s shrine in or near the church, and a circular enclosure of walls, ditches, or both. Monks combined and augmented these elements in myriad ways. At Reask in County Kerry a rounded stone wall enclosed pairs of connected, beehive-shaped huts of stone in one half of the enclosure; separated by a stone wall through the middle, the other half contained rectangular church buildings. Elsewhere, the en-



Symbol of St. Matthew from the Book of Durrow (seventh century), a gospel book. The flat body is covered by a checkered pattern of millefiori-type ornament. The hairstyle is similar to the Irish tonsure known from other representations of Celtic saints. © ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tirely earthen enclosure and wooden buildings have disappeared, leaving only cross-inscribed slabs to mark especially sacred spots within the now-lost enclosures—the church doorway, the shrine, a well, or a cemetery. The seventh-century *Hisperica Famina* (Western sayings), a maniacally ornate Latin poem, described life in a prosperous community of monks. One passage compared a comfortable monastic building with its poorer cousin: “This hollow hall surrounds a clean chamber / which is continually swept with switches of birch, / nor does any kindling pile up there. / Here there is a foul-smelling room / that contains hardened grains of dirt, / nor do the leafy brooms sweep the aforesaid chamber” (Herren 1974, pp. 82–83). Some wealthier settlements, such as Armagh, included special housing for nuns, students, guests, kings and queens, and domestic animals. Beyond the gates of such major

monasteries lay their farms, pastures for cattle and sheep, their forests, and perhaps a mill.

Neither stone nor wood-and-earth huts would have afforded much comfort to brothers and sisters, who made do with pleasures of mind and soul. Wherever they lived, Irish monks and nuns, who had never known the Romans as rulers, took up Latin as part of their religious training. Monastic communities organized the study of this entirely foreign language, its grammar, and its major religious texts. They also formed their own idiosyncratic ways of making letters and manuscripts, thus initiating a distinguished tradition of book-learning and production. In addition to Bibles, psalters, and grammar books, Irish monks in the seventh and following centuries produced biblical commentary, prayers, letters, astronomical works, laws, penitentials, and many other texts in both Latin and Europe's earliest written vernacular, Irish. They commemorated the lives of their monastic founders in biographies of saints, beginning with Cogitosus's life of Brigit. They also wrote and rewrote the poetry and stories of their ancestors, the kings of ancient Ireland, and the myths of the pre-Christian era. Only the most prosperous communities could muster the supplies and labor to create a great library, or the gorgeously illuminated manuscripts for which Ireland became known (such as the seventh-century *Book of Durrow*, the earliest known decorated Irish manuscript); others had to borrow and copy what they could.

The historian known as the Venerable Bede (672?–735), writing in the early eighth century, spread the reputation of Irish scholars, who were already taking in foreign students by then: "The Irish welcomed them all gladly, gave them their daily food, and also provided them with books to read and with instruction without asking for any payment" (*Historica Ecclesiastica*, III.27, trans. King 1930, p. 485). From large monasteries such as Bangor, where Saint Comgall first ruled, scholars such as Columbanus (543–615) went to continental Europe and Britain to gather and offer Christian learning. (Only men went into exile; religious women were expected to stay home and, at most, teach rudimentary letters to young boys and girls.) Columbanus left a rule and penitentials for the monasteries that he founded in southern France and northern Italy, along with poems and letters to Pope Gregory the Great, among others. His writings reveal not only an elegant style and the passion of a dedicated missionary but also the training in grammar and exegesis that he gained at home early in his career. Columbanus annoyed Gregory with arguments about the date of Easter and so angered local royalty that he found himself on a boat bound for Ireland, composing a mournful poem about his forced depar-

ture. But he ended his days as a saintly abbot in Bobbio, south of the Alps. Columbanus was among the first of what would be so many Irish missionary monks that eventually the Latin word for Irishmen, *Scotti*, came to represent wandering monks of any nationality.

SEE ALSO Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Hagiography; Hiberno-Latin Culture

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Lisa M. Bitel



Mother and Child Crisis

The Mother and Child Scheme was a government program to provide free maternity and child care as part of the restructuring of postwar health services approved by Fianna Fáil in 1947. Implementation of the scheme was delayed until after the first interparty government came into office in February 1948 and became the responsibility of the new minister for health, Dr. Noël Browne of Clann na Poblachta. Browne had quickly come to prominence because of his highly successful campaign to eradicate tuberculosis, but when his name came to be linked with the Mother and Child Scheme, he became one of Ireland's most controversial political figures.

Criticism of the scheme had been voiced from the outset, by Fine Gael (which had been in 1947 an opposition party, but by 1948, the senior partner in the interparty government charged with the scheme's implementation); by the Catholic hierarchy; and by representatives of the medical profession. All had expressed the belief that free treatment, regardless of means, represented state intrusion into the lives of families and was contrary to Catholic social ethics. Additionally, the bishops feared that women would learn about contraception and abortion, and family practitioners feared a loss of independence and income.

On 11 October 1950, Browne met the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, Dr. John Charles McQuaid, and other bishops to discuss their concerns. Believing wrongly that he had reassured them, he publicized his plan to put the scheme into effect, gambling that the popular response would undermine the doctors' opposition. This act precipitated a crisis when McQuaid reiterated his objections to the scheme. Pressured by the taoiseach, John A. Costello of Fine Gael, and his colleagues to come to an accommodation, Browne met McQuaid in March 1951. He asked that the bishops state definitively whether the scheme was contrary to Catholic morals and implied that the outcome might result in his leaving office. The bishops were uniformly hostile and the cabinet refused to proceed with the scheme. Browne's resignation was urged by the Clann na Poblachta party leader Seán MacBride and gladly accepted by Costello on 11 April 1951. Shortly afterwards, the interparty government, which was already disintegrating, fell from office. The affair became the subject of passionate public debate. Opinion was divided, but for the first time the Catholic bishops were widely accused of improper and harmful interference in the affairs of the state.

The Mother and Child crisis was not simply a conflict between church and state; it also arose from the ambiguous relationship between the state and interest groups such as the medical profession, and from ideological and personal differences within the interparty government and Clann na Poblachta. However, the public backlash against the bishops' influence on government policy marked the beginning of the end of the close relationship between church and state.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Health and Welfare since 1950, State Provisions for; McQuaid, John Charles; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Secularization; **Primary Documents:** Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951)

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Susannah Riordan

Murphy, William Martin

William Martin Murphy (1844–1919), businessman, was born near Castletownbere, Co. Cork, on 29 December. Murphy inherited the family building firm after his father's death in 1863, made a fortune through railway-construction contracts, and sat on several railway boards. In 1875 he moved to Dublin, where he dominated the Dublin United Tramways Company (created in 1880 by his father-in-law James F. Lombard) and oversaw the expansion and electrification of the city's tram system. (His company later constructed tramways in Britain and Argentina.) Murphy also managed Clery's Department Store and owned the Imperial Hotel (both in O'Connell Street). Cold, austere, and dominating, proud of his entrepreneurial skills, Murphy saw himself as a paternalist who created employment in return for complete obedience, and he remained fiercely conscious that he was a Catholic arriviste in a Protestant-dominated business community.

Murphy was a Home Rule MP from 1885 to 1892. He opposed Charles Stewart Parnell in 1890 to 1892, and in the party feuds of the 1890s he financed the political and journalistic enterprises of T. M. Healy's "Bantry Band." His political experiences gave Murphy an abiding contempt for the Irish Parliamentary Party leadership as incompetent and irresponsible opportunists. In 1905 Murphy relaunched the *Irish Independent* (initially acquired in 1900) as a halfpenny daily, employing journalistic techniques pioneered by the Northcliffe Press. The *Independent* rapidly displaced the *Freeman's Journal* as the best-selling Irish nationalist daily newspaper; by 1914 it was selling more than 100,000 copies daily. Its criticisms of the Irish Parliamentary Party allegedly assisted the rise of Sinn Féin; however, it was criticized by Irish Irelanders for sensationalism and West Britonism. In 1907 Murphy organized the Dublin International Exhibition, with King Edward VII as patron; it was denounced by nationalists for promoting imports and

“flunkeyism,” but it cemented Murphy’s leading role in the Dublin business community. As president of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, Murphy led the Dublin employers’ resistance to James Larkin’s Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union, culminating in the Dublin lockout of 1913 to 1914. Murphy thought the third Home Rule bill insufficient; from 1914 he openly denounced the Irish Parliamentary Party’s willingness to accept partition and advocated all-Ireland dominion status.

Murphy died on 26 June 1919; his business empire was frittered away over the next half-century by less competent descendants. Murphy’s historical reputation is dominated by his ruthless treatment of the 1913 strikers, by W. B. Yeats’s poetic denunciations of Murphy as the archetypal Catholic bourgeois philistine, and by the *Independent’s* calls for the execution of James Connolly after the 1916 Rising.

SEE ALSO Connolly, James; Labor Movement; Larkin, James; Literacy and Popular Culture; Lockout of 1913; Newspapers; O’Brien, William; Trade Unions

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Patrick Maume

Murray, Daniel

Daniel Murray (1768–1852), Catholic archbishop of Dublin from 1823 to 1852, was born on 18 April in Arklow, County Wicklow. He studied for the priesthood at the Irish College in Salamanca, Spain, and was ordained a priest of the Dublin diocese. He was named coadjutor archbishop of Dublin in 1809. He succeeded Archbishop Troy in the see in 1823.

As the church in Dublin emerged from the penal era, it underwent a transformation with the building of a new physical fabric. Murray oversaw a remarkable expansion of Catholic activities in Dublin, including the emergence of new orders such as the Sisters of Mercy, founded by Catherine McAuley, and the Sisters of Charity, founded by Mary Aikenhead.

Murray opposed “the veto” in the 1810s as the price of Catholic Emancipation. This would have granted the

British government an influence in Catholic episcopal appointments. A gentle personality, he relied on Bishop James Doyle in the 1820s for much of his response to the Catholic Association’s campaign for Catholic Emancipation. Murray was named a member of the National Board of Education in 1831, the first Catholic bishop to be appointed to a state board in the modern period. He served in administering the system alongside the Anglican archbishop of Dublin, Richard Whately, in an unusual example of good ecumenical relations.

In 1838, Murray was attacked by a fellow archbishop, John MacHale of Tuam, for not holding firmly to a Catholic position on the National Board. Murray, however, had the support of a majority of the bishops. Throughout the 1840s Murray and MacHale disagreed on almost every issue and split the hierarchy. Murray did not approve of Daniel O’Connell’s campaign for repeal of the union. He favored the third-level Queen’s Colleges but was opposed by a majority of the hierarchy and by Archbishop Cullen at the Synod of Thurles in 1850. A political moderate, he was regarded by Cullen and others as being too trusting of British government intentions.

SEE ALSO Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891

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Thomas McGrath

Music

EARLY MODERN
MUSIC

MODERN MUSIC

POPULAR MUSIC

GEARÓID Ó
HALLMHURÁIN

COLETTE MOLONEY

PAUL ROUSE

EARLY MODERN MUSIC

An eclectic cadre of native and foreign sources chronicles the music, song, and dance from 1500 to 1800. The

most striking feature of its musical landscape is the genesis of what is known today as Irish traditional music and the decline of the harp music of the Gaelic court, a dilemma induced by the perplexities of Tudor and Stuart politics. Both Henry VIII and Elizabeth I passed decrees prohibiting music. The *píobaire* (piper), bard, and *aois ealaíon* (artistic class) were frequently outlawed. In contrast to royal skepticism, Tudor scribes Edmund Spenser and Fynes Moryson left vivid accounts of Irish music from sword dancing in the court of the lord deputy, to the Gaelic *kerne* (professional soldiers) of Fiach MacAodha Ó Broin being led into battle by pipers. Native musicians also registered their impressions of the Tudor conquest, from the Desmond rebellions (1569 and 1579) to the Nine Years War (1594–1603). A poignant eulogy to the period is the Munster air “*Caoineadh Uí Dhomhnaill*,” which recalls O’Donnell’s defeat at Kinsale (1601). The subsequent Flight of the Earls (1607) marked a watershed in Irish musical culture. Apart from a minority of performers who accompanied their chiefs into exile, those who remained behind were deprived of aristocratic patronage. Henceforth, the archaic trinity of *file* (poet), *reacaire* (reciter), and *cruitire* (harper) crumbled. Despite its displacement of native performers, the settlement of English and Scottish colonists in the northeast corner of Ireland during the Plantation of Ulster (beginning in 1609) brought a new injection of musicians, among them Gaelic-speaking Presbyterians from Galloway and Argyle.

Just as music reflected the Tudor conquest, so too did it mirror the bellicose politics of the seventeenth century, from the Ulster Rebellion (1641) to the Williamite Wars (1689–1691). Among the musical records of the period are: the “Lament for Eoghan Rua O’Neill” (composed by Carolan in memory of the Confederate leader); “Alasdruim’s March” (eulogizing Alasdair MacColla, killed at Cnoc na nDos in 1647); “Seán Ó Duibhir A’Ghleanna” (lauding the exploits of John O’Dwyer during the Cromwellian Wars); “Gol na mBan san Ár” (a piping dirge simulating the march to Aughrim in 1691 and the crying of the women after the slaughter); “Marbhna Luimní” (cognate of the Scottish “Lochaber No More,” lamenting the exile of Sarsfield and the Wild Geese after the fall of Limerick); “Clare’s Dragoons” (extolling Wild Geese valor in the French army at Fontenoy in 1745); and “Éamonn A’Chnuic” (praising raparee, or political dissident, Éamonn Ryan, forced to become an outlaw after a fracas with a Williamite tax collector).

Although love songs like “Dónal Óg” and “Úna Bhán” composed by anonymous poets dominated the *amhráin* (vernacular songs) by the late 1600s, older airs survived in “Laoithe Fiannaíochta” (evoking the exploits of Fionn MacCumhail). *Caoineadh* (laments) also en-



“Brian Boru’s Harp,” the oldest surviving Irish harp, dates to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. THE BOARD OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

dured, from *amhrán bheannaithe* (“sacred songs” derived from medieval apocrypha) and keening songs, like “*Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoire*” (Lament for Arthur O’Leary, penned by his wife Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill in 1773), to formal and semilearned *marbhna* (bardic elegies). The latter were composed by poets like Aogán Ó Rathaille (1670–1728) and Dáibhí Ó Bruadair (1625–1698). The *aisling* (“vision poem/song,” in which the poet meets an enchanted lady, symbolically Ireland) evolved during the eighteenth century. “*Úr Chill an Chreagáin*” by the Ulster poet Art Mac Cumhaigh (1715–1774) is among the best known.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Williamite wars left 90 percent of Irish land in Protestant hands. By 1700 a series of harsh anti-Catholic penal laws had been passed that excluded Catholics from Parliament, the army, the legal professions, and government services. Access to land, education and religious worship was also restricted. Songs like “An Raibh Tú ar an gCarraig?” (Were you at the Rock?), “*Caoineadh an tSagairt*” (Priest’s Lament), “*Pill, Pill, Rúin Ó*” (lament for the Donegal priest, Dominick O’Donnell, who converted to Protestantism under duress) and “An



Joseph Patrick Haverty, *The Blind Piper* (early nineteenth century). This work, filled with nostalgia for a long-lost Ireland, was hung in engraved form throughout the country. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 166. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Spailpín Fánach” (recalling the demeaning hiring fairs that marked the life of the migrant laborer) all mirror the toils of the penal era.

By 1730 folk poets and musicians accepted their reduced status as clerics, farmers, peddlers, and hedge schoolmasters. Although in Munster they continued to hold courts of poetry, their folk compositions were now more community oriented and dealt with a range of religious, legal, and economic issues. Their work also acted as a form of political journalism, as in Whiteboy songs like “Príosún Chluain Meala,” Riocard Bairéad’s “Eoghan Cóir,” and the rich corpus of Jacobite songs that emerged in the 1700s. The latter reflected a common Gaelic culture that linked Ireland with Scotland. In the wake of the Jacobite risings (1715 and 1745) poets and musicians like Seán Clárach MacDomhnaill, Piaras MacGearailt, Seán Ó Tuama, and Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin lauded the Stuarts in songs like “Mo Ghile Mear” and “Rosca Catha na Mumhan,” and in piping airs like “Loch na gCaor.” After the Battle of Culloden (1746), the Young Pretender was immortalized in Ire-

land by musical code names like “The Blackbird,” which still survives as a set dance today.

DANCING

Throughout the eighteenth century, traffic in and out of Ireland had a direct impact on music, song, and dance. Gaelic-speaking “wintermen” (fishery workers) headed to Newfoundland, dissenting Scots-Irish transplanted whole communities to Appalachia, while dissident “croppies” (United Irishmen influenced by Jacobin ideas, who cropped their hair in the new French style of the 1790s) found new vocations after serving prison sentences in Australia. All these exiles helped to disperse Irish music overseas. In-bound traffic facilitated the adoption of the modern violin (*fidil* in Irish) and imported a bevy of dancing masters who sold their steps to all classes of society. These were particularly popular in Munster, where they worked with hedge schoolmasters. Sources for the early history of dancing are nebulous. By the 1600s, English accounts refer to the “hay,” “fading,” “trenchmore,” and “*rince fada*” (long dance) as popular forms. The latter was danced when bonfires were lit on May Eve. Until the late 1700s, when it was ousted by new French dances, it was performed at the close of public balls. In 1780, the English geographer Arthur Young noted that “dancing is general among the poor people, almost universal in every cabin. Dancing masters of their own rank travel through the country from cabin to cabin, with a piper or blind fiddler; and the pay is sixpence a quarter. It is an absolute system of education.” Young, who traveled in Ireland from 1776 to 1779, cited jigs, minuets, and cotillions as the most common dances. Reels and hornpipes did not gain prominence until the 1790s. By then, the printed collections of Golden Age masters Neil Gow and Nathaniel Gow, William Marshal, and other Scottish composers were gaining new audiences in Ireland. Hence, the presence of Scottish reels like “Miss MacLeod,” “Lord MacDonald,” “Lord Gordon,” and “Lucy Campbell” in Irish repertoires.

BARDS

Although composers like Rory Dall Ó Catháin (c. 1550–1640) had enjoyed considerable status a century earlier, by now the remnants of the bardic order were reduced to a few itinerant harpers. Patronized by ascendancy landlords and a scattering of Gaelic families, their music acquired the features of continental composers. The most prominent was Turlough Carolan (1670–1738) whose work was published during his own lifetime. Astutely aware of his working milieu, he offered music that was an eclectic mix of Irish and non-Irish tunes,

composed in a variety of dialects from baroque to vernacular dance music. When it became clear that the oral art of the harper was facing extinction, efforts were made to preserve it. In 1730 a contention of the bards met in Limerick. In 1780 James Duggan, an Irishman living in Denmark, sponsored harp festivals in Longford in order to provide support for harpers and create awareness for their plight. These eleventh-hour efforts peaked at the Belfast Harpers' Festival in 1792. Fueled by republicanism and antiquarianism, this venture brought together ten exponents (nine men and a woman) to have their music transcribed by nineteen-year-old Edward Bunting. The oldest attendee was non-ogenarian Denis Hempson (1697–1807), who contributed "An Chuilfhionn." Bunting's *General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (1796) contained music collected at this caucus. Adding to existing collections (Neale, Lee, and Walker), this seminal work set the tone for other collectors and composers in the nineteenth century; among them Thomas Moore, who reinvented the atrophied harp music of Gaelic Ireland for the new pianofortés and drawing rooms of Regency society.

THE END OF THE EARLY MODERN ERA

Whereas songwriters like Antaine Raiftearaí and Tomás Rua Ó Súilleabháin were coming to prominence by the late 1790s, their work would be marginalized by *macaronic* songs (incorporating bilingual lyrics) and English language ballads. Despite their cultural distinctions, songs in both traditions continued to address familiar topics like love, work, recreation, death, and the supernatural. Political songs mirrored the events of the time (United Irishmen risings in Counties Antrim, Down, and Wexford, and the French landing in Mayo). Dance music reflected circumstances in America and France that influenced Irish politics. Just as the Industrial Revolution and the synergy of the Romantic period led to the invention of new instruments in Europe; in Ireland pipe makers perfected the unique multireed *uilleann* pipes, which reached their present state of development (combining drones, chanter, and regulators) in the 1790s. Sheet music and tutors soon followed, among them O'Farrell's *Collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes*, published in London in 1800.

At the end of the early modern era, Dublin's predilection for western art music, which reached an epitome in 1742 with the première of Handel's *Messiah*, would decline with the drift of colonial society to London after the Act of Union. By now, however, Irish traditional music had spread worldwide. Sustained by an expanding population, especially in the rural *clacháns* of the west of Ireland, where music making followed the cyclical calendar of the agricultural year, dance music and

set dancing experienced dynamic growth in the late 1700s, only to be devastated by famine and diaspora a half century afterward.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Carolan, Turlough; Music: Modern Music; Raiftearaí (Raftery), Antaine

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Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin

MODERN MUSIC

Irish traditional music, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was generally played, sung, and danced in the domestic setting. Ireland still had a high proportion of Irish speakers, and singing was an important activity both to accompany work and as a form of entertainment. Musicians and dancers, apart from a few professional traveling musicians and dancing masters, were amateurs who played, sang, and danced for their own amusement at home or at house and crossroad dances in their locality. The better dancers gave solo dancing displays, but most took part in group dances, particularly set dances (dances that had developed in Ireland during the eighteenth century and which derived from

the French dance, the quadrille). The transmission of music and song from one generation to the next was oral, and in rural Ireland regional repertoires and styles abounded. In many parts of the country Irish traditional music was the only music played and listened to.

The position of Irish traditional music by the end of the twentieth century, however, was very different. In common with Irish society, Irish music had undergone rapid changes and developments in the intervening years. The performance setting of the music had changed to the pub, concert hall, stadium, music festival, or radio/television studio. Instrumental music was most commonly played for listening to rather than for dancing. The prominence of singers and singing in the society waned, and Irish was no longer widely spoken. With increased prosperity, particularly in the latter part of the century, musical instruments were more easily purchased. Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann, an organization for the promotion of Irish music, song, and dance, was formed in 1951. This and other organizations, such as Cárde na Cruite (1960) and Na Píobairí Uilleann (1968), helped to rekindle interest in traditional music by providing lessons, and technical standards increased, particularly among young musicians.

The century also saw the rapid growth of *céilí* dancing and the *céilí* band as an instrumental grouping. *Céilí* dancing is a type of line or group dancing, which was introduced around the turn of the twentieth century and uses dances reconstructed or composed for the purpose. Music was provided by groups of musicians and these became known as *céilí*. U.S. *céilí* bands were influenced by the instrumental lineup of popular dance bands and adopted instruments such as drums and piano. This was copied at home in Ireland, and the *céilí* reached its pinnacle of popularity in the 1950s. In Ireland the Dance Hall Act of 1935 crushed the already dwindling house- and crossroad-dancing tradition by requiring a dance venue to be licensed, but a revival of set dancing spread countrywide in the 1980s and 1990s. Step dancing, incorporating both solo and group dancing, was widely taught by dancing masters particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and differs from both set and *céilí* dancing. Irish step dancing was controlled by the Coimisiún le Rincí Gaelacha (Irish Dancing Commission), which organized dancing competitions known as *feiseanna* throughout Ireland and overseas.

Improved transport and communication, and the increased availability of radio, television, and recorded music, also helped to change the path of Irish music. Mass media often contributed to the popularization of Irish music as broadcasters such as Irish Radio, 2RN, which began in 1926, gave a high proportion of airtime

to traditional music. The ready availability of traditional music meant that local styles faced competition from the music of other areas, even from the United States, and in many cases the local style ceased to exist. The 78 rpm recordings of Irish emigrant musicians in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, such as Michael Coleman and James Morrison, had a wide-reaching effect on traditional playing in Ireland, with many Irish musicians copying the style and repertoire that they heard on the records.

In the 1960s the combination of voice and instruments was a new departure for the tradition. The vocal tradition in Irish music was heretofore unaccompanied and generally a solo art form. In New York the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem were influenced by the U.S. folk revival, and they combined instruments such as guitar and banjo with singing to form the first Irish ballad group. The Clancys and Makem became extremely popular in both the United States and Ireland and new ballad groups, including The Dubliners and The Wolfe Tones, sprang up at home. The ballad scene thrived during the 1960s with numerous groups throughout the country playing in lounge bars. The popularity of the ballad group diminished during the following decade.

The musical scene in Ireland increasingly encompassed different music genres. Irish traditional music was now a minority music rather than a majority one. Not only was there a diversity in the music available, but innovators of Irish traditional music began fusing Irish music with other genres, including classical, rock, folk, pop and various ethnic music. Seán Ó Riada, a classically trained musician and composer, was responsible for a new direction in Irish music in the 1950s and 1960s. He was the first person to introduce Irish music to the concert stage, and his compositions for orchestra, such as the music for the film *Mise Éire*, were hugely popular, bringing Irish music to a new, wider audience. Critical of the uniformity of the *céilí*-band sound, he developed a new type of traditional music group by forming the folk orchestra Ceoltóirí Cualann, which integrated solos, duets, trios, quartets, and an accompanied singer. Ó Riada helped to popularize the *bodhrán* and bones by using them to fill the percussive void left by the split between dancing and music. He used a harpsichord to recreate the sound of the Gaelic harp and also introduced countermelodies and harmonies in his arrangements. The Chieftains and Ceoltóirí Laighean developed from Ceoltóirí Cualann. In the 1970s another musician, Míchéal Ó Súilleabháin, combined Irish, classical, and jazz genres in his work for solo keyboard and in his compositions/arrangements for chamber orchestra, piano, and traditional instruments.

The era of the professional musician had arrived, with many bands and solo artists making a living from playing Irish music. Traditional music was popular not only in Ireland or with Irish emigrants abroad but also among non-Irish people. By the 1970s the trend of accompanied singing, together with the rise in instrumental playing and interest in Irish music produced groups such as Planxty, Horslips, De Danann, The Bothy Band, and Moving Hearts, who fused traditional music with rock, pop, or folk music. This involved the use of instruments such as keyboards, synthesizers, electric guitars, and ethnic instruments. Conflict between the purists and innovators caused controversy in the closing decades of the century. "Riverdance," "Lord of the Dance," and other stage shows belong to the 1990s, but their combination of dance and the portrayal of dance with modern costumes, theatrical effects, and staging effected a resurgence of interest in step dancing.

The twentieth century also marked a growth in the study of Irish music and in music literacy among practitioners. Early in the century, Captain Francis O'Neill published his volumes on Irish music in the United States. The Irish Folk Song Society operated in London from 1904 to the 1920s; its aim was the collection, publication, and study of Irish traditional music. In 1935 the Irish Folklore Commission was established to collect and preserve traditional culture. Beginning in the 1960s the study of Irish traditional music was a feature in third-level music courses. The Folk Music Society of Ireland was founded in 1971 and published some material and recordings during the final decades of the century. Breandán Breathnach published many collections of Irish music as well as a study of the music, *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland* (1971). Many and various publications ensued. Other projects included the establishment of the Irish Traditional Music Archive in 1987 as a reference archive and resource center for Irish traditional music.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Carolan, Turlough; Music: Early Modern Music; Music: Popular Music

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Colette Moloney

POPULAR MUSIC

Popular music in Ireland can most easily be assessed by acknowledging the impact of global trends on the Irish music scene. Since the 1960s Ireland has repeatedly produced musicians and groups essentially imitative of performers in Britain and the United States, though this imitation has been leavened by the intermarriage of imported styles with traditional Irish-music influences and by an occasional original idea. Through the 1950s and 1960s popular music was defined by the showbands, whose mix of rock-and-roll hits, country-and-western sentimentality, and novelty numbers and routines filled dance halls across the country. The showbands retained popularity into the 1970s—with some, such as Joe Dolan, prospering even into the new millennium—by continuously adding contemporary hits to old favorites. From the 1960s ballad singers and groups flourished because of the increased interest in traditional Irish music and the general proliferation of folk singers in western society. The Chieftains traveled widely with their instrument-based renditions of traditional music, and The Dubliners enjoyed similar success with a more ballad-based approach. Christy Moore, whose irreverent, socially aware narratives were very popular, was one of the foremost musicians who began playing traditional music before moving toward mainstream popular music. Others such as Enya successfully followed a similar path. In the 1990s a modernized packaging of Irish dancing that combined traditional Irish step dancing and tap dance into an extended stage show, "Riverdance," was an immensely profitable global phenomenon. The arrival of Van Morrison, Rory Gallagher, and Phil Lynott in the late 1960s gave Ireland a credible position in the rock firmament. All three enjoyed acclaim as international artists, and Morrison's 1969 album "Astral Weeks" was accepted as a classic. His position in Irish popular music is second only to that of U2, whose multimillion-selling albums and groundbreaking world tours made them one of the most popular rock bands in the world in the mid-1980s. A Celtic subgenre of rock music from The Horslips in the 1970s to The Corrs in the 1990s brought national and international recognition, and an innovative fusing of punk rock, ballad, and traditional music in the 1980s brought great success to The Pogues, a London-Irish band whose singer Shane MacGowan has been acclaimed as the leading songwriter.



U2 concert at Slane Castle, Co. Meath, 25 August 2001. The success of Irish popular-music groups has helped to transform the image of Ireland.
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er of his generation. Beginning in the mid-1990s, most albums sold by Irish artists were by industry-created boybands such as Boyzone and Westlife, whose success at home and abroad lies in the marketing of formulaic music through suggestive dance routines that appeal to children and teenagers. Again, it was a trend imported from Britain.

SEE ALSO Fleadh Cheoil; Music: Modern Music

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Paul Rouse

Myth and Saga

A critically neutral term, the Irish saga denotes the large body of often heroic narrative composed over many centuries in medieval Ireland and surviving in the great monastic codices, such as *Lebor na hUidhre* (*Book of the Dun Cow*, late eleventh century) and *Lebor Laigneach* (*Book of Leinster*, twelfth century). The same narratives were once dubbed Early Irish literature, implying no antecedents in pre-Christian religion. An assertion that many elements from Celtic religion survived in Irish stories encouraged adoption of the term *Irish myths*, still widely used. The survival theory was challenged in the late twentieth century by Kim McCone, Donnchadh Ó Corráin and others, who argued that while some figures, for example Lug Lámfhota, Fionn mac Cumhaill, may indeed be based on lost divinities, the shape of the stories themselves drew more from the classically influenced ecclesiastics who committed them to writing. The death of Diarmait in a boar hunt, for example, is unmis-

takably modeled on the comparable death of Adonis. The term *saga* does not here carry its Icelandic denotation of a family story that is very likely based on historical incident.

Irish sagas should not be confused with Irish folklore. The huge volume of stories committed to writing in medieval Ireland enjoyed a prestige not accorded to those surviving in oral tradition among the oppressed and illiterate peasantry. Some figures from the sagas, such as Deirdre or the lovers Diarmait and Gráinne, were expanded and given variations in oral tradition. Yet much more in the whole corpus of Irish folklore has no correlative in the sagas.

On the basis of internal evidence, nineteenth-century scholars divided the corpus into four principal parts or cycles: the Mythological Cycle, the Ulster Cycle, the Fenian Cycle, and the Cycle of Kings or Historical Cycle. Beyond these are the stories of voyages to the otherworld and fanciful explanations of place-names. Medieval compilers of the sagas, however, may have been unaware of such cycles. Instead they denoted the tale type by the first word in the title. For example, the many titles that begin with the word *Táin* all concern cattle raids.

MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE

The six-volume *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (Book of Invasions) details the semihistorical invasions of prehistoric Ireland, leading to the triumph of the mortal Milesians (ancestors of the Gaels) over the immortal Tuatha Dé Danann. The climatic invasion story occurs in a separate text, *Cath Maíge Tuired* (*The Second Battle of Mag Tuired/Moytura*), between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fomorians, demonic pirates. The principal hero of this cycle is Lug Lámfhota (Lug of the Long Arms), a figure whose roots can be traced to the Gaulish god Lugos, whom Julius Caesar (first century B.C.E.) called Mercury. The leader of the Tuatha Dé Danann is Nuadu Airgetlám (of the Silver Hand/Arm).

Important texts include *Tochmarc Étaíne* (The wooing of Étaín), about the supernatural love between King Midir and Étaín, a paragon of beauty, a myth whose form evolves over a millennium. Two of the “Three Sorrows of Storytelling” are in this cycle. *Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann* (Tragic fate of the children of Tuireann) tells how three sons—Brian, Iuchar, and Iucharba—endure arduous tasks in exile for having murdered Cian, Lug’s father. In a second “sorrow,” *Oidheadh Chloinne Lir* (Tragic fate of the children of Lir), a king’s children fostered to a distant royal household are transformed into swans by a wicked queen and suffer a three-hundred year exile at each of three places in Ire-

land. The last is on the Mayo coast, where the children are returned to human form and baptized in the Christian faith before they crumble into dust. The third “sorrow,” the Deirdre story, appears in the Ulster Cycle.

THE ULSTER CYCLE

Earlier known as the Red Branch Cycle, the Ulster Cycle takes place near the hillfort “capital” of Ulster, Emain Macha, Co. Armagh, and the Hill of Tara, Co. Meath. Cúchulainn (the Hound of Culann), the greatest of all Irish heroes, is at the center of the action and is the key figure in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (*Cattle Raid of Cooley*); he is a son of Lug Lámfhota. The bellicose and libidinous Queen Medb of Connacht initiates war with Ulster over Donn Cuailnge, the Brown Bull, which she covets in order to have status above her husband, Aillil. Her own white bull, Finnbennach, gives insufficient esteem, so Donn Cuailnge must be seized from Ulster. An epic with dozens of named characters and faceless armies, the *Táin*’s most dramatic moments come in personal encounters, between Cúchulainn and Medb, especially Cúchulainn’s duel at the ford with Ferdiad, his former friend and companion. At the end Medb takes home Donn Cuailnge, but Cúchulainn’s story continues through several other texts. One tells of the wooing of his wife Emer, another of his unwitting slaying of his son Connla.

The tragic love story of Deirdre, the third “sorrow” of storytelling, exists in two medieval texts, one a foretale of the *Táin*, and in many oral tradition retellings. In all of them young Deirdre is unhappily betrothed to aging King Conchobar of Ulster (anglicized Conor) when she elopes with handsome Noíse, who is accompanied by his brothers Ardan and Ainnle. Conchobar pursues them and through the trickery of a surrogate captures the lovers, killing Noíse. Deirdre takes her own life rather than return to the embrace of Conchobar.

Prominent also in the Ulster Cycle are the heroes Cú Roí and Fergus mac Róich, the second a lover of Medb. The poison-tongued Bricriu sets heroes into violent conflict over the “hero’s portion” of meat in the widely read *Fled Bricreann* (Bricriu’s feast).

THE FENIAN CYCLE

The Fenian Cycle, also known as the Finn or Ossianic Cycle, has produced by far the most extensive texts of any cycle and its stories have been the longest lived; yet it is called the “sow’s ear of Irish literature” by Sean O’Faolain because the narratives often lack literary distinction. The central hero of the cycle, Fionn mac Cumhaill, unquestionably of divine origin, is portrayed as a

poet-warrior-seer who heads the Fianna Éireann, a kind of freelance militia skilled in poetry. Many of the stories in the cycle are told in flashback by Fionn's son Oisín and the warrior Caílte, who are presumed to have survived until Christian times and engaged in dialogue with Saint Patrick. The Scottish charlatan James Macpherson borrowed Fenian themes in his bogus historical *Poems of Ossian* (1760–1763) in order to introduce the cycle's characters to a wider European audience as Fingal (Fionn), Ossian (Oisín), and Oscar (Fionn's grandson). Fionn sometimes appears to be an unattractive figure, as when he pursues the beautiful young Gráinne, who prefers the warrior Diarmait; this parallels the Deirdre story except that Gráinne returns to Fionn at the end.

THE CYCLE OF KINGS, OR HISTORICAL CYCLE

These stories may relate events thought to be historical, such as *Cath Maige Rath* (Battle of Moira), or may be rooted during the reigns of historical or semihistorical kings, *Fingal Rónáin* (How Rónán killed his son), the narrative of a seventh-century ruler whose name appears in the annals. A datable authenticity does not mean that stories within the cycle are always earth-bound, as is seen in the highly regarded *Buile Shuibne* (Frenzy of Sweeney). In this sequel to *Cath Maige Rath*, Suibne, driven mad by the din of battle following a curse put upon him by a cleric, spends years living naked or

nearly naked in the tops of trees, regretting his fate, but celebrating nature in haunting, lyrical verse.

Portrayals of themes and characters from Irish sagas in Irish writing in English in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries do not always draw on original texts or their translations, but often rely instead on modern popularizers.

SEE ALSO Celtic Migrations; Cruachain; Cú Chulainn; Emain Macha (Navan Fort); Literature: Early and Medieval Literature; Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland; *Táin Bó Cúailnge*

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James MacKillop



Nagle, Honora (Nano)

Honora Nagle (1718–1784), founder of the Presentation Order of Catholic women religious and pioneering leader in the reestablishment of both Catholic education and women's religious institutions in Ireland during the eighteenth century, was born in Ballygriffin, Co. Cork, into a prominent, landowning Catholic family. Better known by her childhood nickname, Nano, Nagle was educated in a convent school in France and returned to Ireland in the 1740s with the intention of establishing a school for poor, illiterate Catholics in the city of Cork (an illegal act under the Catholic penal code in force at the time). She opened her first school in the early 1750s and by the end of the 1760s oversaw a total of seven establishments, each with several hundred students attending daily. Emboldened by the government's unwillingness to prosecute her, the support of some members of the Catholic clergy, and a large inheritance from her uncle Joseph Nagle, she expanded her enterprise by making a foundation of the French Ursuline Sisters in 1771, the first new establishment of religious women in Ireland for more than one hundred years. Although the Ursulines were able to staff Nagle's burgeoning schools, because they were an enclosed, or cloistered, order that had traditionally catered to the wealthy, they were not able to participate in her larger vision of having socially engaged religious women undertake active philanthropic work among the poor. Consequently, in 1775 Nagle founded a radically new congregation, the Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (originally unenclosed and named the Sisters of the Charitable Instruction). At the age of fifty-seven, finally content that she had created the religious community she had earlier envisioned, Nagle took religious vows

herself. Though the community experienced a slow and difficult start (and though it was deemed necessary to reorganize as an enclosed order after her death to gain greater support from wealthy Cork Catholics), by the end of the nineteenth century Nano Nagle's community was the second-largest women's order in Ireland, with foundations throughout the world.

SEE ALSO Religious Orders: Women; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829

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Mary Peckham Magray

Neilson, Samuel

A prominent United Irishman from Ulster and the organization's most important publicist, Samuel Neilson (1761–1803) was born at Ballyroney, Co. Down, the son of a Presbyterian minister. He followed an older brother into the woolen trade in Belfast and had built up

a prosperous business by the late 1780s. Sympathetic to the cause of Catholic relief, he joined the first Whig Club in Belfast in 1790, worked on Robert Stewart's election campaign in County Down later that year, and in 1791 was among the founders of the Belfast Society of United Irishmen and of the *Northern Star*, a radical newspaper which was forcibly closed by the government in September 1797. Neilson was a principal figure behind the Ulster United movement, which was more radical and more secretive than the corresponding society in Dublin. Neilson was in Dublin in the spring of 1798, and the arrests there left him as the only member of the Leinster Executive who was in a position to lead the rebellion when the moment to strike came. He himself was arrested as the rebel mobilization was in its early stages, however (his drinking problem may have contributed to this), and he spent the duration of the rising in Newgate prison. He was among the leaders who escaped execution thanks to British General Charles Cornwallis's clemency and their own promise to divulge the details of the conspiracy. He was sent to Fort George in Scotland in March 1799. Released in March 1802, he traveled secretly to Ireland, where he spent the next six months; he then sailed for the United States in December. He died suddenly of apoplexy on 29 August 1803 in Poughkeepsie, New York, where he was attempting to start a newspaper.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803; **Primary Documents:** United Irish Parliamentary Reform Plan (March 1794); Grievances of the United Irishmen of Ballynahinch, Co. Down (1795); Speech Delivered at a United Irish Meeting in Ballyclare, Co. Antrim (1795); The United Irish Organization (1797); Statement of Three Imprisoned United Irish Leaders (4 August 1798)

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Daniel Gahan

Neutrality

Irish neutrality is one of the most misunderstood features of Irish foreign policy. It has been elevated into a sacred doctrine by its most avid domestic supporters and simultaneously criticized by pro-Western analysts in Europe and North America, especially as it was practiced during World War II and the Cold War. The reality is subtler than these diametrically opposed interpretations would suggest. Irish neutrality, for starters, is not legally based: It is enshrined neither in domestic law nor in international treaties and substantially departs, therefore, from the Swiss model. Instead, it has been a strategic and tactical tool that Irish political leaders have, depending on the circumstances, utilized in the pursuit of Irish national interests. The Irish electorate has consistently backed government officials and policymakers in how they have wielded neutrality. It has, accordingly, proved to be an essential component of Irish statecraft.

WORLD WAR I

Neutrality was actually mooted as a foreign-policy option even before Ireland gained independence. On the eve of World War I, Roger Casement envisioned Ireland being transformed into “a neutralised, independent European state under international guarantees.” During the negotiations leading to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, Arthur Griffith asserted that “Ireland would want to be free to be neutral in the event of war declared by Britain.” Future Irish leaders agreed. As storm clouds gathered on the European horizon during the 1930s, Eamon de Valera, taoiseach (Irish prime minister) and minister for foreign affairs, initially entrusted hopes for international peace to the League of Nations and collective security. But when the League failed to enforce sanctions against Japan for its invasion of Manchuria, and Italy for its aggression against Ethiopia, de Valera, wishing to sidestep a debilitating conflict that might do irreparable material and political harm to the new, nearly defenseless Irish state, made a crucial geostrategic decision: In any future war involving the great powers Ireland would, he insisted, “be neutral.”

WORLD WAR II

De Valera transformed this diplomatic preference into a realistic alternative by signing the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1938, which, inter alia, returned to Ireland the “treaty ports” of Cobh, Lough Swilly, and Berehaven, which had remained under British military control since

1922. On 2 September 1939, the day after World War II began, de Valera declared Ireland's neutrality, introduced the necessary legislation into Dáil Éireann and instructed the Department of External Affairs to notify all the belligerents in the conflict. The Irish government soon came under tremendous pressure to jettison neutrality from the United Kingdom, which feared, especially early in the war, that Nazi Germany might use Ireland as a staging ground for an invasion of the British mainland. The promise of a British commitment to a united Ireland in exchange for joining the Allies was even dangled before de Valera. He refused the offer. Across the Atlantic, neutrality strained relations between the Irish and American governments. In April 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was doing all he could to support Great Britain's war effort, brusquely dismissed a request by Frank Aiken, minister for the coordination of defensive measures, to sway the British in favor of Irish unity. The American envoy in Dublin, David Gray, developed a particular disdain for Irish neutrality and tried to undermine it by utilizing his direct family connections to President Roosevelt.

Yet the American representative, like so many commentators since then, overlooked a critical dimension of Irish neutrality during the war: It was a powerful manifestation, only two decades since achieving independence, of Irish sovereignty. Ronan Fanning has noted that neutrality was conceived "not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end: the means whereby the end of sovereignty might be freely expressed in the form of an independent foreign policy—a policy independent, above all, of British policy." F. S. L. Lyons has defined neutrality as "the ultimate expression of Irish independence." Indeed, this aspect of it may partially account for de Valera's decision at the end of the war, for which he has rightly been excoriated, to pay his condolences at the German embassy in Dublin upon learning of the death of Adolf Hitler. It certainly accounts for de Valera's famous reply to a passage in Winston Churchill's May 1945 victory speech that was highly critical of Irish neutrality: "Even as a partitioned small nation, [Ireland] shall go on to play our part in the world, continuing unswervingly to work for the cause of true freedom and for peace and understanding between all nations."

The tendency of some Irish proponents of neutrality to transform de Valera's quasi-idealistic public interpretation into smug self-righteousness has been tempered by scholarship of the 1990s that has conclusively demonstrated how Irish neutrality in practice was heavily tilted in favor of the Allies during World War II. Irish officials shared intelligence and planning information with their Allied counterparts, granted overflight

rights to Allied aircraft, and returned downed Allied pilots to their respective authorities. Indeed, when the United States entered the war, de Valera said "We can only be a friendly neutral." This high level of official cooperation, combined with the support of thousands of Irish men who joined the British army, outweighed the pro-Nazi sympathies of hard-core Irish republicans like Sean Russell and Frank Ryan, who collaborated with German agents in Ireland and across Europe during the conflict.

THE COLD WAR

Neutrality remained a feature of Irish foreign policy throughout the Cold War. It became entwined with Northern Ireland in 1949 when the first interparty government turned down an invitation to join NATO on the grounds that while Ireland remained partitioned, it could not be a member of a military alliance that included the United Kingdom. This policy was championed by Seán MacBride, Irish minister for external affairs and leader of the junior member of the coalition, the staunchly republican party Clann na Poblachta. A former Irish diplomat has argued; however, that a majority government led by Fine Gael (the senior partner in the interparty government) would have brought Ireland into NATO. Party politics thus became a component of the postwar debate over neutrality.

The Irish government differentiated between economic and military alliances, and, ironically, when the United Kingdom applied for membership in the European Economic Community in 1962, Ireland did likewise. During the application process, the taoiseach, Seán Lemass, repeatedly stressed Ireland's pro-Western credentials and the narrow limits of neutrality in the context of the Cold War: its absence from NATO did "not mean that we are indifferent to the great issues which divide mankind today, much less that we are neutral in regard to them." Indeed, "while Ireland did not accede to the North Atlantic Treaty, we have always agreed with the general aims of that Treaty." Neutrality, therefore, could be tactically downgraded in favor of economic or other interests as the government determined. Ireland did not join the European Economic Community until 1973, but in the interim its neutral status qualified it for numerous United Nations peacekeeping missions. Still, throughout the Cold War, Ireland, unlike many other neutral countries that participated in peacekeeping operations, was neither "neutralist" nor a member of the Third World-dominated nonaligned movement. It is best compared during this period to other European neutrals such as Sweden, Finland, and Austria.

In the post-Cold War era neutrality has remained a strategic and tactical option for the Irish government.

Ireland permitted Allied aircraft to refuel at Shannon airport during the Persian Gulf War in 1990 to 1991 since the war was sanctioned by the United Nations Security Council, but it did not send troops to the region. In 1999, Ireland became one of the last European nations to join NATO's Partnership for Peace. The government stipulated that it will participate only in Partnership for Peace humanitarian and peacekeeping operations authorized by the United Nations Security Council, and within this framework it has contributed troops to NATO-led, UN-approved missions in Bosnia and Kosovo. Some Irish politicians have recently called for full membership in NATO.

The Irish government is committed to the European Union's emerging Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It has concluded that humanitarian and rescue operations, peacekeeping missions, and crisis management efforts (the Petersberg Tasks), some of which will be conducted by the European Union's developing Rapid Reaction Force (RRF), pose no threat in principle to Ireland's military neutrality. Irish forces will participate only in European missions authorized by the UN and on a case-by-case basis. The Irish government has stressed that the CFSP and the RRF do not constitute a mutual-defense commitment. Yet growing popular apprehension that they do indeed pose a threat to neutrality, support for which has always been quite resilient among some sectors of the Irish electorate, contributed to the defeat of the Nice Treaty in a referendum in June 2001, even though the treaty is primarily concerned with the reform and enlargement of the European Union's political institutions and not with defense policy per se.

SEE ALSO de Valera, Eamon; European Union; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; United Nations; **Primary Documents:** "German Attack on Neutral States" (12 May 1940); "National Thanksgiving" (16 May 1945); Speech to Ministers of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community (18 January 1962)

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Joseph M. Skelly



Newspapers

Newspapers have been published in Ireland since the late seventeenth century. In the mid-eighteenth century, newspapers became a regular part of the political, social, and commercial scene, and by the end of the century the press increasingly reflected the political debates on Catholic claims and the nature of the government of Ireland. At the beginning of the nineteenth century papers were being published in Dublin and in all the large towns of Ireland.

In 1774 taxes were imposed on newsprint, advertisements, and paper, and bonds had to be lodged with the revenue department. Dublin Castle regulated the press, partly through contracts to publish government proclamations and official advertisements, and partly through the distribution of secret service monies that were voted by Parliament to support newspapers acting in the government interest. Editors who published material thought to be seditious were prosecuted repeatedly, often by dubious means and before a prejudiced judiciary.

The press was used by the growing number of political movements to further their causes. Daniel O'Connell used newspapers both in Dublin and in the provinces as his allies in the repeal movement. From its founding in 1823, one of the aims of the Catholic Association was "a liberal and enlightened press" (Wyse 1829, appendix, p. xliii), and part of the Catholic "rent" was spent on press publicity. The provinces were always important to O'Connell, who supported the founding of the *Limerick Reporter* as a repeal newspaper in 1839. From the 1840s onwards, the Repeal Association founded reading rooms that subscribed to newspapers, which were often read aloud to groups of peasants.

The *Nation* (1842–1897) was founded in Dublin by Charles Gavan Duffy in collaboration with Thomas Davis and John Blake Dillon. Its aim was to further the campaign for repeal, and it became crucial to the rise of the Young Ireland movement, which eventually (in 1846) seceded from the movement for repeal. It claimed a readership of 250,000 and was distributed in the re-

peal reading rooms. The *Nation* had a program to disseminate the history and culture of Ireland, and it influenced the content of successive provincial papers. Dublin Castle thought that those whom it considered to be uneducated were susceptible to material that might lead them to commit violence and acts of sedition, so the *Nation* was suppressed during the 1848 rebellion; Duffy was twice prosecuted for sedition and twice discharged. Many other newspapers were also seized and the repeal reading rooms were closed down. The *Nation* was edited by A. M. and T. D. Sullivan from 1855 to 1874, and was used by them, too, as a major propaganda force for Irish nationalism.

In the 1850s the Tenant League was the first political movement to employ the press to its fullest extent. Charles Gavan Duffy of the *Nation* and John Gray of the *Freeman's Journal* (1763–1921) organized the conference that founded the League in 1850, and John Francis Maguire of the *Cork Examiner* (1841–) and James MacKnight of the *Banner of Ulster* (1842–1869) furthered its cause through articles and speeches.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, newspapers in the provinces were published mostly by patent-medicine vendors and stationers. With the polarization of political parties at mid-century, newspapers were increasingly founded with political aims in mind. Elections proved profitable for the press, which charged for reporting meetings and printing leaflets. Between 1853 and 1861 stamps on newspapers and taxes on advertisements and paper were abolished, and this, together with the increase in literacy and a rise in consumer spending, brought about the rise of cheap newspapers, especially in the provinces. They were extensively read in the reading rooms established by mechanics' institutes, employers, and town governments throughout Ireland. Initially, new titles tended to be liberal, but a minority of editors and proprietors moved into nationalist politics. The move toward mass political movements was reflected in the press; there was a sharp rise in the number of nationalist papers, particularly in the provinces, where the numbers rose from none in 1861 to thirty-four in 1891. A number of provincial newspapermen went on to become nationalist members of Parliament. By 1879 there were 127 newspapers published outside Dublin, a rise of 85 percent over the previous thirty years.

Outside Ulster, Protestant unionist newspapers, which had flourished early in the nineteenth century all over Ireland, gradually decreased in number, and inside Ulster, the number of newspapers sympathetic to liberalism decreased. New newspapers reflected the sectarian divide: The *Belfast Telegraph* group was founded in 1870 in the interests of the Orange Order; the *Banner of Ulster*

was the newspaper of the Presbyterian Church. Extreme Protestant views flourished around mid-century in William Johnston's *Downshire Protestant* (1855–1862).

The Fenians were slow to use newspapers for propaganda, although a number of provincial editors close to Fenianism, such as Denis Holland of the *Belfast Vindicator* and Martin O'Brennan of the *Connaught Patriot* in Tuam, Co. Galway, were advocating proto-Fenian ideas in the 1850s. James Stephens founded the *Irish People* (1863–1865) in Dublin as the voice of Fenianism, but it was suppressed and its journalists arrested. Its nationalist successor was the *Irishman* (1858–1881). It was owned by the journalist Richard Pigott who, during the Land War, changed his politics and aimed to destroy the Parnellite movement. To silence Pigott's propaganda, the Irish Nationalist Party bought out the *Irishman* and closed it down. In its stead Charles Stewart Parnell founded *United Ireland* (1881–1898), edited by William O'Brien, a paper in support of the Land League. With the split in the party following Parnell's involvement in the O'Shea divorce in 1890, *United Ireland* took an anti-Parnellite line until it was forcibly extended by Parnell and its editor, Matthew Bodkin, expelled. Parnell went on to found the *Irish Daily Independent* in 1891. Parnell's new paper was challenged by Martin Murphy's anti-Parnellite *National Press* (1891–1892), which amalgamated with the *Freeman's Journal*. Murphy later founded the *Daily Nation* (1897–1900), which merged with the *Irish Daily Independent* to become a mass-circulation paper, the *Irish Independent*. The *Irish Independent* supported Cumann na nGaedheal in 1923 and is now the largest-circulation morning newspaper in Ireland.

The Gaelic-speaking population declined rapidly during and after the Great Famine, owing in large part to emigration and the move to towns. Literacy in Gaelic was uncommon, but increasingly in the nineteenth century newspapers published columns in Gaelic. However, no Irish-language mass-circulation newspaper has yet been successful. In the twentieth century the Gaelic League founded *An Claidheamh Soluis* (1899–1938) as its official paper, but its circulation was small.

Eamon de Valera founded the daily *Irish Press* (1931–1995) to provide a platform for the Fianna Fáil Party, and he and his family kept tight editorial control. It was addressed to the lower middle class and to women especially, and had an Irish-language section and particularly good coverage of Gaelic sports. By the 1980s, however, the newspaper was in trouble, and after a legal judgment against it for damages as compensation that could not be paid and a dispute with its journalists, it closed in 1995.

By 2001 in the Republic there were two national morning daily papers, a regional daily, and four Sunday papers. Only Dublin and Cork have evening papers. There are about fifty local papers that are published weekly. Belfast has four morning papers and one evening paper. The *Belfast News-Letter*, first published in 1737, is the oldest newspaper in print in the British Isles. There are also three daily papers published in Northern Ireland outside Belfast. In addition, since the mid-1960s British papers have had a growing share of the Irish market, and several publish Irish editions.

SEE ALSO Balladry in English; de Valera, Eamon; Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Language and Literacy: Irish Language since 1922; Literacy and Popular Culture; O'Connell, Daniel; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Repeal Movement; Stephens, James; Sullivan Brothers (A. M. and T. D.); Murphy, William Martin; Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation

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Marie-Louise Legg



Nine Years War

The Nine Years War, which lasted nearly ten years, from April 1593 to March 1603, is also known as Tyrone's rebellion after its main protagonist, Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone. Fought throughout the island and at enormous financial and human cost, it was the climactic phase of the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland.

The war broke out as a result of centralizing pressure on the autonomous lordships of Ulster from the colonial government in Dublin headed by Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam. His execution of Hugh MacMahon in 1590

and reorganization of the MacMahon lordship into the county of Monaghan was a warning to other Ulster lords. Furthermore, the ambitions of Sir Henry Bagenal, a soldier and landowner based at Newry, to be lord president of a reorganized Ulster threatened the traditional regional overlordship of the O'Neills.

The commanding genius on the Irish side was Hugh O'Neill. After the creation of Monaghan he had sprung his son-in-law Red Hugh O'Donnell from jail in Dublin Castle and through him opened channels of communication with Spain. When the war began in the Maguire lordship of Fermanagh in 1593 over an attempt to establish an English sheriff there, the wily O'Neill initially fought on the side of the Crown. In fact, he was the head of a secret, oath-bound confederacy of Ulster lords connected to him by blood, marriage, and fosterage that transcended the long-standing provincial rivalry between the O'Neills and O'Donnells. O'Neill alleged an inability to control the military activities of his relatives while they were actually waging proxy wars on his behalf. The Crown, eventually exasperated by his stance, proclaimed him a traitor in 1595 after his half-brother Art McBaron O'Neill captured the Blackwater fort on the route into central Ulster. The interpretation of these early stages of the war has been confused by Sean O'Faolain's popular biographical study *The Great O'Neill* (1942), which portrays the Ulster leader as vacillating between loyalty and insurrection. It was guile, not vacillation.

O'Neill had taken advantage of the Crown's procrastination to build up an effective army which, by the time of his proclamation, had already won battles at the Ford of the Biscuits (1594) and Clontibret (1595). O'Neill had increased the number of men under arms in Ulster and had them trained by veterans from English and Spanish service. A third of the infantrymen now had firearms—an added incentive for the Irish to use a modified variant of their traditional guerrilla tactics. The battles of Clontibret and later the Yellow Ford were in fact large-scale ambushes of English armies that were attempting the relief of isolated garrisons at Monaghan and on the Blackwater. On both occasions the Crown's commander was Sir Henry Bagenal, and on the second he and 2,000 others were killed in the greatest victory ever won by the Irish against England. The Yellow Ford victory in August 1598 facilitated the spread of the revolt to Leinster and Munster. Within a fortnight the Munster plantation was overthrown after Onie O'More and Captain Richard Tyrell led a confederate force into the southern province. Those settlers (including the poet Edmund Spenser) who survived the sudden onslaught fled to the towns and subsequently to England. Queen Elizabeth's response was to send over her favorite and



Hugh O'Neill (1550–1616), second earl of Tyrone, was initially the Crown's great hope in late-sixteenth-century, heavily Gaelic Ulster. His cooperation gradually gave way to open rebellion, and at the Battle of the Yellow Ford (1598) his formidable forces were victorious. His subsequent negotiations with Queen Elizabeth I's earl of Essex (1567–1601) bought his resistance some time but led to Essex's recall to England and disgrace. Ultimately defeated at Kinsale in late 1601, O'Neill left Ireland a few years later and died in Rome in 1616. © HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

England's leading soldier, the earl of Essex. He assembled the largest army yet seen in Ireland, but he dissipated his 19,000-strong force in fruitless marches and sieges in Leinster and Munster instead of confronting O'Neill in Ulster. Meanwhile, Red Hugh O'Donnell was achieving significant success in Connacht and Thomond. After the fall of Sligo in 1595 he ranged with impunity along the western seaboard and in 1599 scored a resounding victory of his own when Sir Conyers Clifford, the lord president of Connacht on another relief march, was defeated and killed at the battle of the Curlew Pass.

Essex manufactured his own downfall by foolishly negotiating alone with O'Neill at a river ford on the Ulster borders. Indeed, the confederates used negotiation as a tactic to confound the state and embarrass its officials, and the related ceasefires to delay or stymie its military operations. The contrasting personalities of the cautious O'Neill and the more belligerent O'Donnell were used to advantage in the frequent encounters with Crown commissioners that interspersed the bouts of fighting. In each negotiation O'Neill and O'Donnell

would increase their demands by incorporating those of new allies in their geographically expanding confederacy or by raising the stakes from the local to the national. The Irish were increasingly demanding religious liberty and an overturning of the colonial land settlement throughout Ireland. In the negotiations of early 1596 the Crown, militarily weak and fearful of foreign intervention, offered a compromise to the Ulster lords. However, Spanish agents arrived soon afterward, and O'Neill and O'Donnell agreed to abandon the peace in return for the offer of Spanish military aid. Having secretly become Spanish allies, the confederates embarked on a series of tactics to frustrate the English peace, including O'Neill's turning over of the "king of Spain's letter" to mislead the state. Further ceasefires and negotiations in the winter of 1597 to 1598 and the autumn and winter of 1599 were intended to delay English military activity.

By 1600 the Irish confederates controlled most of Ireland outside the towns, but lacking artillery and infrastructure generally, they required a Spanish expeditionary force to achieve military victory. In the

meantime they tried to win over the English-speaking Catholic inhabitants of the towns and their hinterlands by political means. O'Neill launched an appeal on the basis of "faith and fatherland." In late 1599 he issued a proclamation to the Palesmen demanding their support as fellow Catholics and countrymen and threatening with destruction and damnation those who did not comply. Although a papal bull recognized him as Catholic commander in Ireland, O'Neill never managed to obtain permission from Rome to excommunicate those who refused to follow his banner. As an enticement to the hesitant, he put forward twenty-two articles which—if accepted—would have given Ireland political and religious independence under nominal English suzerainty. The Old English, who had spent three centuries fighting the Gaels, could not bring themselves to trust O'Neill, and the state glossed his demands as "Ewtopia" (i.e., utopian, or unrealistic). Far from winning over the Old English in Ireland, O'Neill's ideological démarche provoked the state in England into winning the war in Ireland conclusively.

Lord Deputy Mountjoy was dispatched to replace the disgraced Essex. The policy of parley and ceasefire, and of fruitless expeditions into the interior, was replaced by continuous warfare in which a network of small interconnected garrisons harried the Gaelic lords into submission by destroying their people through famine and slaughter. While Mountjoy cleared Leinster, he was ably seconded by Sir George Carew in Munster and Sir Henry Docwra in Ulster. The landing of an amphibious expedition under Docwra behind enemy lines at Derry was a critical development. The revolt in Ulster began to collapse as O'Neill and O'Donnell were deserted first by erstwhile allies and then by their own dependents. A Spanish force under Don Juan del Águila eventually landed at Kinsale in September 1601 but received no local support in Munster and soon found themselves besieged by Mountjoy. O'Neill and O'Donnell marched their forces the length of Ireland to rendezvous outside Kinsale and effectively turned the tables on Mountjoy, who now found himself trapped between their army and that of the Spaniards. But at the urging of the Spaniards, the Irish committed themselves to a pitched battle on Christmas Eve 1601 and were completely routed. The Spaniards promptly sought a truce and agreed to withdraw. O'Donnell took ship for Spain to lobby for further aid, fruitlessly, and he died there in September 1602. O'Neill fled back to Ulster and went into hiding. Eventually, he surrendered to Mountjoy at Mellifont in March 1603.

For the first time since the Norman invasion English sovereignty was effective throughout Ireland. The end of the sovereignty of the Gaelic lords was symbolized by

Mountjoy's destruction of the O'Neill inaugural stone at Tullaghoge in late 1602. The war had cost the English exchequer nearly two million pounds sterling. Sustaining the costly garrison strategy in the final phases was achieved only by the expedient of debasement of the coinage, which reduced the silver content of the Irish pound. After the war O'Neill's position in Ulster was protected at Court by Mountjoy. When the latter lost the favor of King James, O'Neill came under increasing pressure, and in 1607 he and the other Gaelic lords of Ulster fled to the continent in an event which has been immortalized as "the Flight of the Earls." Their lands were subsequently confiscated to make way for the plantation of Ulster.

SEE ALSO Desmond Rebellions; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); O'Neill, Hugh, Second Earl of Tyrone; **Primary Documents:** Ferocity of the Irish Wars (1580s–1590s); Tyrone's Demands (1599); Accounts of the Siege and Battle of Kinsale (1601)

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Hiram Morgan

Norman Conquest and Colonization

The Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland began with a trickle of mercenaries from South Wales landing in County Wexford in the summer of 1167, in aid of the exiled king of Leinster, Diarmait Mac Murchada; substantial reinforcements arrived two years later, who were intent on staying and winning Irish lands. The most famous of the invaders was Richard "Strongbow"

de Clare, lord of Pembroke and Chepstow (Strigoil), who did not arrive until August 1170, when he married Mac Murchada's daughter, claimed the right to succeed him as king of Leinster, and conquered Dublin from its Hiberno-Norse rulers. These latter events caused the reigning king of England, Henry II, to reassess the benign but "hands-off" stance that had hitherto characterized his response to the invasion. Since his youth, he had been interested in conquering Ireland himself and adding it to the many territories that were his Angevin "empire." He had accepted Mac Murchada's declaration of fealty, made in Aquitaine in 1166 to 1167, carrying the reciprocal duty to protect Diarmait from his enemies, and had authorized him to seek support from among Henry's vassals.

The problem was that Strongbow was an errant vassal, out of royal favor after having taken the wrong side in the civil war that preceded Henry's accession. The latter had denied him the title of earl for his Welsh estates, and was hardly likely to allow him become king of Leinster, which Strongbow was intending to do following Mac Murchada's death in May 1171. Attempts having failed to forbid Strongbow's departure for Ireland, to call home his associates, and to blockade their supplies, Henry decided to come to Ireland, to regularize the position of Strongbow and the other adventurers who were making rapid strides there, and to oversee the conquest in person. And so, when he landed near Waterford on 17 October 1171, with five hundred knights and four thousand archers, Henry II became the first English king to enter Ireland.

It was no glittering prize, although its Viking-founded towns were certainly an asset, and Henry was quick to take possession of them from Strongbow and his followers. Without its wealthy ports, especially Dublin, Leinster was a far less attractive acquisition, and hence Henry allowed Strongbow to hold it in return for supplying the military service of 100 knights. The kings of Thomond and Desmond, Ó Briain and Mac Carthaig, voluntarily came to Henry at Waterford and submitted to him, and most other important kings and prelates did likewise, the kings hoping that Henry might restrain the more acquisitive of the invaders (he did so, to a degree, for several years), while the clergy believed that the Irish church could be more successfully modernized if subjected to English influence, an arrangement formalized at the Synod of Cashel during Henry's brief visit.

However, Henry did not meet the high king, Ruaidrí Ó Conchobair (Rory O'Connor), and the Anglo-Norman settlement did not proceed easily when faced with his opposition, although his armies proved ineffective against the sophistication of the Norman military

machine and the invulnerability to Irish assault of the castles with which they were busy dotting the landscape. A compromise was required, and in 1175 the "treaty" of Windsor was negotiated whereby Ruaidrí accepted the Anglo-Norman colony, which was confined within its existing boundaries (Leinster, Munster from Waterford to Dungarvan, and Meath, which Henry had given to Hugh de Lacy in 1172), while Henry acknowledged Ruaidrí as the paramount power elsewhere. However, this had little appeal for the land-hungry colonists and was soon abandoned in favor of a policy of all-out conquest, with speculative grants of Desmond and Thomond being made to favorites of the king, while John de Courcy won east Ulster for himself in 1177. In that year, a royal council was held at Oxford at which the youngest of Henry's four sons, John, was made lord of Ireland. He was not expected to succeed to the throne, and so Henry envisaged a loose constitutional arrangement whereby Ireland would be ruled by a junior branch of the English royal family.

It was 1185 before John visited Ireland, but his youthful folly in his dealings with the Irish kings alienated them from their new lord, who was busy building castles on Leinster's frontier and granting lands in Munster to the ancestors of the Butlers and Burkes, while what is now County Louth was also taken from the Irish. In terms of fostering relations with the Irish, John's expedition proved disastrous, but it did advance the conquest and saw the establishment in Ireland of a form of government modeled on that of England, a pattern that has prevailed. John's later expedition in 1210 was hardly more productive since he was again inept in his treatment of the native rulers, although he reasserted his faltering authority over the colonists and further expanded the apparatus and reach of royal government. In the meantime, in 1199, John had ascended the throne, and hence the lordship of Ireland and kingship of England were, by an accident of history, reunited in the same person, as remained the case long thereafter.

By the time of John's second visit the country had been immeasurably transformed. The power of the Irish kings, except in the northwestern quadrant of the island, had been minimized, and their best ancestral lands taken from them by Anglo-Norman barons intent on expanding even further. They were able to do so by virtue of their advanced military equipment and tactics and their policy of encastellation. Beginning with rapidly erected timber structures atop earthen mounds (the motte-and-bailey), they were soon constructing massive stone fortresses like Trim and Carrickfergus, a sign for all to see that they were there to stay. But these would have meant nothing to the Irish if conquest were

not followed by large-scale colonization. Only then, by the banishment of the native population from the fertile plains or their reduction to servile status, and the introduction of a new, loyal English population, could the colony feel secure and, just as important, provide a profit for those adventurers who had risked all on crossing the Irish Sea to start a new life.

In the aftermath of the invasion, therefore, Ireland witnessed nothing short of an economic and agricultural revolution. The great lords parceled up their conquests among members of the lesser gentry from their homelands who were prepared to join them on this new frontier. The latter in turn persuaded others to follow suit (probably not too difficult at a time of population growth), and as each took ownership of their new estates, they enticed over their English and Welsh tenants, offering more attractive terms of tenure. They built new towns and boroughs and persuaded burgesses to inhabit them by less rigorous taxes and regulation. Just as towns needed merchants, traders, and craftsmen, so too manors needed laborers and parishes needed priests. Everything required to turn this new colony into a facsimile of England was found and shipped over from the neighboring isle, and within a generation or two the transformation was immense. But it was never complete. In the north and west, and in the uplands and bogs, the native Irish remained intact. Denied access to the law and treated as enemies in their own land, they remained a potential threat, and although the colony continued to expand until about the year 1300, its unfinished nature meant that an Irish resurgence was inevitable.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland; MacMurrough, Dermot, and the Anglo-Norman Invasion; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence; **Primary Documents:** The Treaty of Windsor (1175); Grant of Prince John to Theobald Walter of Lands in Ireland (1185); Grant of Civic Liberties to Dublin by Prince John (1192)

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Seán Duffy



Norman French Literature

Although Welsh and Flemish may have been used by the Anglo-Norman force that landed on the Wexford coast in 1169, its leaders probably spoke Norman-French: The few generations that their ancestors spent on English soil had not altered that. As the language of the ruling Norman elite, French was used in acts of Parliament and in early town statutes. It was favored by the upper echelons of the church, especially those with strong French connections. Private letters written in French by Irish-born Normans demonstrate their acquaintance with French. Criticism of French love lyrics by the fourteenth-century bishop of Ossory indicates some familiarity with French among the common people.

French titles included in inventories of possessions suggest that French literature was read in medieval Ireland. The country also produced some French literature, such as the *Rithmus Facture Ville de Rosse*, a 200-line lighthearted poem describing the 1265 entrenchment of the Norman town of New Ross in County Wexford. The most extensive Norman-French text surviving from medieval Ireland is the *Song of Dermot and the Earl*. Its 3,459 lines recount the 1169 invasion from a Norman perspective. Straddling the *chanson de geste* and the rhymed chronicle so favored by the Normans, it tells of invasions, battles, danger, shifting allegiances, sieges, and slaughter. It is significant not as an accurate historical account but for providing insight into the besieged mentality of the early Norman community, for whom it was probably written. *Amour courtois* (courtly love) inspiration may have reached Ireland later via English literature.

Exactly how long French featured in the linguistic landscape of medieval Ireland is debatable. As early as 1285, French-linked religious orders were abandoning French for Irish. The famous Statutes of Kilkenny (1366), which promoted the English language, are couched in legal French—an unconsciously ironic indication that French was becoming fossilized. Gearóid Iarla (1338–1398), lord chief justice of Ireland, wrote poetry in Irish, whereas his grandfather, the first earl of

Orpen, Goddard Henry. *The Song of Dermot and the Earl: An Old French Poem Edited by Goddard Henry Orpen*. 1892.

Grace Neville



From Lucas de Heere, *Theatre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornemens divers . . .*, f° 80: Irlandois, Irlandoise, or images of an Irish city woman from the Pale and a Gaelic man from the country, *sixteenth century*. COURTESY OF GHENT UNIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS 2466. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Desmond, wrote poetry in French. French may thus have yielded to Irish as speedily as the much later final shift from Irish to English in the nineteenth century. French still prospers in contemporary Ireland, from the renowned French writers who have made their homes there to the students who continue to study French in remarkably high numbers.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture; Literature: Early and Medieval Literature; Middle English Literature

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Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence

The Norman invasion of 1169 at the request of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha (Dermot MacMurrrough, 1110?–1171), king of Leinster, is traditionally identified as the start of non-Irish rule. But the first Norman invasion was almost a century earlier and was spiritual, not military.

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT

William the Conqueror saw his ally Lanfranc installed as archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. Lanfranc claimed primacy over the entire archipelago (chiefly to assert his superiority to York), ordaining and winning the obedience of two bishops of Dublin, Patrick (in 1074) and Donngus (in 1085), both monks of Canterbury province, with Donngus directly under Lanfranc. In 1074 Lanfranc also sought to enlist Ireland's most powerful king, Terdelvacus (Turlough) Ó Briain (1009–1086) of Munster into the work of church reform, denouncing Irish polygamy and simony (notably in bishops taking money for ordaining priests). Lanfranc's successor, St. Anselm, ordained bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, and his pressure on Turlough's son and successor Murtagh (d. 1119) brought about the reform Synod of Cashel in 1101.

The papacy was made aware of Irish church abuses, including lay control of ecclesiastical nominations, notably by St. Malachy (1094?–1148) and his friend and biographer St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153). Pope Adrian IV therefore granted crusader rights in 1155 to Henry II of England to control Ireland so as to effect church reform, a right confirmed by Pope Alexander III in 1172. (Both popes fought the issue of lay control against the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa with ultimate success.) Henry avoided personal intervention until it became desperately necessary to win back papal favor after the murder of Archbishop Saint Thomas Becket in 1170, allegedly on his orders.

THE MILITARY INVASION

Henry had permitted Diarmaid to seek aid from Norman Welsh vassals from 1166 to recover Leinster, from which the high king Rory O'Conor (1116?–1198) had ousted him. Diarmaid brought in a complex network of families headed by Richard de Clare (d. 1176), second earl of Pembroke ("Strongbow"), an opponent of Henry in the civil wars before his accession. Linked to him were many descendants and kinsfolk of Gerald of Windsor or at least of his wife, the Princess Nesta a Rhys ap Twedwr, whose paramours had included Henry I, grandfather of one of Diarmaid's allies, Meiler FitzHenry (who would serve as his cousin King John's Irish justiciar from 1200 to 1208). The arrival in Ireland of Henry II and his forces in 1171 was as much to control his old subjects as to convert his new ones.

After Diarmaid's death, Strongbow, now his son-in-law, claimed the kingship of Leinster, which accounted for Henry's enormous though unused army. Strongbow had foiled O'Conor's siege of Dublin, put its Norse jarl to death, recovered Waterford, and allied with Donal Mór Ó Briain (d. 1194) to attack Ossory, but he made no resistance to Henry, who reduced his Leinster title to an earldom and made Hugh de Lacy (d. 1186) his justiciar. De Lacy was made lord of Meath, but before his assassination he too would be accused of aspiring to independent Irish kinship. Before returning to Normandy in 1172, Henry received homage from Ó Briain and several other Gaelic kings. These proceedings were emblematic of the future relationships of English government, colonial magnates, and native leaders: constant maneuvering, short-term alliances, and a consistent belief down the centuries among the English that any of their number established in Ireland, however recently, were not to be trusted.

The Normans, unlike the Norse, could establish Irish bases far from the sea, and their kings depended on these to keep control. Norman castles, the open secret of their success, encouraged and proclaimed self-reliance, as did their modern armor, professional armies, and effective archers. The papacy supported Norman conquest in the perceived need of strong, centralized rule to facilitate reform, hierarchy, and control. However, the papacy found that excessive power in regal hands worked to its detriment, while regal weakness bred Norman as well as Gaelic autonomy and the emasculation of communications and tributes.

EARLY CHRONICLES AND COMMENTARY

There is no equivalent of the Bayeux Tapestry for the Norman invasion of Ireland, but two versions of the conquest of high literary value have survived. One is the

Song of Dermot and the Earl, a heroic chanson so titled by its translator, the pro-Norman historian Goddard H. Orpen (*Ireland under the Normans*, 1911–1920). The chanson is tentatively ascribed to Morice Regan, an interpreter in Diarmaid's service who appears in its text in what seems an assertion of authorship. It may be no earlier in writing than 1225 but survived as a great dining-hall oral performance in Norman castles over the previous half-century. Although pro-Norman (its Irish natives are treacherous as well as primitive), it is a vivid narrative, with skillful deployment of character differentiation (possibly for reasons of sponsorship) and a companionable eagerness, which makes it as valuable for what it tells of its audience as for its events.

The other source is the various writings of Giraldus of Wales (Gerald de Barri, 1146?–1223), yet another grandson of the industrious Nesta, topographer, propagandist, historian, archdeacon, incessant autobiographer, and family partisan for the FitzGerald invaders of 1169 and 1170. His fullest portrait, more revealing than he realized, is of his assertive, gossipy, intriguing, persistent, iconoclastic, snobbish, affectionate, treacherous, comic, and tragic self. But he made fine stories and good descriptions of the invaders, producing *Topographia Hibernica* after one visit (1183) and *Expugnatio (Conquest) Hibernica*, which concludes with what he saw of the visit of Prince John in 1185, when the prince had been appointed lord of Ireland by his father, Henry II. Giraldus was ready to vilify the Irish partly to vindicate his Norman identity from the suspicion of undue Welshness that had cost him at least one bishopric, but his marginal status must have resembled that of many Irish in these years, including Morice Regan.

Meanwhile the Irish annalists continued their work at various periods, not always greatly concerned with the invasion. The contemporary Munster *Annals of Inisfallen* merely state of Henry's massive incursion ("arguably the single most important turning point in Irish history," wrote Sean Duffy in 1997), that he landed in Waterford, received submission from Ó Briain and from the southernmost major king Mac Carthaigh, and wintered in Dublin. Annalists had their own art, notably in invective: Diarmaid's death was recorded as of "a man who troubled and destroyed Ireland" by the Connaught contemporary chronicler in the *Annals of Tighearnach*, which noted for Strongbow's obituary that no greater brigand than he had existed since the Viking Turgesius. The same vigorous strain is audible in Gaelic poetry more than five centuries later.

ANGLICIZATION OF THE IRISH CHURCH

All of these writers (possibly excepting Regan) were clerics, and the ecclesiastical rationale for the invasion

consolidated its advance. Henry II ensured a synod at Cashel during his visit and had its proposed reforms of marriage, liturgy, and so on reported to the pope. He had the new archbishop of Dublin, the Englishman John Cumin (d. 1212) elected under his auspices in 1181 and consecrated by the pope in 1182. Irish dioceses steadily fell into English or Norman hands in Leinster and east Munster over the next 150 years, but much of this seems to have been the result of local Norman influence, not royal demands or appointments. J. A. Watt (1972) estimates the anglicization of dioceses as having occurred in Meath (from 1192), Waterford (from c. 1200), Down, Ossory, and Leighlin (from c. 1202), Limerick (from 1215), Ferns and Kildare (from 1223), Lismore (1216–1246 and then from 1253), Emly (1212–1236 and then from 1286), Armagh (1217–1227 and then from 1306), Cork (1267–1276? and then from 1321), and Cloyne (1284–1321 and then from 1333). Leinster's dependence on Canterbury was pre-conquest, and east Munster reflected Norse as well as Norman and royal control of Waterford. (The former Mac Carthaigh capital and subsequent archbishopric of Cashel stayed under Gaelic influence.) But even before John Cumin, the diocese of Connor (County Antrim) was anglicized from c. 1178, which testified to a Norman breakthrough in eastern Ulster under John de Courcy (d. 1219?) in 1177, and the subsequent fates of Down and Armagh show consolidation and extension under successive magnates.

From the first, the invaders had intermarried with the natives: Hugh de Lacy married Rory O'Connor's daughter, which did not prevent O'Connor from leveling one of his castles a short time later. But ecclesiastical anglicization meant making the Irish church in all things akin to the church in England, and clerics of note had to be English-born or obviously English in culture. Cumin's successor was named Henry of London. It was essentially intellectuals, bards, annalists, and clerics who were supremely conscious of the Irish-English divide. That is not to say that they were always reliably on one side of it. De Courcy, carving out eastern Ulster for a quarter-century, became passionately attached to the cult of St. Patrick and saw to the transfer of what he was certain were the saint's remains to a grave in Downpatrick. De Courcy's native Cumbria is a popular candidate for Patrick's birthplace, so there may have been a personal identification, and de Courcy was a most generous ecclesiastical provider. Eventually de Courcy was ousted by Hugh de Lacy's eponymous son (d. 1242), who was first ennobled (earl of Ulster) and then in his turn ousted by King John. The effect was to gain security for the rise of the O'Neills of Tyrone.

The papacy's battles with John and with the infant Henry III's effective regent (and Anglo-Irish magnate)

William Marshal seriously impaired the initial papal principle of support for strong English rule as desirable for reform. The king's clerical friends might not be the pope's—Henry of London backed John under interdict and won the Dublin archbishopric when John gave way. And William Marshal's ukase that only Englishmen should be appointed to Irish dioceses was repudiated and condemned by Honorius III in 1220. Honorius also terminated at that point the papal legateship of Henry of London, who once again showed himself the king's man rather than the pope's in combining the office of justiciar with that of archbishop from 1221 to 1224, as he had done from 1213 to 1215. In practice the line dividing Irish and English clerical rule roughly approximated the pattern established in lay territorial control. Those Normans who penetrated beyond the line from Carrickfergus to Cork were even more conscious of the need to serve themselves, and sometimes such a reputation may have advanced them.

POST-CONQUEST ASSIMILATION

The first generations of Normans from Strongbow to de Courcy who established themselves and their successors or supplanters in eastern Ireland brought their followers with them, and the country took its pattern from this. In many ways the real division in Ireland remains between east and west rather than north and south. The Normans who arrived after King John's death in 1216 were much more on their own. Many of them might have made great conquests in the west, as the de Burghs did, but they then grew much more dependent on the native population, lost influence at court, found that lands they claimed were now awarded elsewhere, and became increasingly Gaelic in speech, manners, usages, and even law. As Victorian imperialists might put it, they "went native." This did not mean identification with Gaelic interests; it meant that they became further groups of Gaelic magnates playing off king's men against Norman barons and moving to a deeper level of mutual mistrust with royal officials and recent settlers.

The first fifty years of Norman Ireland had also established common law there, ultimately to form the basis of the present-day Irish legal system (cousin to the English and remote from the Scots). Local government on the shire principal was introduced then, where sheriffs could enforce their authority. Urban liberties were granted and regal councils were started, to evolve by the end of the thirteenth century into the Irish parliament. Irish intellectuals from 1169 to the present might curse the Normans, but Sean O'Faolain (1900–1991), evolving from his youthful nationalism, correctly spoke in his *The Irish* (1947) of "the Norman gift." Licensed brigandage begat democracy.

That history evolved thus was in part due to the crusading role in which Henry II had arrived: the native Irish were far from high in his priorities, but he and his successors had some sense of responsibility for them. The natives were expected to attend the early councils and first parliaments, and the language of apartheid or “Jim Crow” only came into legal use during periods when Normans had gone native and the English had lost confidence in their powers of assimilation. Giraldus, the classic exemplar of assimilation, wrote of Irish life and manners with the utmost contempt but with the assumption that under due royal or noble guidance, however rough the tutelage, civilization and salvation might ultimately extend to the Irish. Only after the lapse of two centuries did the tone change, when the Statutes of Kilkenny were passed in 1366 under Lionel (1338–1368), duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, third son of Edward III. Lionel had married the de Burgh heiress Elizabeth (d. 1362), only to find her male kinsmen occupying her enormous inheritance of Connacht land and serving themselves by flaunting native status. In his rage and frustration Lionel had the statutes outlaw “alliance by marriage, . . . fostering of children, concubinage or amour or in any other manner . . . between the English and Irish.” The English were also forbidden to adopt Irish names, customs, fashions, modes of riding, dress, shaving, and so on, or to sell horses or armor to the Irish on penalty of being adjudged traitors. It shows how deeply the Irish and English peoples had intermingled and would continue so to do, but it also asserted a government principle—however often ignored—separating natives from colonizers. Past regimes had exhibited metropolitan hostility to the periphery, but Lionel codified it—uselessly, as far as the next 150 years were concerned, since England had no military resources to overawe natives and bring the alienated to heel. It had to await the invention of gunpowder for any hope of realization.

NATIVE IRISH RESPONSE

The native Irish position from the start had been consistent in its divisions. High King Rory had suddenly replaced the previous strongman, Murtagh Mac Lochlainn of Tyrone (d. 1166), and driven out his ally Diarmaid from Leinster. Diarmaid’s return with the Normans was welcomed by Ó Briain and other kings who disliked the thought of Rory becoming too powerful. The same considerations governed individual kings and chieftains in the formulation of policy over subsequent centuries: resist the foreigner by all means, but not so as to give too much strength to a native rival; assist the foreigner where appropriate, but not where it infringes unduly on your own power. King John in

1310 alienated two friendly native rulers, Cathal (“Red-Hand”) Ó’Conor and Aedh Ó Néill, by demands for hostages. This was not simply a feeling that John was hardly a wise choice for guardian of a child: family feeling was not particularly delicate on either side of the Irish Sea (Rory, for instance, burned out the eyes of a son of his who guided a Norman raid on Connacht). They refused to turn alliance for the present into dependency for the future.

As the century progressed, disputed successions to Irish kingships were decided by Norman intervention, although sometimes later repudiated by the selected protégé. For instance, Hugh de Lacy the younger backed Brian Ó Néill in 1238. Brian cut his teeth as ruler in a 1241 massacre of his rivals for the rule of Tyrone, the Mac Lochlainns of Inishowen, but he subsequently allied with their remnant against Mael Seachlainn O’Donnell (d. 1247), who had supported him against them. He allied with the O’Conors of Connacht (now limited to Roscommon) against the English in 1249, and after de Lacy’s death he withheld the tribute he had previously paid to the earldom of Ulster. In 1258 he met with Aedh O’Connor and Tadhg Ó Briain at Belleek and won Aedh’s support (but probably not Tadhg’s) as “king of the Irish in Ireland,” only to be defeated and killed by the Normans at the battle of Down in 1260. It seems like a mark of Gaelic resurgence, and in effect it was, but not with the sense of unity implied by the readiness of the *Annals of Ulster* in 1248 to describe Brian as “high king of the north of Ireland” or of King Henry III to complain after Brian’s death that he had “presumptuously borne himself as king of the kings of Ireland.”

The high kingship had consistently bred fear and rivalry rather than any enduring unity and had thus given rise to the Norman invasion itself. Brian Ó Néill won no support from his O’Donnell neighbors for his high kingship ambitions, yet his career was paralleled by that of Godfrey O’Donnell (d. 1257), who repelled the attempts of Maurice FitzGerald (d. 1257) against O’Donnell territory by destroying his castle at Caol Uisce, wrecking his base at Sligo, and defeating his forces at Credran in 1257. FitzGerald had been a formidable member of his formidable family, threatening the northwest as well as supporting de Lacy’s ill-advised intervention in the Ó Néill succession. This reminds us that Gaelic resurgence rose highest with the stimulation of an extended Norman threat. John fitz Thomas FitzGerald (d. 1261), menacing MacCarthaigh in south Munster, was comparably routed at the battle of Callan (1261) despite support both from the justiciar and from a cousin of Fineen MacCarthaigh who defeated him.

RE-GAELICIZATION

The Irish frontier remained a vortex of conflict but also of cultural exchange, and if its Normans became gaelicized, it no more limited their hostilities against their native Gaelic neighbors than it did against Norman rivals or against increasingly ineffectual royal attempts to assert authority. Kenneth Nicholls (1972), authoritative historian of medieval Gaelic Ireland, estimates that the re-gaelicization primarily turned on intermarriage, sometimes on Norman procreation of children with Gaelic tenants; the very looseness and secular character of marriage, still unreformed to clerical specifications, dramatically increased the intermingling of peoples. At the very time when Parliament was taking root under Edward I, Anglo-Norman control of the regions where initial Norman leaders had had few followers was now fraying away. But what succeeded it was broadly a synthesis, with clerics pulling toward anglicization. (Gaelic bishops even offered Edward I 8,000 marks to grant English law to all Ireland outside the impenetrably Gaelic Ulster, but Edward refused: it was too daunting for the conqueror of Wales and Scotland).

The Bruce invasion (1315–1318) proved something of a Pyrrhic victory for Crown forces, revealing how shaky royal government was (very much dependent on magnates such as the Red Earl of Ulster, whose lands were chiefly in gaelicized Norman possession within two generations). In Ulster itself Niall Mór Ó Néill was master of central and most of eastern Ulster by the end of the fourteenth century, partly by the use of Scottish troops, some of whom settled in Down and Antrim (MacDonnell, Magennis, possibly MacQuillin). English families were chiefly limited to the now-gaelicized “savages,” surviving intermittently in the Ards peninsula. Meanwhile, in the extreme south of the once heavily anglicized Leinster, the Mac Murchadha (MacMurrrough) family had maintained and extended its kingship of Leinster as though it had never been interrupted by Strongbow. Art Mór held the Barrow valley in Carlow and Wexford at the end of the century, and the O’Tooles and O’Byrnes threatened Dublin from the hills of Wicklow. In Munster the de Clares, to whom Edward I had granted all Thomond (i.e., north Munster) in 1276, were smashed by the O’Briens at the battle of Dysert O’Dea in 1318 and disappeared. Gaelicized FitzGerald and Butlers continued to play a major part in English affairs, partly from lust for power, partly for self-protection: Butlers were Lancastrian and FitzGerald Yorkist in the Wars of the Roses, and the successive English rulers worried more about them than about the Gaelic rulers of the late fifteenth century. Royal rule now extended little beyond Dublin, while church authorities bewailed the persistent raids on cathedrals and lands by incessantly predatory Gaels and Normans.

SEE ALSO Bruce Invasion; English Government in Medieval Ireland; Gaelic Recovery; Gaelic Society in the Late Middle Ages; MacMurrrough, Dermot, and the Anglo-Norman Invasion; Magnates, Gaelic and Anglo-Irish; Norman Conquest and Colonization; Richard II in Ireland; **Primary Documents:** The Bull *Laudabiliter*, Pope Adrian IV’s Grant of Ireland to Henry II (c. 1155); Three Letters of Pope Alexander III, Confirming Henry II’s Conquest of Ireland (1172); The Treaty of Windsor (1175); The Statutes of Kilkenny (1366); King Richard II in Ireland (1395)

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Owen Dudley Edwards



Norse Settlement

In 795 the first recorded raid on Ireland by the Vikings occurred when Reachrú (possibly Lambay Island off the coast of Dublin) was attacked. For the next forty-six years the Vikings continued to attack monasteries and other centers of wealth until in 841 they founded their first permanent settlements, called *longphorts*, at Dublin and Annagassan, Co. Louth. These were defended fortresses where the Vikings could protect their warships and, if necessary, overwinter in Ireland. (Longphorts were also established in other places, such as Cork, but they have yet to be located archaeologically.) To the immediate west of Viking-age Dublin, the largest Viking cemetery outside of Scandinavia was found in the nineteenth century and has been dated to the ninth century. Until recently, scholars have debated whether the original longphort was located here in 841, and then the urban settlement was established in 917 at the site where it is now, closer to the mouth of the River Liffey, but recent archaeological excavations have produced radiocarbon dates that indicate ninth-century settlement in the center of present-day Dublin at Temple Bar.



A characteristic Viking motif. This drawing incised on a ship's plank was found in a wood house excavated in Christchurch Place, Dublin. COPYRIGHT © NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Vikings established the major port towns on the east coast such as Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Limerick, and Cork, which were all used as trading centers for their widespread economic empire that dominated much of western Europe. The excavations in the heart of Dublin, more than anywhere else in Ireland, have revealed the wealth and sophistication of the trade and industry concentrated in these ports in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Dublin was famous for the production of fine metalwork, especially the ring pins that secured garments in the Viking period. Excavations have also produced much evidence of the layout of Viking Age Dublin. The remains of many structures, such as post-and-wattle sub-rectangular houses, and their associated artifacts reveal the intermixture of Gaelic-Irish and Scandinavian culture that made up the rich Hiberno-Norse artistic tradition that dominated Irish urban life, especially in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Archaeological evidence from the Wood Quay site in Dublin in the late 1970s also showed that a stone town wall was constructed around the core of the nucleated settlement in about 1100 C.E. This replaced a large earthen embankment with a wooden palisade on top, which had encircled the town from the tenth centu-

ry. Along the southern edge of the river, docking facilities and buildings were also being constructed as the river silted up, with nine successive stages being identified archaeologically, dating from 900 to 1300.

Excavations within the walled city of Waterford have uncovered about 20 percent of the Viking and medieval occupation layers there, and have been especially valuable in putting the finds from Hiberno-Norse Dublin into a broader socioeconomic context. Although the range and quality of the Viking Age finds from Dublin are arguably more impressive than those of Waterford, the discovery of five sunken buildings in Waterford represents the greatest number yet found in any Irish urban center. To date, no archaeological evidence for the Vikings from a secure context has been found in Cork, but explorations in Limerick have provided traces of Hiberno-Norse constructions and occupation layers on the southwestern portion of King's Island, at the lowest fording point across the River Shannon.

This archaeological evidence from these Hiberno-Norse ports has provided a counterweight to the anti-Viking propaganda forcefully advanced by the contemporary annalistic sources, such as the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Inisfallen*, that have clouded historical judgment on the Norse until the last decade or so. As these written sources were largely compiled by the monks whose monasteries bore the brunt of the Viking raids, it is scarcely surprising that all of the ills of the church—such as pluralism and lay abbots—and indeed of Irish society generally, were laid at the feet of these invaders. Archaeology has emphasized the significant role that the Norse settlers played in the establishment of urban life in Ireland, and in bringing the island into the wider trading network established by the Vikings in Western Europe.

In popular mythology the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, which ended with the victory of the forces of the Irish high king Brian Boru over the Vikings of Dublin, marked the end of Norse dominance in Ireland. But the historical reality is more complex, because Vikings fought on both sides of the battle, and Dublin retained some political independence until 1052, when they had to accept Murchad, the son of King Diarmaid mac Maél na mBó of Leinster, as their ruler. Even after the Anglo-Normans captured these port towns at the end of the twelfth century, their Hiberno-Norse populations were segregated into areas called (for instance, in Dublin) the *villa Ostmanorrum*—"town of the Norsemen"—but they arguably ceased to have any distinctive identity by the fourteenth century. One of the major challenges facing future scholars will be to try to establish the true extent of Viking rural settlement. There is place-name evidence of such settlement outside the major urban settlements,

including Dublin, where the term *Dyflinarskiri* was used to denote its rural hinterland, and Waterford, where the names Ballygunner and Ballytruckle probably refer to medieval inhabitants with the Scandinavian names Gunner and Thorkell.

Indeed, among the few reminders of this long period of Norse settlement in Ireland are some place-names that are Old Norse in origin, such as the fishing village Howth, which is located on a rocky promontory at the northern tip of Dublin Bay, whose name is derived from *höfuth* (headland). Waterford is probably the largest settlement in Ireland that has retained its Old Norse-derived place-name, originally *Vedrarfjodr*, which has been identified as meaning either “windy fjord” or “fjord of the ram” (i.e., where they were loaded for transport by sea). Recently it has been suggested that the first element of the place-name is derived from the Old Norse *Vedr* (wind or weather), referring to the fact that this inlet (or fjord, to the Scandinavians) of the River Suir was often exposed to the wind, and that this settlement offered a safe haven in any storm.

SEE ALSO Clontarf, Battle of; Dál Cais and Brian Boru; Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Uí Néill High Kings

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Terry Barry

Northern Ireland

CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT FROM SUNNINGDALE TO GOOD FRIDAY	PAUL ARTHUR
DISCRIMINATION AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR CIVIL RIGHTS	MARC MULHOLLAND

HISTORY SINCE
1920

ALVIN JACKSON

POLICY OF THE
DUBLIN
GOVERNMENT
FROM 1922 TO
1969

JOHN BOWMAN

THE UNITED
STATES IN
NORTHERN
IRELAND SINCE
1970

PAUL ARTHUR

CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT FROM SUNNINGDALE TO GOOD FRIDAY

There is a tendency to see a connection between the Sunningdale settlement of December 1973 and the Belfast Agreement of April 1998. Indeed, one of the clichés is that the latter was simply “Sunningdale for slow learners.” This implies that there was not much more on offer in 1998 than could have been secured in 1974 and that the interim was a period of wasted years and lost lives. The sentiment has a certain superficial attraction but misses the vital point that both content and context need to be examined: peace agreements are only a part of a peace process. And it raises the question, Who were the slow learners?

The Sunningdale Agreement was innovative because it established a coalition government in Northern Ireland and recognized that the Irish government had a role to play in ending the conflict (the “Irish dimension”). The executive that took office on 1 January 1974 was composed of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) led by Brian Faulkner, the nationalist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) led by Gerry Fitt, and the biconfessional Alliance Party led by Oliver Napier. It was the first time in the history of Northern Ireland that a nationalist party had a share in power. That very fact contributed to its undoing. Ostensibly the executive collapsed because many objected to the Irish dimension: “Dublin is only a Sunningdale away” was the popular dissident slogan used in the British general election one month later. Northern Ireland returned eleven anti-Sunningdale candidates and only one in favor. The executive was redundant in less than five months, having been brought down by a loyalist uprising known as the Ulster Workers’ Council (UWC) strike. Key workers (particularly those in the gas and electricity industries) withdrew their labor during May in protest over the Irish dimension. It was a masterful strategy because it crippled the Northern Ireland economy. The power-sharing executive ceased activities, and the first bold ex-



The Ulster Workers' Council Strike in May 1974 brought down the power-sharing executive established under the Sunningdale Agreement. Devolved government was not re-established in Northern Ireland until 1998. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ample of constitutional innovation in Northern Ireland's history collapsed.

Over the next decade successive governments moved with more caution. The Labour governments of 1974 to 1979 placed greater emphasis on security and the economy than on constitutionalism. There was one attempt—in July 1974—to establish a constitutional convention “to consider what provisions for the government of Northern Ireland would be likely to command the most widespread acceptance throughout the community.” Seventy-eight members were elected to the convention, which met during 1975 and 1976, but it split on the issue of partnership government versus simple majority rule. It was only when Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives came into office in May 1979 that constitutionalism and innovation were revived. They came in two forms—two further attempts at an internal settlement, and the creation of more formalized links between the British and Irish governments.

The attempts at settlement were associated with two secretaries of state, Humphrey Atkins and James Prior. Atkins established a conference of the constitutional parties which met in 1980 to examine the future governance of Northern Ireland. This initiative succeeded in narrowing the political options to a form of power-sharing, or a system of majority rule with a minority blocking mechanism. The conference had been boycotted from the outset by the largest party (the UUP) on the grounds that it was a dereliction of the government's policy of integrating Northern Ireland more fully into the British system. Atkins was succeeded by Prior, who introduced a more ambitious scheme of “rolling devolution” in April 1982, whereby an elected assembly was invested with inquiring and consultative powers to make direct rule more accountable. Powers were to be devolved to the assembly incrementally if it could win cross-community agreement by 70 percent. But the SDLP and Sinn Féin (SF) boycotted the assembly proceedings, and there was no cross-community consensus. The assembly struggled on



John Hume and David Trimble, joint winners of the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize, pictured with Bono from U2, at a rally to win support for the Belfast Agreement, 19 May 1998. © LEWIS ALAN/CORBIS SYGMA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

until 1986; by that stage the process had moved on to another (Anglo-Irish) dimension, especially after the signing of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement.

In formalizing interstate cooperation, the 1985 agreement changed the nature of the debate from the endogenous to the exogenous. Henceforth dialogue would be conducted between the two governments of Britain and the Republic of Ireland rather than among the bickering parties in Northern Ireland. Unionism's failure to destroy the agreement led to a period of its internal exile which was only properly addressed in the 1990s, but within a British-Irish context. In essence, this meant that there were two strands to the peace process—one between Northern Ireland's constitutional parties and the second between the British and Irish governments. (Another strand—dialogue between North and South within Ireland—was added later.) Finally, the first strand was enhanced by the inclusion of SF and the small loyalist parties, the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party (UDP) and the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)—parties close to the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Ul-

ster Defence Association (UDA), and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). Their entry became possible after the British and Irish prime ministers produced the "Downing Street Declaration" in December 1993, which led directly to republican and loyalist cease-fires by October 1994. The declaration offered the opportunity of negotiating the political future to "democratically mandated parties which establish a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and which have shown that they abide by the democratic process" and referred (ambiguously) to the "right of self-determination" of the Irish people.

To advance the process, the governments sponsored the "Framework Documents" in February 1995, which outlined a blueprint for future discussions, but they had little immediate impact because the IRA abandoned its cease-fire in February 1996 in protest against British insistence that it decommission its weapons. On 30 May 1996 elections were held for a Northern Ireland forum to enable the politicians to engage in interparty negotiations. Eleven months later, the Labour Party defeated

the Conservatives in the British general election, and a new opportunity for inclusive dialogue was created. SF was permitted to join interparty talks on 9 September 1997. (The IRA's cease-fire had been reinstated on 20 July.) Intensive negotiations under the chairmanship of former U.S. Senator George Mitchell (and with the blessing of the Clinton administration and the European Union) followed the now established three-strand formula: strand 1 dealt with internal Northern Ireland institutions, strand 2 with North-South relations, and strand 3 with East-West (British-Irish) relations. The negotiations culminated with the signing of the Belfast Agreement on 10 April 1998.

The Belfast Agreement was much more comprehensive than Sunningdale, and crucially it introduced the prospect of the total cessation of violence, a prospect not offered by Sunningdale. It was based on the doctrines of consent (Irish unity was conceivable only in a peaceful context) and sufficient consensus (cross-community cooperation). It created sophisticated institutions that linked the three strands together. It built on the earlier failed initiatives of 1974 by learning from their defects and had a full-fledged equality and human-rights agenda. The agreement had been achieved through an inclusive process without any form of coercion. It had the warm support of the international community and reflected changing conceptions of identity by moving away from the narrow designations of (simply) unionist or nationalist. Above all, in two referenda held throughout Ireland on 22 May 1998 it was endorsed by 71 percent of Northern Ireland's voters and by 94 percent of the Republic's. It offered a comprehensive peace that had eluded Ireland in the twentieth century and was hailed as a model for conflict transformation in other intractable struggles.

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Paul Arthur

DISCRIMINATION AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Discrimination against Catholics predated the establishment of the Northern Ireland state. Catholics were disproportionately represented in lower economic and social categories and were rarely to be found in senior managerial positions. The political turmoil surrounding the consolidation of Ulster Unionist Party control further marked out the disadvantaged minority as disloyal. Thus local government constituencies were gerrymandered and Catholics were effectively barred from sensitive civil service positions. They were underrepresented in the new Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and absent from the police auxiliaries known as the Specials.

BACKGROUND TO THE MOVEMENT

Unionists feared losing control of their devolved parliament and government (from 1932 known as Stormont, after new parliament buildings opened in that year) to an opportunistic alliance of nationalists, socialists, and unionist independents. Though the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 required proportional representation in Northern elections, it was repealed for the 1929 general election. This weakened minority parties, particularly Labour, and consolidated the unionist-nationalist rift. Representation for Labour, independent unionists, and other groups fell from eight seats in 1925 to four in 1929, although their share of the vote increased.

In common with the situation in Great Britain, the Northern Ireland local government electorate was based upon a ratepayers' franchise. But when it was abolished in Britain after World War II, Stormont politicians elected to remain as they were. Protestants made up the majority of the 250,000 thus deprived of the local government vote, but Catholics, being lower down on the socioeconomic scale and thus less likely to pay rates, were disproportionately outside the franchise. The importance to unionists of the ratepayers' franchise was that it locked in the principle that those who paid the highest rates were entitled to the biggest say in the conduct of local government. Richer areas were disproportionately unionist. The political results of this principle were starkly revealed in the 1923 redrawing of many



Members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary attack a civil-rights demonstration in Derry city, 5 October 1968. Television coverage of this demonstration brought the Northern Ireland civil-rights campaign to international attention. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

local government constituency boundaries to reflect changing patterns of wealth. Nationalist councils fell in great numbers to unionist control. Similar, rejigging won or consolidated for Unionism Omagh Urban District in 1935, Derry County Borough in 1936, Armagh Urban District in 1946, and Fermanagh County Council in 1966. Perhaps one-fifth of Catholics lived under gerrymandered constituencies.

As a consequence, however, there was pressure to maintain the relative wealth disparities of Catholic and Protestant districts, or else the entire delicate framework would collapse. The government in practice could rely upon private employment discrimination to sustain Protestant economic influence. Local government also strove to maintain a robust proportion of Protestant employees. After the war, as local governments undertook slum clearance and built housing for rent, unionist-controlled local authorities made sure that Catholics and Protestants remained segregated. The inevitable housing bottlenecks caused much resentment. Even the large-scale infrastructural elements were carefully manipulated to minimize disruption of unionist electoral dominance.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUGGLE

In January 1964 the Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ) was founded in Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, "to collect data on all injustices done against all creeds and political opinions." Hitherto, civil rights propaganda had been simply one string in the antipartitionist bow. The CSJ's apolitical campaign was designed to appeal primarily to a British audience. In this they had some success, and a Campaign for Democracy in Ulster (CDU) pressure group won considerable support on the back benches of the British parliamentary Labour Party.

On 30 March 1966 a conference of more than eighty representatives, meeting at the International Hotel in Belfast, set up the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), a "non-political pressure group modeled on the National Council for Civil Liberties." They organized the first civil rights march, in emulation of the movement in the United States, from Coalisland to Dungannon on 25 August 1968.

The city of Londonderry (Derry to nationalists) proved to be the powder keg, however. In a gerrymander in 1923, unionists wrested control from nationalists, an arrangement reinforced in the 1930s. A nation-

alist voting majority of 5,000 resulted in a unionist council of twelve unionists to eight nationalists. In the 1960s Derry was deprived of the New University, although there was general agreement that it was the most obvious location. Few were surprised when evidence emerged that there existed the “faceless men,” a cabal of local unionists lobbying for investment to be directed away from Derry for fear of upsetting the delicate population balance behind the gerrymander.

On 27 August 1968 leftist activists in the Derry Housing Action Committee invited NICRA to organize a march there. This was rerouted to exclude it from the city center by the partisan minister of home affairs, Bill Craig. On 5 October 1968 the Derry march was stopped by police lines, and violence broke out after the Royal Ulster Constabulary moved in to disperse the crowd. This developed into two days of rioting and an immediate political crisis.

A thousand Queen’s University students staged a sit-down in Linen Hall Street on 9 October after being barred from the Belfast City Hall area on the pretext of a Paisleyite counterdemonstration. They quickly went on to form People’s Democracy, a radical and activist civil-rights group. In Derry, meanwhile, a broad-ranging Derry Citizens’ Action Committee took over leadership of the city’s civil-rights movement. An attempt to ban all demonstrations in Derry collapsed on 16 November when 16,000 marched and 2,000 staged a sit-down protest in the Diamond.

Police repression having failed, and under pressure from the British government, Stormont on 22 November announced a five-point reform package. This was a somewhat limited program, with the concessions of a points system for housing allocation and an ombudsman being the only U-turns.

Agitation continued, and on 30 November 8,000 civil rights demonstrators took to the streets of Armagh, only to be excluded from the city center by a belligerent and quite heavily armed crowd of 1,000 Paisleyites. On 9 December 1968, Prime Minister Terence O’Neill broadcast to the province, addressing directly the civil-rights marchers: “Your voice has been heard and clearly heard. Your duty now is to play your part in taking the heat out of the situation before blood is shed.” Shortly afterward he sacked William Craig, his controversial minister of home affairs.

The immediate response was favorable, and most civil rights organizations called off demonstrations for at least a month. However, one group increasingly in thrall to socialist radicals, the People’s Democracy, organized a “long march” from Belfast to Derry, starting on 1 January 1969. They were harassed on their way

and seriously attacked by loyalists on 4 January at Burntollet Bridge and as they straggled into Derry. Subsequent disorder in Derry saw a breakdown in RUC discipline and the temporary removal of police from a nationalist district of the city. The civil-rights agitation reignited, but on the following weekend it was doused again when protestors attacked police and property in a poorly organized demonstration in the Catholic town of Newry.

When O’Neill called a general election on 3 February, primarily to still dissent in his own party, civil-rights activists redirected their energies into electoral politics. A slew of civil-rights campaigners, notably John Hume, Paddy Devlin, and Ivan Cooper, ousted traditionalist Nationalist Party MPs. Meanwhile O’Neill failed to effectively reshape his parliamentary party, and there was general agreement that the Unionist Party was sliding rightward. In this atmosphere civil rights demonstrations were reignited, now emphasizing the demand for “one person, one vote” in local government suffrage and the repeal of repressive legislation arising from recent disorders. Severe rioting in April 1969, however, not only precipitated the fall of O’Neill but also eclipsed civil-rights agitation as communal confrontation and preparation for conflict became the dominant concern.

SEE ALSO Faulkner, Brian; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; O’Neill, Terence; Ulster Unionist Party in Office; **Primary Documents:** On “A Protestant Parliament and a Protestant State” (24 April 1934)

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Marc Mulholland

HISTORY SINCE 1920

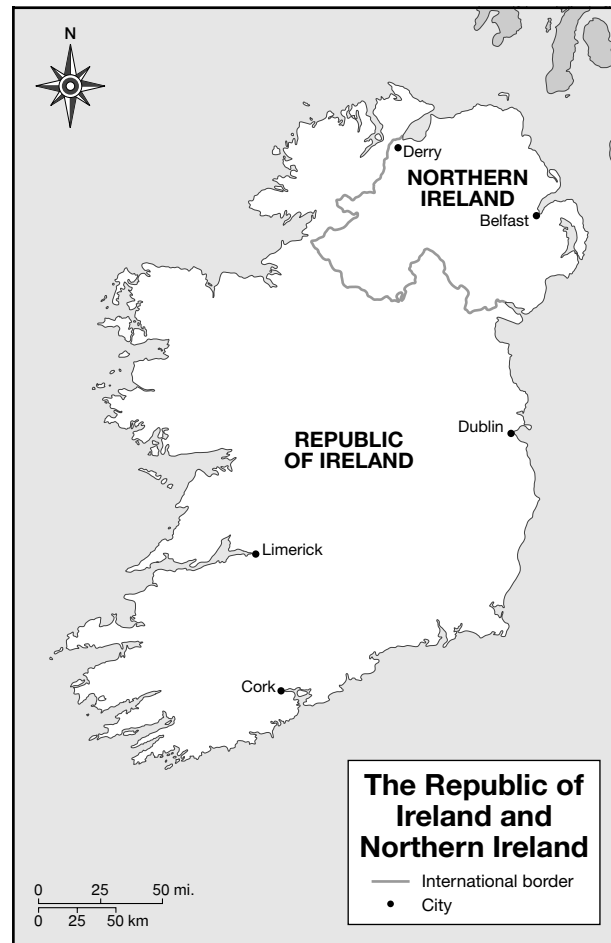
The state of Northern Ireland was created in 1920 under the terms of the Government of Ireland Act, and com-

prised the northeastern counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone. This area was the heartland of Protestant unionist opposition to Irish nationalism, although it also contained a substantial number of Catholics—in 1926 there were 420,000 Catholics in a total Northern population of 1,257,000. This religious demography, allied to the bitter circumstances of the state's creation, would leave lasting political scars. Northern Ireland was launched in the context of the Anglo-Irish war, and the insurgents of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) were deeply opposed both to the partition of Ireland and to the creation of a unionist state in the northeast. They sustained operations against the new state from its inception, and in 1922 (after the Anglo-Irish Treaty with the British was signed) they launched an offensive designed to overturn its government. This campaign was not only unsuccessful but also counterproductive insofar as it helped to stimulate repressive official measures and attitudes that long outlasted the "Troubles" of the early 1920s.

NATIONALISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 1920–1960

The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 had made provision for the amendment of the border between Northern Ireland and the new Irish Free State, and nationalists throughout the island trusted that this promise of possible revision would truncate and destabilize the North. Ulster nationalists, believing in the transience of partition, generally boycotted the evolving institutions of the new state, including its parliament and its committees of inquiry into local government and educational reform. This, together with the unfriendly attitudes of the unionist elite, meant that the Northern minority was effectively denied a say at a crucial stage in the evolution of the North. A review of the North-South boundary was undertaken by a commission in 1924 and 1925, but it failed to deliver the radical revisions that had been expected. Northern nationalists were forced to accept that partition would survive and that they would have to coexist with the unionist regime. But the unionist governors of Northern Ireland, led by James Craig, the first prime minister of the new state, saw themselves as the political and military victors of the struggles of the early and mid-1920s; and they showed little magnanimity to the nationalist minority either at this time or later.

Nationalists emerged as a permanently alienated section of Northern society. They constituted a small minority in the devolved parliament and thus were never in government. They were underrepresented in most areas of the workplace, including the police force, and were dramatically underrepresented in the elite cad-



res of the public sector. The relationship between nationalists and the police was often antagonistic; the Royal Ulster Constabulary was unpopular but won some grudging acceptance, while the part-time policemen of the Ulster Special Constabulary were viewed as heavy-handed and oppressive. Local-government electoral boundaries favored the unionists, in some cases—Omagh, Derry city—so blatantly that they effectively disfranchised clear nationalist majorities. Proportional representation was abolished by unionist ministers for local-government elections in September 1922—a move that decisively weakened nationalist representation. The retention of a property qualification for the local-government (though not the parliamentary) franchise excluded many socially disadvantaged people from the vote, and though both the unionist and nationalist poor were affected, nationalists suffered disproportionately. Nationalists, who were concentrated in the west of Northern Ireland, believed that the unionist government actively favored the eastern counties in terms of industrial investment and social improvements.

Until the 1960s Northern nationalists expressed these resentments through a tacit disengagement from the state. There were occasional electoral mobilizations, as in the early and mid-1950s, when several republicans were elected to the Northern Ireland parliament (Stormont) and Westminster. The militant separatist tradition also provided an avenue for the disenfranchised, although this survived only on a very small scale in West Belfast and other nationalist enclaves. The IRA launched campaigns against the Northern government in 1939 and again in 1956, but while some lives were lost and the unionist regime was unsettled, these were relatively unimportant affairs that were suppressed with comparative ease.

THE UNIONIST GOVERNMENT AND ITS DIFFICULTIES, 1920–1960

The unionist governors of Northern Ireland faced other profound challenges. The foundation charter of their state, the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, was a problem in that it defined political and economic relationships that were speedily outmoded. In particular, the act burdened the new regime in Belfast with financial constraints which, if they had been sustained, would have ensured its collapse, and the economic relationship between the Belfast and London governments had to be repeatedly overhauled in 1924 to 1925 and later. The act partitioned the island and created separate Home Rule administrations in Belfast and Dublin. The measure also envisaged the ultimate unity of the island, and much of its political engineering was designed to facilitate this end. But Irish revolutionaries wanted more than Home Rule by 1920 or 1921, and the unionists, while accepting a Home Rule administration in Belfast, emphatically did not want Irish unity. Only in 1925 were some of the legislative inducements for unity effectively dismantled. Still, the unionist government remained burdened with what was effectively a unitary constitution until the demise of Stormont in 1972.

But the core problem for the governors and people of Northern Ireland was the collapse of the regional economy in the interwar years. The staples of Northern industry were shipbuilding and linen, and both of these enterprises were in crisis. Unionist ministers sought to bolster shipbuilding and other existing businesses through loans guarantees and tried to tempt new enterprises into Northern Ireland with subventions and other inducements. Neither venture was successful, and the level of unemployment remained appallingly high throughout the interwar years. In 1938, 92,000 Northern citizens were on the dole, reflecting an unemployment rate of 29.5 percent (compared with 12.8 percent for the rest of the United Kingdom). High levels of un-

employment meant much personal misery, sustained pressure on welfare resources, and a high degree of political instability—the poor of both communities, Protestant and Catholic, rioted in October 1932. High levels of unemployment also threatened to disrupt the social alliance of Ulster Protestants upon which the Northern state rested, and in this context unemployment tended to reinforce the sectarian defensiveness of the unionist government.

The Second World War brought German air attacks and (in the raids of April and May 1941) some 1,100 civilian casualties. But in other senses the war brought a form of grim relief to many of the relentless problems confronting the unionist regime. The war created a heightened demand for the industrial goods of the region, and it therefore temporarily ameliorated (but by no means cured) the contagion of joblessness. The war also brought ultimately a greater degree of political security to the governing party: Northern Ireland was heavily involved in the support of the Allied war effort, and unionism was clearly bolstered by the victory of May 1945. The neutrality of the Dublin government, on the other hand, simultaneously focused and reinforced Irish patriotism and undermined the antipartisan cause in the United States and Britain in the immediate postwar years. When the Irish government declared in 1948 that the twenty-six counties were to become a republic, the British government responded with its Ireland Act (1949), a measure that affirmed that Northern Ireland would cease to be a part of the United Kingdom only if the Stormont parliament so decided. This was the most solid legislative endorsement that the unionist regime had yet been or ever would be given.

Other, sometimes indirect results of the war had more ambiguous implications. The war was associated with an expansion of the British state, and in particular with the elaboration of social-welfare reform. This affected Northern Ireland, where the civil service grew rapidly in the postwar years, as did the provision of welfare relief (social services were now on a par with Britain and were largely subsidized by the British state). There were some short-term political benefits from this to the extent that the regime was able, through jobs and welfare, to bolster the Protestant social alliance upon which it was founded. But it was also the case that Catholic nationalist resentment was becoming more of a challenge, for the Catholic community now had greater educational opportunities than before and yet was still largely excluded from both political power and public employment.

Nor had the scourge of unemployment disappeared. Agriculture was a significant feature of the regional economy, but—with the onset of mechaniza-

tion—was growing more efficient and employing fewer people. Shipbuilding and linen continued on their downward trajectory in the 1950s despite government subventions. By the early 1960s there were massive layoffs in the shipyards, and 10,000 jobs were lost in the linen industry between 1956 and 1961. This economic collapse recreated some of the political volatility that had been evident in the early 1930s, with massive protest demonstrations and the redirection of working-class Protestant votes away from unionism toward the Northern Ireland Labour Party.

O'NEILLISM AND THE PRELUDE TO VIOLENCE, 1960–1970

In 1963, against the backdrop of this crisis, Viscount Brookeborough, the prime minister of Northern Ireland and unionist leader, resigned. His replacement, Terence O'Neill, saw industrial modernization and the reform and consolidation of unionism as his key tasks, and he embarked upon a series of inclusivist gestures and economic improvements that were designed to attain these ends. O'Neill believed that the economic problems of Northern Ireland were susceptible to rational management, and he also argued that the "irrationality" of much of Northern politics would be undermined by enhanced prosperity. He maintained that it was possible to recast community relations within Northern Ireland and between the North and Dublin on the basis of well-publicized friendly political gestures, such as inviting the Southern taoiseach Seán Lemass to visit Belfast in January 1965.

But in fact the relationship between economic and political modernization was more complex than O'Neill understood, and the result of many of his actions was to inflame rather than ameliorate resentments, divisions, and expectations. The new industries that succumbed to O'Neill's blandishments tended to establish themselves in the east of the region. Nationalists, concentrated in the impoverished west, saw this as economic discrimination. Improvements in transport, particularly the closure of railways and the construction of motorways, also provoked criticisms concerning the neglect of the west. Any benefits accruing from other initiatives—a new university or a new town, for example—tended to be obscured by allegations concerning their location. The drive to build new homes also helped to inflame long-standing Catholic resentments concerning the unfair allocation of public housing.

Catholic anger on housing led to the creation of the Campaign for Social Justice in January 1964; this in turn fed into a wider protest organization, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), created in

April 1967. Following the example of civil-rights protest in the United States, NICRA and its radical offshoot, the People's Democracy, organized a series of political marches in 1968 and 1969 that resulted in confrontations with the police and with ultraconservative Protestant counterdemonstrators. O'Neill, pressed by Harold Wilson's Labour government in London, hastily sought to enact a five-point reform program in November 1968, but this only alienated many unionists (who saw it as a surrender to militant pressure) without in any way defusing civil-rights anger. O'Neill sought an electoral mandate for his reformism in February 1969, but he only succeeded in entrenching the divisions within his own party. He had hoped to win the votes of substantial numbers of moderate Catholics but was disappointed. The election, combined with O'Neill's resignation in April 1969, signaled the extent to which the traditional governing elite was weakened and disoriented, and it helped to generate a radical realignment within Northern constitutional politics. In 1969 to 1971 the party structure of the North was completely reinvented with the establishment of a centrist Alliance Party in April 1970; a new constitutional nationalist grouping, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, in August 1970; and the hardline Democratic Unionists, led by Dr. Ian Paisley, in September 1971.

The apparent weakness of the governing elite also helped to stimulate civil unrest: Intercommunal rioting in Belfast and Derry marred the summer of 1969, and in August British troops were deployed on the streets in an effort to quell the disturbances. Some nationalists were for a brief time inclined to welcome these outside forces, believing that their traditional defenders, the IRA, had failed to offer adequate protection. But by January 1970, with the launch of a more aggressive republican force, the Provisional IRA (PIRA or "Provisionals"), many Northern Catholics believed that they had found a credible new focus for their loyalties.

THE PROVISIONAL IRA, 1970–1994

Born in the Catholic-Protestant interface areas of Belfast and armed by Southern sympathizers, the Provisionals were strong enough by 1972 to launch an offensive designed to overturn the Northern Irish state and remove the British presence from Ireland. Recruits were plentiful, particularly after August 1971 when in a last, desperate initiative on security the Stormont government presided over the heavy-handed and mismanaged application of internment without trial. The PIRA also received a grim boost on 30 January 1972 ("Bloody Sunday") when the British army opened fire on a demonstration in Derry, killing thirteen protestors. The Provisionals sustained their war, with only minor in-



On 21 July 1972 (“Bloody Friday”) the IRA planted over twenty bombs in the Belfast city center, killing eleven people and injuring many more. © LEIF SKOOGFORS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

terruptions, until the cease-fire of August 1994. Their strategies shifted somewhat over this period, with an initial emphasis on bombing economic targets—eleven people died in a series of PIRA bombs in central Belfast on “Bloody Friday,” 21 July 1972—and the assassination of policemen and soldiers. In the later 1970s there was a shift toward the targeting of high-profile victims, such as Earl Mountbatten, an uncle of Prince Philip, who was killed on 27 August 1979. There was a plan to assassinate the Prince and Princess of Wales in July 1983, and Mrs. Thatcher and the Conservative cabinet narrowly missed death when a bomb exploded at the Grand Hotel in Brighton in October 1984. Bombing political and economic targets in England was a long-term strategy of the Provisionals.

In 1980 and 1981 the republican movement also returned to a highly emotive form of protest used in the Anglo-Irish War: hunger strikes. Between May and August 1981 eleven republican prisoners in the Maze Gaol near Belfast starved themselves to death in order to highlight a demand for “political” (as distinct from “criminal”) status. Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Provisionals, was able to mobilize popular nationalist

anger and to achieve a degree of electoral momentum on this basis. The party contested elections for the Northern Ireland Assembly (October 1982), for Westminster (June 1983), and for local councils (May 1985). The degree of success that was sustained (the party won 13.4% of the vote at the 1983 Westminster general election) was sufficient to encourage further political action and to unsettle the Thatcher government.

BRITISH STRATEGIES, 1972–1990

The British response to the insurgency of the 1970s and 1980s was seemingly inconsistent. In March 1972 Edward Heath’s Tory government suspended the devolved government at Stormont and thereby ended more than 50 years of uninterrupted unionist executive power. In July 1972 the British minister responsible for Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw, met leaders of PIRA in an apparent effort to explore the possibilities of agreement. Later British ministers (notably Merlyn Rees, secretary of state from 1974 to 1976) nurtured a similar hope that both loyalist and republican paramilitaries might

be brought into the constitutional process, and also (briefly) pursued conciliationist strategies.

But the main pattern of British policy involved periodic efforts to reach an agreement between the main constitutional parties in Northern Ireland, followed by exasperation and military offensives. The Sunningdale Agreement of December 1973 was struck between the Northern constitutional parties (excluding the Democratic Unionist Party) along with the British and Irish governments, and involved an effort to create a power-sharing devolved administration in Belfast that would be linked by strong cross-border authorities with the administration in Dublin. But the plan was overthrown by popular Protestant protest action in May 1974. The balance of political influence on the whole shifted in the unionists' favor after this debacle, but no internal settlement was forthcoming. The failure of a conciliationist initiative by Rees in 1974 to 1975 was followed by a hardline stand on security taken by his successor, Roy Mason.

In the early 1980s, mindful of this political failure and of the rising support for Sinn Féin, the British government sought to re-engage the Irish government, and effectively excluded the unionists from a lengthy negotiation that concluded in November 1985 with the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. The Irish saw this document as a stepping stone to a form of joint authority within Northern Ireland, whereas the British (who were more divided in their counsels) appear to have viewed it as a means of inculcating the Irish in the problems of governing the North without granting them any formal authority. The British also fervently hoped that the agreement would improve cross-border security arrangements. Both governments believed that the agreement would help to bolster constitutional nationalism and subvert the electoral progress of Sinn Féin.

THE PEACE PROCESS, 1990–1998

Judged by its own apparent goals, the agreement might well be interpreted as a failure, for it undermined constitutional unionist politics while pushing the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) toward a form of rapprochement with Sinn Féin. Indeed, it is arguable that future political progress stemmed not so much from the agreement's achievements as from initiatives that ran contrary to its underlying principles. The starting points for the negotiations that culminated in the Belfast Agreement of April 1998 were the dialogue between SDLP leader John Hume and Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams and overtures toward Irish republicanism that were made by Peter Brooke (British secretary of state for Northern Ireland from 1989 to 1992) and continued for

a time under his successor, Patrick Mayhew (secretary of state from 1992 to 1997). Gerry Adams had cautiously hinted in 1987 that he would be prepared to consider a constitutional means of securing the end of the British presence in Ireland, and this was seized upon by John Hume as a means of opening up dialogue with the republican movement. Brooke had an independent line of communication with Adams, and he also publicly declared in November 1990 in a message directed toward republicans that the British had "no selfish or strategic interest" in Northern Ireland. This mild overture was complemented by the launching of a talks process in March 1991 involving the constitutional parties and framed within three "strands": the proposed political structures of Northern Ireland, cross-border institutions and relationships, and the British-Irish connection. These talks collapsed in July 1991, but they were resurrected under Mayhew between April and November 1992.

Neither this diplomacy nor the resumed dialogue between Hume and Adams (1992–1993) was immediately successful. But the British and Irish governments led by John Major and Albert Reynolds were anxious to seize the initiative from Hume-Adams, and on 15 December 1993 they published the "Downing Street Declaration," a joint statement of shared principles for any future settlement in the North. The declaration emphasized again the lack of any "selfish strategic or economic [British] interest" in Northern Ireland, highlighted the need for "full respect" for all traditions, and affirmed the principle of political consent in the North. It fell far short of republican ideals, but on the other hand, it appeared to provide an opportunity for republicans, who were threatened at this time by a ferocious loyalist assault on the nationalist population, to explore the potentialities of constitutional action. After some hesitation, therefore, the Provisionals declared a cease-fire on 31 August 1994. This decision was apparently rewarded when in February 1995 the two governments published the "Frameworks Documents," a paper that raised the possibility of cross-border bodies with "executive" functions and that hinted at the possibility of joint British-Irish authority within Northern Ireland.

The key difficulty in the "Peace Process" (at this stage and later) arose from the issue of paramilitary weapons. The British envisaged that Sinn Féin would be admitted to negotiations on the constitutional future of the North once they had decommissioned their arms. But republicans saw this as tantamount to surrender, and with the peace process apparently stalled, in February 1996 the Provisionals detonated a bomb in London that killed two people. By the early summer of 1997 there were changes of administration in London and

Dublin, with the demise of John Major and John Bruton, the Fine Gael taoiseach, both of whom were disliked by republicans. The return of a Labour government under Tony Blair and a Fianna Fáil-led coalition with Bertie Ahern as taoiseach, together with the earlier re-election of Bill Clinton to the U.S. presidency, all appeared to augur well for republican political fortunes. In these contexts the Provisionals called a second cease-fire on 20 July 1997. The British government by now had substantially retreated from its earlier line on decommissioning, and the restoration of the cease-fire was sufficient for Sinn Féin to be admitted in September 1997 to constitutional talks. These negotiations, chaired by Senator George Mitchell and including the two governments, the Ulster Unionists, the SDLP, and a range of smaller parties, eventually produced the Belfast Agreement on Good Friday, 10 April 1998.

THE BELFAST AGREEMENT OF 1998

The Belfast Agreement restored a devolved executive and legislative assembly to Northern Ireland after an absence of twenty-four years. But the new institutions were very different from the Stormont government and Parliament. The new Assembly was twice the size of the old House of Commons, the better to represent the political diversity of Northern Ireland, and it was elected through a proportional-representation franchise and multimember constituencies. The executive was also larger, with ministers drawn from all the major parties represented in the Assembly. In addition, there was to be a North-South Ministerial Council, which (it was intended) would "take decisions by agreement on policies and action at an all-island and cross-border level." A complementary British-Irish Council was designed to bring together ministers from all the devolved and sovereign governments in the archipelago. As part of a constitutional swap, the Irish undertook to amend Articles Two and Three of the Republic's 1937 Constitution (which unionists found offensive), and the British agreed to repeal the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, for long a focus of republican hatred. Provision was also made for a review of policing and criminal justice. And the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons was mooted, albeit in highly aspirational and ambiguous language.

It is impossible to judge with certainty the intentions of the Belfast Agreement's signatories. It is still arguable that the agreement marks a radical new departure in the political history of modern Ireland. Militant republicans silenced their weapons, at least temporarily, and entered a "partition legislature." For their part, unionists shared power with historic adversaries and were involved in the operation of cross-border political

institutions. It will be for long unclear whether the Belfast Agreement represents a secure settlement of the historic divisions within Northern Ireland. While a deal on institutions is a major advance and may conceivably reflect some fundamental changes within Northern Irish politics, the effects of twenty-five years of peculiarly intimate violence may well linger. Indeed, it can scarcely be hoped that the deeply rooted traditions of sectarian animosity within Ireland can be put to rest by any single document, however bold and imaginative.

SEE ALSO Bloody Sunday; Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain; Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: Discrimination and the Campaign for Civil Rights; Northern Ireland: Policy of the Dublin Government from 1922 to 1969; Northern Ireland: The United States in Northern Ireland since 1970; Proportional Representation; **Primary Documents:** On "A Protestant Parliament and a Protestant State" (24 April 1934); On Community Relations in Northern Ireland (28 April 1967); "Ulster at the Crossroads" (9 December 1968); Statement by the Taoiseach (13 August 1969); Irish Republican Army (IRA) Cease-Fire Statement (31 August 1994); Text of the IRA Cease-Fire Statement (19 July 1997); The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (10 April 1998)

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Alvin Jackson

POLICY OF THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT FROM 1922 TO 1969

The Sinn Féin leaders who persuaded the British government to concede the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty were aware of the complexity of the Ulster question. They admitted that the northeast needed a custom-made solution and were willing to concede some form of local autonomy, provided that it was devolved from Dublin and not London. This was provided for in the Treaty but was undermined by another provision which granted the recently established Northern Ireland government the right to secede from the Irish Free State. This secession was inevitable, but it obliged northern leaders to accede to the findings of the Irish Boundary Commission which would revise the border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State.

Southern leaders remained publicly optimistic that the commission would so delimit Northern Ireland that it would prove unviable and that the logic of geography would deliver Irish unity. As it happened, the Irish Boundary Commission proposed only marginal changes to the border and—heresy to southern politicians—recommended the ceding of some territory to Northern Ireland. This threatened the very stability of the Free State, and a hastily convened Anglo-Irish summit resulted in the scrapping of the Irish Boundary Commission, the acceptance of the existing border, and the waiving by Britain of the Free State's contribution to the British national debt.

When W. T. Cosgrave described this as “a damned good bargain” it did not endear him to nationalists within Northern Ireland who felt betrayed by the Dublin government's acceptance of partition. This outcome encouraged those Irish nationalists most opposed to partition to vest their hopes in Eamon de Valera. He was a more pragmatic politician than his reputation had suggested, and in no way did he demonstrate his pragmatism more than in the manner in which he took ownership of the antipartition strategy during his decades of political ascendancy in the southern state. Having founded Fianna Fáil as the vehicle for his political re-writing of the Treaty settlement, de Valera repetitively lectured Irish republicans on how force would prove counterproductive in attempting to win Irish unity. He maintained that the issue was one for resolution between Dublin and London, and that it would only be resolved “in the larger general play of English interests.”

While never missing a diplomatic or propagandistic opportunity to rail against the injustice of partition, de Valera remained vigilant in ensuring that the grievance did not destabilize the southern state. Vulnerable to the republican jibe that he had settled for leadership of a

partitioned state—“three-quarters of a nation once again”—and under pressure to declare a united Ireland in his new constitution in 1937, his solution typified his genius for casuistry: Article 2 claimed for the nation jurisdiction over the entire island of Ireland; Article 3 accepted that de facto the laws of the state could only be exercised in the twenty-six counties “pending the reintegration of the national territory.”

De Valera smuggled the partition issue into the Anglo-Irish talks of 1938 to the surprise of the British. Both he and Neville Chamberlain spoke at length about it, but these were not negotiations, merely the reiteration of what were by then the very well known views of both sides. When invited by the British to concede some trading preferences to Northern Ireland, de Valera declined, thereby underlining his disinclination to ever engage with the Ulster Unionists. During World War II, de Valera's Fianna Fáil government established and maintained Irish neutrality, eschewing a number of overtures by the British to join the Allies in return for some prospect of Irish unity. Although much has been made of these British kites, the small print invariably revealed that Churchill considered Ulster's acquiescence to be essential.

De Valera's policy of neutrality united all elements in the state; any other policy would probably have led to civil war, with the greatest threat to stability coming from the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which was actively encouraging Hitler to intervene in Ireland. Paradoxically, although it was often criticized by unionist and British sources, de Valera's policy was best suited to the interests of the Allies: thousands of volunteers joined the British forces; Irish emigrant labor and agricultural exports proved vital to Britain's war effort; and, strategically, de Valera's contribution to keeping the South as a demilitarized zone concided with the interests of the Allied war effort. Ironically, this in turn was facilitated by the presence in Northern Ireland of British and, later, U.S. troops. Partition facilitated Irish neutrality, itself the most solemn proof of sovereignty since the Treaty settlement.

The experience of the war consolidated partition, winning the Ulster Unionists new friends in London. Meanwhile, de Valera's lack of progress on Irish unity left his party electorally vulnerable to a new socialist and republican party, Clann naPoblachta, led by Seán MacBride. Winning only ten seats in the 1948 election, it joined an all-party government united on only one policy: to remove de Valera after sixteen years in power. MacBride, as foreign minister, developed what became known as “the sore thumb” approach to partition, instructing all Irish diplomats to engage in a propaganda onslaught on the issue. In a world recovering from the



Eamon de Valera (center) and Frank Aiken (far left) in Hawaii, April 1948. They were on a 'round-the-world tour to publicize the case against the partition of Ireland. PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE DE VALERA PAPERS, ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

most catastrophic war in history, this proved futile. It did prompt de Valera to compete to be the best antipartitionist. This competition probably led to the controversial decision of the interparty government to break even those tenuous ties with the British Commonwealth that de Valera had maintained in the hope that they would prove a "bridge" to the Ulster Unionists.

Thus, what had been the Irish Free State from 1922 to 1937, and had been named Éire under de Valera's constitution, became from 1949 the Republic of Ireland. The British retaliated with the Ireland Act of 1949, which proved the most serious setback to the South's antipartition strategy. Whereas London had hitherto refused to consider Irish unity by citing Ulster's veto, under this act it granted custody of the veto to the Northern Ireland parliament. This precipitated an even shriller antipartition campaign, which arguably led to

a resurgence of the IRA and to the opening of a sporadic campaign of force against Northern Ireland in 1956. This proved futile and was opposed most successfully by Fianna Fáil, which had the self-confidence—as an avowed republican party itself—to end this campaign by introducing internment in the South.

De Valera retired from party politics to the largely ceremonial office of the president in 1959. His successor, Seán Lemass, had always shown a greater interest in pragmatic cooperation between North and South on issues of energy, transport, fisheries, and trade. Such cooperation had already yielded mutually beneficial outcomes since partition, but this had been delivered by civil servants who had left the cold war rhetoric to their political masters. Lemass saw partition not as an issue which London must undo, but rather as a matter which could be ameliorated only by better cooperation be-

tween North and South. To this end, in 1965 he made the historic journey to Stormont as a gesture of mutual friendship with the Northern Ireland prime minister, Captain Terence O'Neill.

Encouraged by an outstanding civil servant, T. K. Whitaker, secretary of finance, Lemass and his successor, Jack Lynch, pursued a constructive policy of North-South rapprochement whose potential can only be guessed at because it was overtaken by the rise of the civil rights movement and the failure—or inability—of the Ulster Unionists to accommodate its demands, which in turn led to the outbreak of the “Troubles” in the summer of 1969.

All governments in Dublin from the Treaty settlement and the North-South thaw of the 1960s had vehemently denounced partition, but they had also entrenched it. Their policies on the Irish language, on church-state relations, and on neutrality were all inimical to the very goal of Irish unity which they constantly espoused. Moreover, Dublin was expected to champion the complaints of northern nationalists, of which there was no shortage—many of them justified. But if Northern Ireland's first prime minister, Sir James Craig, could be mocked for calling Stormont “a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people,” did not the southern state in its first half-century after independence come too close to fashioning “a Catholic state for a Catholic people”?

SEE ALSO Constitution; Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Politics: Nationalist Politics in Northern Ireland; **Primary Documents:** On Community Relations in Northern Ireland (28 April 1967); Statement by the Taoiseach (13 August 1969); “Towards Changes in the Republic” (1973)

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John Bowman

THE UNITED STATES IN NORTHERN IRELAND SINCE 1970

Toward the end of the nineteenth century there was evidence of a “second front” in the United States in the Brit-

ish-Irish conflict—Fenian raids in Canada in 1866 and 1870 and a succession of “Irish race conventions.” It was given greater credence during World War I when the “Irish Question” was transformed from an essentially domestic problem into one occupying the international stage; until December 1921 the Irish Question plagued Anglo-American relations. But there is little evidence that subsequently the conflict had any real impact on U.S. domestic or foreign policy. The reasons are simple: The United States and United Kingdom enjoyed a “special relationship” based on similar interests and ideologies, and secondly, Ireland's tradition of neutrality antagonized successive U.S. administrations, an attitude made clear by National Security Council (NSC) statements in 1950 and 1960. Indeed, a rare antipartition resolution that had made its way into the U.S. House of Representatives was decisively defeated in September 1951.

Following civil unrest in Northern Ireland in 1968, the situation began to change as Irish America became united in its sense of moral outrage. In June 1969 Representatives Tip O'Neill and Philip Burton obtained 100 signatures appealing to President Richard Nixon complaining about “discrimination against Catholics.” By October 1971 Senator Edward Kennedy was calling for British withdrawal, and a month after Bloody Sunday there was a three-day public hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe. None of this dented the administration's insistence that although what was happening in Northern Ireland was a tragedy, it was a matter internal to the United Kingdom.

After that, Irish America ceased to speak with one voice. As in Ireland, a split occurred between the physical-force and the constitutional wings. First came the Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAID), founded in 1970 by a former member of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Its stated aim was to raise funds for prisoners' families, but the authorities considered it to be an IRA front and forced it in 1984 to register with the attorney general as an agent of the IRA. Such was the concern about NORAID's activities that in a private meeting with President Ronald Reagan at a G7 summit in July 1981, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher “thank[ed] him warmly for his tough stand against Irish terrorism and its NORAID supporters.” The Irish National Caucus (INC) and the (Congressional) Ad Hoc Committee on Irish Affairs shared NORAID's declared goals but were concerned about its image. The INC, founded in 1974, was endorsed by thirty different Irish-American groups to lobby the U.S. government from a militant nationalist perspective. The Ad Hoc group, founded in 1977, sought to revise existing State Department policies. Both were opposed by the Irish government, Irish con-

stitutional nationalists, and the “Four Horsemen”—Senators Kennedy and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Speaker of the House Tip O’Neill, and New York Governor Hugh Carey. The Horsemen were influenced by the fundamental opposition of John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), to the IRA campaign, a fact reflected in their Saint Patrick’s Day statement in 1977 and subsequently. In 1981 the Horsemen, anxious to counter the Ad Hoc group and conscious that the Republican Party controlled the White House, metamorphosed into the bipartisan Friends of Ireland.

The Irish–American split indicated weakness in Congress during the 1970s. In retrospect, the high point was President Jimmy Carter’s statement in August 1977 in which he condemned violence, expressed support for a peaceful solution that would involve the Irish government, and promised U.S. investment in the event of such a settlement. Northern Ireland was now considered a legitimate concern of U.S. foreign policy. In addition, the president raised human rights and discrimination issues that were exploited by the lobbyists in the coming years. Finally, the sentiments were similar to those written into the preamble of the Anglo–Irish Agreement in November 1985. Intensive lobbying began to pay off during the Reagan presidency. Although Reagan and Mrs. Thatcher were committed to defeating the “international network of terrorism,” the president needed the Speaker’s support in Congress; in addition, he was influenced by his close friend William P. Clark, a member of his administration and a supporter of Irish unity. On the one hand, Reagan resisted Irish requests to intervene in the hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981 and in the deliberations of constitutional nationalism’s New Ireland Forum (1984); on the other, he gave total support to the Anglo–Irish Agreement of November 1985.

The agreement created, *inter alia*, the International Fund for Ireland (IFI), a U.S.–sponsored investment program for Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic. But the IFI was not accepted by Congress until 17 July 1986, the same day that a Supplementary Extradition Treaty that enabled the United States to extradite certain IRA suspects back to the United Kingdom was signed. The linking of these measures illustrated the gap between Irish America and the administration. The Bush administration simply kept a watching brief. Nevertheless, Irish America had entered a convergence phase. In a bid to secure more visas for Irish emigrants, Irish America had entered into coalitions with other ethnic groups. Coalition-building, even among Irish Americans, became attractive, especially because the SDLP and Sinn Féin began discussions in 1988 and continued them during the Hume–Adams talks after 1990. When

Bill Clinton won the U.S. presidential election in 1992, Irish America was in a position to speak with one voice.

The appointment of Jean Kennedy Smith as Ireland’s U.S. ambassador heralded a more interventionist period. By granting Gerry Adams a two-day visa in January 1994, Clinton enunciated a radical sea change in U.S. involvement in British–Irish relations. The British government, along with the U.S. State and Justice Departments, was furious—the president appeared to be “soft on terrorism.” Granting the visa was a calculated and personal risk for Clinton, but he listened carefully to Irish Americans close to (Irish) republican thinking, to the Kennedys, to the Irish government and John Hume, and to trusted NSC staffers. All were satisfied that the IRA was serious about peace. The Adams visa unlocked the door: The president then tied the IRA more into the peace process through further visas, he sponsored a White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Northern Ireland, and he appointed former senator George Mitchell as his special adviser on economic initiatives in Ireland in February 1995. Mitchell’s role changed dramatically when the British secretary of state introduced the decommissioning issue in Washington in March and the peace process went into crisis. To expedite matters the president visited Britain and Ireland in November 1995. This led to a hastily summoned British–Irish summit that attempted to make parallel progress on decommissioning and all (Northern Ireland) party negotiations. George Mitchell was empowered to chair an international decommissioning panel that reported on 22 January 1996. But it was not enough to save the peace—the Provisional IRA detonated a bomb in London’s Canary Wharf on 9 February, killing two people.

Despite this setback, Clinton persisted. George Mitchell was reinvented as chair of multiparty talks in Northern Ireland in June 1996. Over the next two years Mitchell displayed tremendous patience and diplomacy. Sinn Féin entered the process in September 1997 only after the IRA announced a “complete cessation of military operations” in July. They recognized that with Prime Minister Tony Blair’s decisive May 1997 general election victory, they could commit themselves wholeheartedly to the search for peace. Blair and Clinton set a one-year deadline for the multiparty talks. Mitchell was more specific when, on 25 March 1998, he set 9 April as the date for agreement between the parties. Agreement was reached on 10 April after Clinton worked the phones assiduously, persuading the parties to sign on. “The Agreement Reached in Multiparty Negotiations” was a triumph for Anglo–Irish, Anglo–American, and Irish–American diplomacy. It demonstrated the huge influence of the Clinton administration

and the president's own tenacity and vision, and it also showed the huge leap that the Anglo-American special relationship had taken.

SEE ALSO Adams, Gerry; Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Hillsborough Agreement); Decommissioning; Hume, John; Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Trimble, David; **Primary Documents:** Anglo-Irish Agreement (15 November 1985); The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (10 April 1998)

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Paul Arthur



Oakboys and Steelboys

The agrarian violence committed by the Oakboys and the Steelboys was confined to Ulster and had sharply defined lifespans in the 1760s and early 1770s. The Hearts of Oak or Oakboys emerged in the summer of 1763, their insurrection lasting little over a month. Then in July 1769 the Hearts of Steel appeared, and this outbreak lasted, with ebbs and flows, until 1772. The causes for the two movements were different, as were the geographical areas in which they appeared and, on many occasions, the methods employed.

The spark for the Oakboys appears to have been the levels of cess, or county taxation, in Armagh and the efforts made by collectors to enforce their will on a barony in the north of the county. Violence was reported by 3 July 1763, with the news that large gatherings of people in the baronies of O'Neilland (the northern part of County Armagh) were forcing local landlords to swear that they would not collect or issue presentments to the county grand jury for more than one penny per acre in cess. These gatherings quickly spread in the following days to the surrounding county of Tyrone because of the surprising ease with which the local gentry capitulated to their demands. By that time the demands had broadened to incorporate the lowering of tithes and the abolition of "small dues" collected by the Church of Ireland clergy for funerals, weddings, and other ceremonies that they never performed. Emboldened by success, the Oakboy bands of Armagh and Tyrone sent what could be called agents to mobilize crowds throughout south Ulster and also to make a drive for Derry city, a move that was to cause the ultimate collapse of the movement.

The Steelboys, too, had specific beginnings that eventually grew into a wider agrarian rebellion, this time over a much longer period. Their origins lay in the reorganization of the huge Donegall and smaller Upton estates in County Antrim where leases were granted to middlemen. Many of these men, like Thomas Greg, were Belfast merchants and already tenants of Lord Donegall, who were pressed to find money for the large entry fines being charged. Upton's lands were released in July 1769, sparking the first outbreak, and the Donegall lands followed suit in June 1770. By that summer many of the undertenants on the Donegall estate were engaged in desperate resistance, fearing dispossession. This struggle peaked in December 1770, when a band of Steelboys entered Belfast, burned the house of Waddell Cunningham (a middleman and active magistrate), and freed one of their leaders, David Douglas, from the barracks. County Antrim was soon afterward overwhelmed with troops, and the trouble spread to the counties of Down, Armagh, and Derry in the winter and spring of 1771 to 1772. This was far from the original area of disturbance and the agrarian rioters in these areas may have used the Steelboy name to cover demands concerning cess, rents, and tithes. Another factor was the poor harvests of 1770 and 1771, which led to high prices and economic hardship. After substantial Steelboy mobilizations and a clash in Gilford, Co. Down, where a Presbyterian minister was killed, army reinforcements were sent north in March 1772 and brought a rapid end to the disturbances. The Oakboy and Steelboy organizations shared continuity in tactics and mobilization, but there were differences as well. The Oakboys organized daylight gatherings with large crowds (perhaps in the thousands), which only happened again in 1771 to 1772, when the Steelboy disturbances spread beyond County Antrim. In 1763 and 1771 to 1772, entire townlands and villages were sworn in at nominated

times and places. Both movements saw violence against property and persons, but the second movement saw a greater concentration on nocturnal attacks (including burning of buildings, anonymous letters, shooting at houses, and maiming of farm animals) more reminiscent of the Munster agrarian troubles. The Oakboys also used a Munster tactic, portable gallows, to intimidate their targets. As to internal organization, there appears to have been some coordination of activity, such as the sending of agents, marches, and the raid on Belfast in December 1770, but no cell structures like later Ulster movements. Localized groups—some in west Down with their own distinctive names like Hearts of Gold or Flint—may have acted as a precursor for the later “fleets” of the Armagh troubles in the 1780s.

The Ulster agrarian movements were dominated by Protestants, possibly Presbyterians. The Protestant “tone” is most clearly seen in the propaganda, like Oakboy ballads and Steelboy newspaper statements. These purported to be the products of the Dissenters and, in many cases the indicted or tried leaders may have been Presbyterians. Indeed, in County Monaghan in 1763, leadership seems to have passed down to local Seceders, who espoused a rigid brand of Presbyterianism. However, there can be no doubt of Catholic involvement in both movements, particularly the Oakboys. Some of the areas involved and the evidence of a poem by Art McCooey, praising one of the O’Neills of the Fews (south Armagh) for leading an Oakboy band, suggest Catholic input. In both uprisings there seems little evidence in indictments or trials of “Gentlemen Oakboys,” suggesting that the movements were led by tenant farmers and linen weavers. Tradesmen and craftsmen played minor roles, suggesting that rural towns, like Lurgan or Hillsborough, also gave support to the movements.

The effectiveness of the Oakboys and Steelboys is a difficult question. On the one hand, the response of the government was hardly an overreaction to the violence. There was just enough repression to curb the threat of the agrarian movements, and in the case of the Oakboys this was sharp enough in 1763 to prevent any recurrence in the following year. The problem after 1769 was that the Steelboys did not cease their activities, and few of their leaders were convicted at the assizes. By 1771 to 1772, the government was using a combination of methods, such as amnesty, alongside proclamations naming fifty-eight Steelboys, and a statute allowing trials of indicted rioters outside their county of residence. This extended and deeper repression hints at the greater effectiveness of the Steelboys. On the other hand, the collection of cess, rents, and fines recovered after both outbreaks had ceased. The apparently less successful

Oakboys, however, managed to prevent cess collection in north Armagh between 1763 and 1770. Another mixed sign is that reforms were made to the way in which county grand juries raised the cess, though this did not automatically lead to lower levels or a fairer use of the tax.

The legacy of the Oakboys and Steelboys was probably much less prosaic than matters of rents or taxes. What these movements did was to damage the easy, complacent picture of Ulster held by those living in Dublin or London. The province had been seen, with some local exceptions, as generally peaceful and industrious, almost in spite of Presbyterian numbers there. After 1772, attitudes changed, and the expectation of quiescence was gradually replaced by one of suspicion of the motives of Ulster Protestants, first during the American War of Independence and later during the French Revolution. The Oakboys and Steelboys were not simple preradical movements, as some members were among the supporters of “Church and King” politics in Armagh and elsewhere in the 1780s and 1790s; they were early signs of independence and unrest in Ulster.

SEE ALSO Defenderism; Irish Tithe Act of 1838; Land Questions; Tenant Right, or Ulster Custom; Tithe War (1830–1838); Whiteboys and Whiteboyism

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Eoin Magennis

O'Brien, William

Trade union leader William O'Brien (1881–1968) was born at Ballygurteen, Clonakilty, Co. Cork, youngest son of a Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) officer. He grew up mainly in Dublin and was apprenticed to the tailoring trade at age fourteen. He developed an early interest

in socialism under the influence of his older brothers, and in 1904 became chairman of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors and a leading advocate of "new unionism" in Ireland. An ally of James Larkin, he played an important role in the 1913 lockout when he was president of the Irish Trade Union Congress and secretary of the Dublin Trades Council. A clubfoot prevented O'Brien from becoming involved in the Easter Rising, but he was designated by James Connolly to establish a civilian committee to administer Dublin on behalf of the provisional government. On his release from internment after Rising, he threw himself into rebuilding the labor movement. He has been criticized by many historians and leftwing commentators for making trade union reorganization his priority within the movement and relegating political activity to a secondary role. He also supported the decision to give Sinn Féin a clear run against the Irish Parliamentary Party in the 1918 election rather than risk splitting the radical nationalist vote by running labor candidates.

O'Brien formally joined the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) in 1917 and became its general treasurer in 1919. Despite his leftist rhetoric, O'Brien's main aim was not to wage revolution, but a strong organization to mediate on behalf of workers. When James Larkin returned from the United States in 1923, O'Brien successfully opposed Larkin's attempt to revive the revolutionary syndicalist policies of 1913. He succeeded Larkin as general secretary of the ITGWU in 1924 and held the post until his retirement in 1946. He served as a Labor TD (Member of Parliament) to the Dail in 1922-3, 1927 and 1937-8, but the ITGWU was his main power base. He used it to create the National Labour Party and the Congress of Irish Unions after Larkin was elected to the Dáil as a Labour deputy in 1943.

The decision to form a new party and trade union congress was not based on ideological disagreements within the labor movement but on fear of the growing influence of Larkin and his son James Larkin Jr., who was also elected to the Dail in 1943. To justify the split in the labor movement and generate support, the new Congress and National Labour Party played on the anti-communist mood of the early cold war period. Both constantly stressed their attachment to the values of the Catholic Church and emphasized their patriotism by attacking left-wing and British-based unions. It was an ironic end to the career of one of the pioneers of the modern Irish labor movement. O'Brien devoted his last years to writing and research. His papers, which were donated to the National Library of Ireland, are a major source of primary material for the history of the labor movement.

SEE ALSO Connolly, James; Labor Movement; Larkin, James; Lockout of 1913; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Murphy, William Martin

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Padraig Yeates

O'Carolan, Turlough

See Carolan, Turlough.

O'Connell, Daniel

A lawyer and politician who earned the moniker "the Great Liberator" for his efforts to secure full civil rights for Catholics, Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) was born near Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry, on 6 August 1775. O'Connell belonged to a locally prominent Catholic landowning family and was adopted as heir by his wealthy uncle at an early age. Called to the Irish bar in 1798, he quickly established a very successful legal practice.

O'Connell became a national figure well before he founded the Catholic Association in 1823. Aply organized at the grassroots level by clergymen and others and led at the national level by the charismatic O'Connell, the Association is often regarded as the first European populist political movement. Assembling his supporters at huge meetings, O'Connell deployed thunderous oratory and militaristic language to intimidate the British government into granting Catholic Emancipation. After O'Connell was handily elected as MP for County Clare in June 1828, the government relented and the Emancipation Act was signed in April 1829.

Once in Parliament, O'Connell supported a number of radical causes, such as the secret ballot and separation



The most successful Catholic barrister of the early nineteenth century, Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) led two mass political campaigns that transformed Irish politics and unsettled Anglo-Irish relations—the successful struggle for Catholic emancipation in the 1820s and the failed movement for repeal of the Act of Union in the 1840s. His challenge to the Protestant Ascendancy also included a term as mayor of Dublin in 1841–1842. Here he appears in his mayoral regalia, as painted by William Henry Holbrooke. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 10 983. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of church and state. He also worked toward his second great political goal: repeal of the Act of Union of 1800. Finding Parliament firmly opposed to repeal, O'Connell pursued lesser concessions through an informal political alliance with the Whig party between 1835 and 1841. The fruits of this alliance included an overhaul of local government machinery in Ireland, which provided a large number of administrative and political posts for Catholics. Some of O'Connell's followers benefited greatly from this alliance, but others remained deeply dissatisfied. After the Conservative Party under Robert Peel regained control of Parliament in 1841, O'Connell decided to renew his campaign for repeal. Once again O'Connell combined a widespread popular organization, the Repeal Association, with numerous large public meetings at which he used fiery language and thinly veiled threats to pressure the government. This time the government was not willing to yield for fear that repeal of the union would lead to the dissolution of the British

empire. In October 1843 Peel called O'Connell's bluff by prohibiting a meeting announced for Clontarf outside Dublin. O'Connell backed down and cancelled the meeting rather than risk bloodshed, signaling the end of repeal as a credible political movement.

Heartbroken by his inability to secure more aid for famine-struck Ireland and in rapidly failing health, O'Connell set out several years later on a pilgrimage to Rome but died on the way at Genoa on 15 May 1847. Despite his failure to repeal the union, the Liberator is generally regarded as one of the most influential and certainly the most popular politician in modern Irish history.

SEE ALSO Catholic Emancipation Campaign; Davis, Thomas; Mitchel, John; Newspapers; Repeal Movement; Veto Controversy; Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation; **Primary Documents:** Origin of the "Catholic Rent" (18 February 1824); The Catholic Relief Act (1829); On Repeal of the Act of Union at the "Monster Meeting" at Mullingar (14 May 1843)

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Michael W. de Nie

O'Connors of Connacht

The O'Connors were one of the royal families of medieval Ireland that ruled Síol Muireadaig, roughly the modern county of Roscommon, in the province of Connacht in the northwest of Ireland. The family produced several high kings (most powerful kings) of Ireland in the twelfth century, and was originally descended from Conchobair, king of Connacht, who died in 973. Conchobair was of the line of the Uí Bruín Aí who originally controlled central Roscommon. By the eleventh century

the O'Connors had successfully subdued the other major families of Connacht, notably the O'Flahertys, the O'Rourkes, and the Uí Bruín Bréifni. Contemporaneously, successive O'Connor kings also tried to rid themselves of the overlordship of the O'Brien high kings. This conflict was temporarily resolved when Turloch Mór O'Connor, with the active support of his maternal uncle, the high king Muirchertach O'Brien, was inaugurated as king over the Síl Muiredaig in 1106. Because of his powerful position he soon became provincial king of the whole of Connacht, and in about 1120 he replaced the O'Briens as high king with opposition.

Later in his reign, around 1150, he had to defer to the northern high king, Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn. But on Muirchertach's death in 1166, Turloch's son, Rory, who had succeeded him on his death in 1156, took control of the whole of Ireland. As high king, he presided over two national assemblies in 1167 and 1168, and on the advice of Ua Ruairc of Bréifne he also banished Dermot MacMurrough, king of Leinster, who fled to England to gain the support of King Henry II in his attempt to recover Leinster. This caused the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland after Dermot brought foreign troops back with him in 1167 and again in 1169. For more than two years Rory, with the support of his Norse allies, fought the army of Strongbow, who had landed in Ireland with at least two hundred knights in 1170. However, in 1171, Henry, worried by the success of his nobles in Ireland, came over to Ireland to stamp his authority on the island. At the Treaty of Windsor (1175) Rory submitted to Henry, who in return agreed to maintain Rory as king of Connacht and high king of Ireland over those parts of northern and western Ireland that had not yet been taken over by the Anglo-Normans. On Rory's death in 1198 his brother Cathal Crobderg O'Connor was able to hold all of Connacht by a royal charter, and he also maintained good relations with the Dublin government of the English Crown.

SEE ALSO Dál Cais and Brian Boru; Uí Néill High Kings

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Terry Barry

O'Connor, Charles, of Balenagare

Historian, pamphleteer, and cofounder of the Catholic Committee, Charles O'Connor's (1710–1791) lifelong commitment to the Irish language, Irish history, and the Catholic religion derived from his belief that, in the absence of an independent nation, this was the means to sustain Irish culture and identity. Imbued with this conviction by the Gaelic-speaking priests who were responsible for his early education, and by the members of the famous Ó Neachtain circle with whom he came into contact while attending Father Walter Skelton's academy in Dublin in 1727 to 1728, he commenced a lifelong practice of copying manuscripts. Following his return to Balenagare, Co. Roscommon, where he spent most of his life, O'Connor devoted his energies largely to scholarship.

He entered the realm of public controversy in 1749 with the first of a sequence of pamphlets promoting greater toleration of Irish Catholics, notably his *Seasonable Thoughts Relating to Our Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution* (1751, 1754), which proffered an oath of allegiance that Catholics might take. His historical works included *Dissertations on the History of Ireland* (1753, 1766), which argued that pre-conquest Ireland was a land of industry, piety, and learning. He encouraged other writers, such as Ferdinando Warner, Thomas Leland, and especially John Curry, who, together with O'Connor and Thomas Wyse, founded the Catholic Committee in 1756 in order to elicit the repeal of the penal laws. O'Connor's literary efforts, and his belief in the efficacy of affirming that Catholics no longer posed a threat to the security of the Protestant succession, assisted the committee in gaining the repeal of most of the penal laws appertaining to land and religion during the 1770s and early 1780s. O'Connor was elected to the Select Committee for Antiquities of the Dublin Society and to membership of the Royal Irish Academy. His scholarship and the moderation with which he pursued the cause of Catholic rights brought him a measure of respect from all ranks of Irish society.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Penal Laws

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James Kelly

O'Donovan, John

John O'Donovan (1806–1861), historian and topographer, was born at Atateemore in the Irish-speaking Slieverue district of south Kilkenny in July 1806. By the time that he reached late middle age, he had become one of the most prominent interpreters of ancient Irish language, literature, and history.

After moving to Dublin in 1823, he attended until 1827 a Latin school on Arran Quay—Saint Patrick's Seminary. In 1828, James Hardiman employed him to transcribe Irish and Anglo-Norman manuscripts; in that year he gave some lessons in Irish to Thomas Larcom of the Ordnance Survey, which had been established in 1824 to map the country. From the autumn of 1830 he was employed by the Ordnance Survey to determine the most appropriate English spellings of the names to be engraved on the Ordnance Survey maps; for this purpose he made extracts from topographical ancient manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College and other early sources. In 1831 he met George Petrie, later head of the place-names and antiquities section of the Ordnance Survey, where Eugene O'Curry and his brother Anthony, James Clarence Mangan, Thomas O'Connor, and Patrick O'Keeffe later worked. Through Petrie's influence O'Donovan was able to publish his first articles in 1832 and 1833 in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, beginning with a translation of an eleventh-century poem ascribed to Alfred, king of Northumbria, who had been a student in Ireland in the seventh century. In these articles he demonstrated his ability to read and translate early medieval Irish and Latin texts. In March 1834, O'Donovan began fieldwork in County Down, meeting informants face-to-face to hear the local pronunciation of the names and ascertain their derivation from the Irish language, and writing regular reports to Larcom in Dublin. These reports later became known as the *Ordnance Survey Letters*. They exist for twenty-nine of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, the exceptions being Antrim, Tyrone, and Cork. He collected the place-names from Anglo-

Norman and other late medieval sources, and from maps such as William Petty's seventeenth-century Down Survey. On the basis of these and the pronunciations he heard in the field, he chose or adapted anglicised spellings for the names that would appear on the maps.

When in 1842 the place-names and antiquities department of the Survey was closed, O'Donovan began to publish editions of early Irish texts for the Irish Archaeological Society and the Celtic Society with translations (see the list in Boyne 1987, pp. 136–139). His *Grammar of the Irish Language* appeared in 1845, and the first part of his magisterial edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters* (*Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*) was published in 1848. He was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1847, he was awarded their prestigious Cunningham Medal in 1848. In August 1849 he was appointed professor of the Irish language at Queen's University, Belfast. Trinity College conferred on him an honorary LL.D. in 1850, and in 1856 Jakob Grimm initiated his election to membership of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences. O'Donovan died in Dublin on 9 December 1861 and was buried in Glasnevin cemetery, leaving his widow and five boys in poor circumstances.

SEE ALSO *Annals of the Four Masters*; Antiquarianism; Literature: Gaelic Literature in the Nineteenth Century; Ordnance Survey

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Michael Herity

Old English

The Old English comprised those whose ancestors had settled in Ireland since the twelfth century. They pre-

served an English lifestyle, incorporating the common law, the English language, and English political and civil institutions. Members of the community served as officials in the colonial administration and also acted as officers in local governments.

The quandary for the Old English community of Ireland originated in the late middle ages: Although very conscious of their English roots, the members were tightly enmeshed in social, political, and economic networks throughout the country. Yet their sense of themselves as separate from the rest of the island's population is symbolized by the evolution of the English Pale, a defended area with defined boundaries, consisting of the English parts of the counties around Dublin (viz. Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Houth), in the eastern counties of Ireland. For members of the community, the ascendancy of the Fitzgeralds of Kildare up until the 1530s represented the nub of their dilemma: the emphasis on self-governance was welcome, but not the compromising of English mores and identity in which the earls indulged.

The closer engagement of the English monarchy with its Irish domain after 1534 had far-reaching implications for the community of Old English. An English-born governor was not unwelcome as an impartial arbiter among the political factions, but the appointment by Thomas Cromwell of New English officials to the principal offices of state was ominous. Also unsettling were the ecclesiastical changes: while reform of religious life might be acceptable to most, the implications of the change in management from pope to king were problematic because the usual role of Old English clergy as upholders of the papal bull *Laudabiliter* (which gave Anglo-Norman involvement in the Irish polity and church its charter) was threatened. Royal supremacy stressed the Anglicanism (English centeredness) of the Irish church, whereas the Old English clergy saw themselves as successors of generations of reform-minded personnel who had established a characteristically Irish church. While grants of dissolved monastic lands may have assuaged lay leaders, ecclesiastics were perturbed about the future.

On the face of it, the constitutional and political initiatives of the mid-Tudor period were consonant with Old English aspirations. The declaration by Henry VIII of the kingship of Ireland in 1541 created an all-island entity in which the two long-standing communities, Gaelic and English, were to be equal partners. An acknowledgment of the de facto political position, it represented a cessation of the conquest initiated in the twelfth century. The arrangements under the "surrender and regrant" scheme—a policy whereby the principal Gaelic and gaelicized lords surrendered their lands and titles to

the Crown and received new grants of those lands and titles to be held directly from the Crown—were meant to assimilate the Gaelic lordships into the institutions of the Englishry. Within this new framework the Old English would apparently have a part to play as agents of reform among the Gaelic population. It appeared that the English viceroy who presided over the program, Sir Anthony Saint Leger, was complaisant in this agenda. He also managed the ecclesiastical changes of the 1540s in an adroit manner, using persuasive—rather than coercive—methods to push ahead with monastic closures and the imposition of royal supremacy.

The removal of Saint Leger and his replacement with governors whose methods were more rigorous presaged a change in the relationship of the Old English with the state government. The alienation of Archbishop George Dowdall of Armagh, an Old English representative, by the enforcement of Protestant dogma in the early 1550s was also significant. Although Dowdall returned under the Catholic reign of Queen Mary, he and a number of local politicians were at odds with the governor, the earl of Sussex, in the later 1550s over his failure to consult with them regarding Old English interests. As the weight of administration became greater, the expenditure involved in maintaining the political and military establishment mounted. Sussex and successive governors resorted to innovative and unpopular forms of taxation, involving levying of goods, services, and money, which collectively became known among the Old English by the pejorative term *cess*.

The fusing of the cess campaign with the intensification of recusancy (religious dissent) created a cause to which the Old English would rally in the 1570s and 1580s. Essentially, their aim was the conservation of their old constitution whereby they were consulted in parliament, particularly in the matter of taxation, and also the preservation of the older church institutions in which they had a vested interest. The growing burden of cess and the sporadic imposition of religious penalties galvanized the community into a campaign of passive resistance and constitutional lobbying at court. This campaign was headed by leading gentlemen such as the barons of Delvin and Howth.

Not all of the Old English activists were prepared to restrict their methods to constitutional agitation in support of ancient liberties. Throughout the provinces, members of old Norman families such as the Butlers, the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, and the Burkes of Clanricard rose up in arms against the curtailment of autonomy and the threat of new English colonization of lands. In the cases of James Fitzmaurice and James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, secular grievances merged with religious ones, and Fitzmaurice's own death and those

of both his and Baltinglass's followers forged a sharper Old English consciousness of collective identity. Then, when in the 1590s Hugh O'Neill emerged as a champion of Catholic restoration as well as a defender of the political status quo, the Old English community faced an acute dilemma: Should their deep-seated loyalty to the English monarchy override the imperative to engage in militancy in order to bring about the restoration of their faith? They resolved it by sometimes siding with the forces of the state against the rebellious confederates, and by sometimes maintaining a precarious neutrality.

With the Stuart accession in 1603, a number of demonstrations in favor of a Catholic restoration took place in the Old English boroughs (excluding, notably, Dublin). The new regime made it clear that freedom of worship was not contemplated, and furthermore there were bouts of repression of recusancy, especially in 1604 to 1605 and 1611 to 1612. Thereafter, the Old English attempted to maintain the delicate balance of dual loyalty—to London in politics and to Rome in religion. The fragility of the position was demonstrated by the perceived subversion by the state of the Old English majority in parliament in 1613 to 1615, but the possibility of a Stuart marriage into the Spanish royal house revived hopes of official toleration for Catholics. Then Charles I was moved to negotiate a series of concessions to the Old English, including religious and landed rights, in return for military and monetary assistance; these concessions were known as the "Graces." The governorship of Thomas Wentworth in the 1630s, however, succeeded in antagonizing the Old English (among others). When rebellion broke out in 1641, the Old English leadership committed itself to arms in support of its religious and political aims while claiming loyalty to the monarchy. The confederation of Kilkenny in the 1640s was the constitutional expression of its campaign for religious toleration and political recognition.

With the Cromwellian conquest in 1649 to 1650, the campaign of the Old English was irreparably damaged. After the Restoration in 1660, there was little recognition by the monarchy of the community's loyalty, and the gains of New English were consolidated. The position of the Old English in town and county was irrevocably undermined as they were replaced by a new Protestant elite. The fragile tolerance extended to Catholic activity could not now be guaranteed by Old English patronage. With the accession of James II in 1685 the expectation of Catholic restoration buoyed the hopes of the Old English as Tyrconnell, one of their number, became chief governor. But the defeat of the Jacobite campaign in Ireland marked the end of the aspiration of the Old English for recognition of their ambiguous position. Although the next ascendant elite in Ireland, the New

English, soon began to feel a similar political alienation, their Protestant identity inhibited their isolation.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Graces, The; Monarchy; Rebellion of 1641; Sidney, Henry

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Colm Lennon



O'Mahony, Conor, S. J.

Jesuit academic and author Conor O'Mahony was probably of Munster origin but spent much of his life in the Iberian Peninsula, where he became a professor at the University of Evora in Portugal. The experience of living in Portugal during the Braganza revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs, and, almost certainly, personal acquaintance with several of the Jesuit scholars who provided intellectual justification for the Braganza position, were of critical importance in conditioning his own reaction to rebellion in Ireland and the formation of the Confederate Catholic Association in 1642. In 1645 he published in Lisbon the text on which his historical reputation rests, the *Disputatio apologetica de iure regni Hiberniae pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus haereticos Anglos* (Explanatory argument concerning the authori-

ty of the kingdom of Ireland on behalf of Irish Catholics against English heretics), a two-part work consisting of a *disputatio* and an *exhortatio*.

O'Mahony's purpose was to demonstrate that the *Hiberni*, a generic term that he used to denote all the Catholics of the island, had the right to reject the authority of the monarchs of England over Ireland. In the *disputatio* he first rehearsed a series of arguments that might be advanced to legitimize English authority and then proceeded to attack them. His arguments were intensely legalistic, and the historical underpinning was somewhat weak. The second part of the *disputatio* was relatively stronger. It adapted the work of Bellarmine, Suarez, and Molina to build a case that even if English monarchs had once legitimately ruled over Ireland, the Irish retained the right to eliminate their authority because of the lapse into heresy of Charles I and his two predecessors. The *exhortatio* that followed, drawing heavily on biblical example, urged the Irish people to choose a new Catholic and native monarch and to eliminate all the remaining heretics in the island.

Although emotional resonances with O'Mahony's book can be detected in some manuscript material produced after the rebellion of 1641, it received almost no public support among the audience for which it was avowedly written, the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. The book ran counter to the dominant current in Irish Catholic political ideology, which stressed the legitimacy of Stuart rule. In 1645, the year of its publication, even the clerical convocation, the most militant group within the association, dismissed out of hand the idea that Charles was not the Confederates' legitimate king. Radical Catholics within the association opted to refer to the Confederate oath of association to justify their objectives rather than to O'Mahony's dangerously divisive argumentation. Moreover, the frank approbation in the *exhortatio* for the killing of tens of thousands of Protestants in the rebellion of 1641 was particularly unwelcome to the great mass of the Confederate Catholic leadership, which wished to avoid any link to these alleged atrocities.

SEE ALSO Confederation of Kilkenny; Rinuccini, Giovanni Battista; Wild Geese—The Irish Abroad from 1600 to the French Revolution

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Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin

O'Neill, Hugh, Second Earl of Tyrone

Hugh O'Neill (1550–1616), the second earl of Tyrone and last inaugurated chief of the O'Neills, was the major Irish leader of the Counter-Reformation period. An able soldier and wily negotiator with a charismatic personality, he was summed up by the English historian William Camden as a man "born either to the very great good or the great hurt of Ireland." After the assassination of his father Matthew by Shane O'Neill in 1558, he was fostered in the Pale by the Hovendens, a New English settler family, and *not* brought up at court in England as mistakenly asserted by his mid-twentieth-century biographer Sean O'Faolain.

In 1568 Hugh O'Neill was reestablished in Ulster by Lord Deputy Sidney, and for the next twenty years he was the English Crown's agent there against the pretensions of Shane's sons and his eventual successor Turlough Luineach O'Neill. By 1585 he controlled half of Tyrone and in 1587 was acknowledged by the Crown as earl of Tyrone. He had achieved this power not only by English connections and support but also through an extensive network of marriage alliances and fosterage arrangements. The Crown set out to contain this power by kidnapping and jailing Red Hugh O'Donnell, his son-in-law and the heir apparent of Tirconnell. Then followed Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam's attempt to reform Ulster by dismantling the power of the great lords generally, which was inaugurated by the execution of Hugh

MacMahon and the partition of the lordship of Monaghan in 1589 and 1590. The major beneficiary of this process was O'Neill's opponent, the prospective governor of Ulster, Sir Henry Bagenal.

O'Neill's countermeasures included murdering rival O'Neills, bribing Crown officials, liberating Red Hugh from prison in Dublin, and opening up channels of communication with Spain. Less successfully, he eloped with Mabel Bagenal, which embittered relations with her ambitious family. When the Crown attempted to replicate the Monaghan settlement in County Fermanagh, O'Neill organized his relatives and adherents in a proxy war, but to allay suspicion, he fought on the government side, even getting himself wounded at the battle of the Erne (1593). Eventually, he was proclaimed a traitor by the Crown in 1595, and in the same year he succeeded Turlough Luineach as holder of the banned Gaelic title of "The O'Neill."

In the so-called Nine Years War O'Neill gained a Europe-wide reputation as a soldier. He won great victories over English armies at Clontibret (1595) and the Yellow Ford (1598), and he exploited these victories to extend his oath-bound confederacy throughout Ireland in an Irish Catholic revolt against English Protestant colonial domination. O'Neill also proved an astute diplomat in negotiations with the state. By 1596 he had secured a compromise peace with England but decided instead to take up an offer of support from Spain. His most famous such negotiation was his encounter with the earl of Essex at the Ford of Bellaclinthe on the borders of Ulster (1599). His departure left O'Neill in charge of most of Ireland outside the towns. Yet O'Neill's increasingly overt Catholic stance and propaganda in Ireland failed to win over the Old English Catholics of the towns, who did not trust his threats and blandishments.

In 1600 Spain made a decisive commitment to the Irish struggle, and O'Neill sent over his second son Henry as a hostage. But O'Neill and his allies were already on the defensive in Ulster when in the following year a relatively small Spanish expeditionary force landed at Kinsale in the extreme south of the country. He and O'Donnell marched their armies south to relieve the Spaniards besieged in Kinsale but were decisively defeated. O'Neill's hitherto victorious army was smashed in an English cavalry charge that resulted in the death of one Englishman and 1,200 Irish. Deserted by his allies and with Ulster reduced to starvation, O'Neill surrendered to Lord Deputy Mountjoy at Mellifont in March 1603.

Although he was restored to his earldom, interference from English officials, soldiers, and churchmen soon began in earnest. In 1607 O'Neill and a large en-

tourage fled to the Continent. This departure, romanticized as the Flight of the Earls, opened the way for land confiscation and plantation in Ulster. Spain, at peace with England, did not want O'Neill and pensioned him off to Rome.

SEE ALSO English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); Nine Years War; **Primary Documents:** Ferocity of the Irish Wars (1580s–1590s); Accounts of the Siege and Battle of Kinsale (1601); Tyrone's Demands (1599); English Account of the Flight of the Earls (1607); Irish Account of the Flight of the Earls (1608)

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Hiram Morgan

O'Neill, Owen Roe

Owen Roe O'Neill (c. 1583–1649), a native Irish leader and general of the northern army of the Kilkenny Confederation, was born in Ulster, educated by continental-trained Franciscans, and during the last Elizabethan Irish war was "bred in a nursery of arms" ("Aphorismal Discovery," in Gilbert 1879, p. 172). At the conflict's end, he joined an Irish regiment in the Spanish Netherlands and became its tacit commander. His goals were the recovery of confiscated estates and the restoration of the Catholic faith. Years later, he proposed the liberation of Ireland and its oppressed religion through a unifying Catholic "republic and kingdom."

Despite decades of exile, O'Neill kept in touch with his homeland by recruiting and giving military advice to native dissidents. When the crisis of the Stuart monarchy spilled over into Ireland, O'Neill stepped up his activities in hopes of concessions from the troubled Charles I. Ensuing setbacks led to a rebellion in late 1641

and Owen Roe's return to Ireland, where he supported a Catholic confederation meeting in Kilkenny. In May 1642 this embryonic commonwealth brought together the king's Irish Catholic subjects under the motto "United for God, King, and the Irish fatherland." Their task was to lay the foundation for a Catholic *patria* (*fatherland*) in a provincial-minded and religiously fractious society.

Appointed general of the northern forces, O'Neill assembled an army against Protestant English planters and Scottish settlers. His efforts were forestalled by a September 1643 cessation of arms with the king's lord deputy, the marquis of Ormond, a devout Old English royalist and Protestant convert. Ormond's negotiations failed to satisfy the clerical confederates and the new papal nuncio, Archbishop Rinuccini, who resisted royalist terms and succored O'Neill's army for an aggressive northern campaign. On 5 June 1646 O'Neill routed a Protestant-settler army at the battle of Benburb. His victory raised hopes for a more advantageous accord with Ormond.

These expectations splintered the Catholic confederacy. In August, O'Neill's army came to Kilkenny to support the clerical party. The Supreme Council, the executive branch of the Kilkenny Federation, was purged and a new executive led by Rinuccini took control. New fissures developed over the negotiations with Ormond and the appointment of O'Neill as the sole commander for an attack on Dublin. The campaign failed and the clerical coup lost its momentum.

Over the next year O'Neill remained in the Confederate heartland, as the nuncio and Ormondist factions jockeyed for power. The final breach came on 20 May 1648 when the Supreme Council, believing that Protestant royalists were likely to rekindle negotiations with Ormond, joined them in another cessation of arms. O'Neill supported Rinuccini's condemnation and censure of the Council, which rescinded O'Neill's military command. On 30 September the new General Assembly declared O'Neill a traitor—a rebel against the king and the fundamental laws of the Confederation.

Over the next four months O'Neill's position deteriorated. Ormond and the Confederation concluded a treaty, Charles I was executed, and an embittered Rinuccini returned to Rome. Ostracized and without allies, Owen Roe signed truces with parliamentary commanders, but their benefits were short-lived. Ormond's defeat at Rathmines, followed by Cromwell's arrival in August 1649, compelled the weakened confederate-royalist cause to turn to O'Neill once more. On 12 October 1649 articles of peace were finally concluded. Severely ill, O'Neill dispatched forces to Ormond's service and re-

tired to County Cavan, where he died of natural causes on 6 November.

SEE ALSO Confederation of Kilkenny; Rebellion of 1641; **Primary Documents:** Confederation of Kilkenny (1642)

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Jerrold I. Casway

O'Neill, Terence

Prime minister of Northern Ireland Terence Marne O'Neill (1914–1990) was born on 10 September 1914 in London. Having served in the Irish Guards, he came to live in Northern Ireland in 1945. He was returned unopposed for the Stormont seat of Bannside in November 1946 for the Ulster Unionist Party and ten years later reached cabinet rank. When Lord Brookeborough retired as prime minister in March 1963, O'Neill succeeded as the apostle of technocratic modernization who could see off the Northern Ireland Labour Party. In community relations O'Neill was unprecedentedly liberal, visiting Catholic schools and, more dramatically, meeting with the taoiseach of the Irish Republic, Sean Lemass, at Stormont on 14 January 1964. O'Neill hoped to encourage Catholic acceptance of the state, but he more quickly aggravated suspicious unionist and loyalist opinion.

The eruption of the civil-rights movement of 1968 multiplied pressures for substantive reform from the



Irish prime minister Seán Lemass and Northern Ireland prime minister Terence O'Neill at Stormont, 14 January 1965, the first meeting between the leaders of the two Irish states since 1922. COURTESY OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE RECORDS, PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND, REF. NO. INF/7A/5/110.

British government. O'Neill impressed on his cabinet colleagues the necessity of concessions. On 22 November he unveiled a program of reforms, notably the closing down of the gerrymandered Londonderry Corporation. However, the local government's rate-based franchise was for the time untouched. In a television broadcast on 9 December 1968, O'Neill warned that Northern Ireland stood at the crossroads. He called for an end to street demonstrations but also promised meaningful reforms. There was a massive response from the public, but attitudes polarized again when a radical civil-rights march from Belfast to Derry was attacked by loyalists at Burntollet Bridge on 4 January 1969.

O'Neill's failure to preserve governmental authority by repression or concession led to discontent in his

party. In an attempt to regain the initiative and remake the Unionist Party, he called for an election for 24 February 1969. He refused to campaign for official unionist candidates opposed to his leadership and lent his support to Independent candidates who vowed to support him personally. Breaking with unionist convention, O'Neill openly canvassed for Catholic votes. Such strategic innovations failed to produce a clear victory, however, and a phalanx of anti-O'Neill unionists returned. There was little evidence that O'Neill's re-branded unionism had succeeded in attracting Catholic votes. Amid a renewal of rioting and a campaign of bombing by loyalists, he announced his resignation as prime minister on 28 April 1969. Before leaving, he secured "one person, one vote" in place of the ratepayers' franchise in local elections as well as the succession of the relatively loyal James Chichester-Clarke.

SEE ALSO Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Lemass, Seán; Northern Ireland: Discrimination and the Campaign for Civil Rights; Trimble, David; Ulster Unionist Party in Office; **Primary Documents:** On Community Relations in Northern Ireland (28 April 1967); “Ulster at the Crossroads” (9 December 1968)

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Marc Mulholland



Orange Order

ORIGINS, 1784 TO
1800

SEAN FARRELL

SINCE 1800

BRIAN WALKER

ORIGINS, 1784 TO 1800

The process that led to the September 1795 formation of the Orange Order originated in the Armagh Troubles, a complex and long-running sectarian conflict that started in the early 1780s. Like so many of modern Ulster’s sectarian clashes, the Armagh Troubles were rooted in Protestant insecurity over the loss of privileges deemed necessary to protect them from their Catholic rivals. In Armagh the major destabilizing force proved to be the formation of the Irish Volunteers, a home-defense force that became the muscle behind efforts to gain parliamentary reform in Ireland. Individual Volunteer companies called for Catholics to join their ranks. While few did so in Ulster, the prospect of Catholics carrying arms was worrisome for many lower-class Ulster Protestants, particularly in County Armagh, which was precariously divided between Anglicans, Catholics and Presbyterians. For many Protestants these changes were particularly problematic because they occurred in an era when the government was removing many of

the economic and political restrictions that had been placed on Irish Catholics in the early eighteenth century. The tide seemed to be flowing in a Catholic direction.

In 1784 bands of plebeian Protestants known as the Peep o’ Day Boys ransacked Catholic homes throughout mid-Ulster, ostensibly in search of arms. Almost inevitably, these assaults brought a reaction from Catholics, who increasingly joined the Defenders, a secret society originally designed to protect Catholics from such attacks. Recognizing the Peep o’ Day Boys as the primary aggressors, members of the Armagh gentry attempted to bring them under control. They were largely successful by the late 1780s; the arms raids had stopped and sectarian conflict was now limited to sporadic and highly ritualized “battles” between Catholic and Protestant combatants.

The famous Battle of the Diamond started as just such an affair. On 17 September 1795 Catholic and Protestant crowds squared off at a crossroads near Loughgall, Co. Armagh. For three days the “battle” proceeded in typical fashion, with threatening shots fired in the air amid negotiations to disperse the combatants. On 21 September, however, a real fight broke out in which dozens of Catholics were killed by the better-armed Protestants. In the wake of the clash many of the Protestant participants met at an inn near Loughgall, where they founded the Loyal Orange Order.

The men who founded the Orange Order were not members of the elite—farmers and weavers from Armagh and Tyrone dominated the first meeting. The plebeian origins of the Order can be seen in its early rules and regulations, which refer to the Twelfth of July festivities, where Protestant loyalists marched in procession to commemorate late seventeenth-century Protestant victories at the Battle of the Boyne and Aughrim. Although such marches long predated the creation of the Orange Order, they quickly became associated with the organization. The Twelfth celebration would prove to be one of the most controversial aspects of Orangeism, as marchers often clashed with Catholics offended by the partisan display of power and ascendancy. Wanting to avoid controversy, gentry members tended to downplay the marching tradition. Of course, Orangeism was about much more than marching. Like many of its predecessors, the Orange Order was above all a Protestant association, dedicated to preserving the Protestant constitution and advancing the Protestant cause in Ireland.

What made the Orange Order different from its predecessors was that it soon gained the support of the Protestant elite and the acquiescence of the British state. This was largely a consequence of the tumult of the 1790s, for with the rising threat of organized rebellion,



House of Dan Winter near Loughgall, Co. Armagh, in which the Orange Order is said to have been organized after the Battle of the Diamond in 1795. Repaired and rethatched in 2000. COURTESY OF DAN WINTER'S HOUSE, ANCESTRAL HOME, 9 DERRYLOUGHAN ROAD, THE DIAMOND, LOUGHGALL. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

both the British government and its elite supporters searched for loyal groups that could be depended upon. If the Orange Order's anti-Catholic excesses caused discomfort in some government circles, most members of the establishment argued that this was a small price to pay for such a loyal body. The growing acceptance of the Orange Order was marked by two public events in 1797: the formation of an Orange lodge in Dublin that soon attracted a number of influential leaders of the Irish Protestant establishment, and General Gerard Lake's public review of an Orange procession in Lurgan, Co. Armagh. By early 1798 the Loyal Orange Order had become a national institution.

The 1798 Rebellion greatly strengthened Orangeism's position in Ireland. The story of the rebellion is inextricably tied with the Society of United Irishmen, an organization formed in Belfast in 1791 to push for radical reform. Frustrated by the absence of meaningful reform and forced underground by increasing state pressure, the Society abandoned reform for revolution as the 1790s progressed. Although United Irish leaders had called for a union of Irishmen of all creeds, the rebellion

that broke out in 1798 took on a nakedly sectarian appearance in Wexford and other locations. Orangemen participated actively in putting down the revolt, committing a host of sectarian atrocities in Wexford in particular. But Orange excesses were largely overlooked in the aftermath of the rebellion. By seemingly confirming the Orangemen's view of Irish Catholics as untrustworthy rebels, the 1798 Rebellion accelerated the Orange Order's move to respectability and influence. While members of the Order initially had opposed the Act of Union of 1800, Orangemen quickly became its most fervent supporters, seeing a more formalized union with Britain as their best protection against Irish Catholics. The weavers and tenant farmers who had founded the Loyal Orange Order could now rest easy: Their exclusivist vision of Irish society had won and would dominate Irish politics for the next two decades.

SEE ALSO Act of Union; Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Defenderism; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eigh-



Chair of French origin believed to have been brought with the Winter family when they immigrated in 1665 and, according to tradition, used in the 1795 meeting at which the Orange Order was organized. COURTESY OF DAN WINTER'S HOUSE, ANCESTRAL HOME, 9 DERRYLOUGHAN ROAD, THE DIAMOND, LOUGHGALL. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

teenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Orange Order: Since 1800

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Sean Farrell

SINCE 1800

The Orange Order, an organization of loyalist Protestants, was founded in County Armagh during the political agitation that led to the 1798 rebellion. Although some individual Orange lodges opposed the Act of Union as undermining local and Protestant power, the Orange Order quickly moved to support the union. Orange parades on 12 July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, continued to be a prominent feature of the movement, which was to be found especially but not exclusively in Ulster. The government had initially welcomed Orange support for the state, but in the early decades of the nineteenth century the authorities sought to adopt a more neutral stance toward Orangeism because the parades often led to disturbances.

Between 1825 and 1828 the Order was suppressed under the Unlawful Societies Act. The Anti-Processions Act of 1832 curbed parades, and following a critical parliamentary report into the organization, the Orange Order was dissolved in 1835. Popular support for the movement survived, however, and when the Anti-Processions Act was lifted in 1845, the organization was re-formed and Twelfth of July processions resumed. Confrontations between Orangemen and Catholics still occurred, and after a large-scale fight at Dolly's Brae near Castletwellan, Co. Down, on 12 July 1849, which left a number of Catholics dead, the government introduced a new Party Processions Act forbidding public demonstrations.

Over the next two decades the authorities took firm action in support of this ban on parades, although some infringements did occur. In protest against the ban, William Johnston of Ballykilbeg, Co. Down, led an illegal Orange parade in 1867 from Newtownards to Bangor, Co. Down, which resulted in his imprisonment. He emerged from jail to become an Orange hero and was elected MP for Belfast in 1868. His protest led to the repeal of the act in 1872 and the resumption of legal Orange parades.

At this point the Orange Order's support was fairly limited, and it drew its membership mainly from small farmers and laborers in Ulster, most of whom belonged to the Church of Ireland. By the early 1880s, however, in response to the growing conflict between supporters of Home Rule and supporters of the union, the Order's membership increased and its social basis expanded to include large farmers and members of the middle and professional classes, many of them Presbyterians. The Order was seen by most unionists as a bulwark in support of the union that transcended social and denominational divisions. At the general elections of 1885 and 1886 the Order achieved an extra level of influence when local lodges secured representation on many of the new



Early nineteenth-century banner of the Fountainville Loyal Orange Lodge, depicting William III. Banners of this type are carried each year on the 12th of July to celebrate William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. PHOTOGRAPH REPRODUCED WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND, X-38-1976.

local unionist constituency associations. A majority of the Ulster Unionist MPs in 1886 were Orangemen.

Although Orange influence was strongest in Ulster, support for the movement was also found outside Ireland in other parts of the world such as Scotland, Australia, and New Zealand. Lodges were often started in these countries by emigrants from Ulster. The Order was especially prevalent in Canada. To link these different national Orange organizations, an Imperial Orange Council was established in 1867 to meet triennially.

At the 1892 Ulster Unionist Convention, delegates from the Orange Order assumed an important role. When the Ulster Unionist Council was formed in 1904, numerous places were allocated to nominees of the Orange Order. Early in the twentieth century, as a result of social and religious conflict, divisions arose in Orange ranks that led to the founding in 1903 of the Independent Orange Order by R. L. Crawford. This movement produced some radical political ideas, but in 1908, Crawford was expelled and the Independent Orange Order returned to a mainstream unionist stance, although it remained an autonomous body.

During the fierce Ulster resistance to Home Rule in 1912 to 1914, members of the Orange Order played a significant part. Orange demonstrations continued during most of the war years, although attendance was greatly reduced owing to the large number of Orangemen who had joined the armed forces. Because of the many casualties from Ulster at the Battle of the Somme, which commenced on 1 July 1916, Orange parades were cancelled on the Twelfth of July that year and church services were held instead. Following partition in 1920 and 1921, the headquarters of the Orange Order moved from Dublin to Belfast. The vast majority of Orangemen on the island were then to be found within the new Northern Ireland, although there was still a significant membership in the Ulster counties of Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan that were part of the Irish Free State.

Membership in the Orange Order has generally been regarded as obligatory for unionist politicians since the founding of Northern Ireland in 1921. Especially since the outbreak of the "Troubles" in the late 1960s, the annual summer "marching season," of which the Twelfth of July is the climax, has been a continual source of tension and often violence. Catholics take offense at Orange parades as triumphalist rituals intended to humiliate them, while Orangemen regard the right to parade as a fundamental civil liberty. During the 1990s public attention came to focus on one particular parade—the annual march by a Portadown, Co. Armagh, lodge following their attendance at a special Sunday service at Drumcree parish church. The traditional route for this parade passes through a modern residential area occupied by Catholics. Intransigence on both sides has created a recurring confrontation and posed special dilemmas, especially for unionist elected representatives seeking to make the larger peace process successful.

SEE ALSO Ancient Order of Hibernians; Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Orange Order: Origins, 1784 to 1800; Sodalties and Confraternities

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Brian Walker

Ordnance Survey

The Ordnance Surveys of Ireland (OSI) and Northern Ireland (OSNI) are the official state mapping agencies in Ireland. The Ordnance Survey developed in the late 1820s out of an earlier wartime British mapping initiative by the Board of Ordnance in England. The need to reform Ireland's local taxation system called for a comprehensive valuation of land and buildings, and the Royal Engineers Artillery formed the core of the new Ordnance Survey, which was based in the Phoenix Park in Dublin. Its greatest pioneering achievement was the mapping of Ireland at a scale of six inches to the mile between 1833 and 1846. This project recorded all townland units, field boundaries, and acreages, buildings in urban and rural areas, place-names, and data on heights above sea level; it has become an invaluable topographic record of the Irish landscape on the eve of the Great Famine. The *Ordnance Survey Memoirs* were intended by the director Thomas Colby as a comprehensive textual profile of each civil parish to accompany the maps, but officials succeeded in publishing only one parish memoir. The material on the remaining parishes for much of Ulster was published in the 1990s. The Ordnance Survey Letters of John O'Donovan, an Irish language scholar who was almost single-handedly responsible for standardizing the thousands of place-names on the maps, will be published in the early twenty-first century.

The 6-inch maps were published in county volumes, which were revised at various times throughout nineteenth century. Maps at 1:2500 ("twenty-five inches to the mile") were undertaken from 1864 until the early twentieth century. These maps provided detail on acreages of fields, which was of great use for the implementation of the Irish Land Acts and the transfer of farms from landlords to tenants, as well as for the reform of *rundale* (field system) plots and settlements in the west of the country by the Congested Districts Board and the Land Commission. The Ordnance Survey also produced large-scale town plans from the 1840s, some at 1:1056, or 5 feet to 1 mile; others at 10 feet to 1 mile; and still others at more economical scales. The 1-inch maps were designed as a popular scale from the 1850s, and the half-inch map was produced in the early twentieth century.

The OSI today produces urban, rural, and leisure mapping for a range of different scales, in digital and paper format. The 1:50,000 Discovery series is the most popular product in the early twenty-first century. The Ordnance Survey's digital data are used under license

for many computer-based applications, such as Computer-Aided Design (CAD) and Geographic Information Systems (GIS).

SEE ALSO Landscape and Settlement; O'Donovan, John

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Patrick J. Duffy

Overseas Investment

The unprecedented expansion of the Irish economy during the 1990s was due in large measure to the country's success in attracting inward investment. The thirteen hundred overseas companies located in Ireland and assisted by the Investment and Development Agency of Ireland (IDA Ireland), the state investment and development agency, are the main contributors to economic growth. They employ 150,000 people, equivalent to more than half the workforce in manufacturing; they export 90 percent of their output and account for over 80 percent of Ireland's manufactured exports; they contribute one-third of the gross domestic product (GDP); and they spend E15 billion annually in Ireland on salaries, components, materials, and services.

Overseas companies have been the dominant factor in the opening up of new export markets. Ireland is no longer over dependent on the United Kingdom, which in 1970 took 75 percent of Irish exports. In the year 2000 the proportion was down to 22 percent, with the rest of the European Union taking 40 percent and the United States, 17 percent. Free access to the 370 million people of the European market has been critical to this transformation. Foreign direct investment (FDI), especially from the United States, has helped to develop the Irish economy in other, less quantifiable ways. Major corporations, leaders in their industry sectors, have brought world-class standards of manufacturing, marketing, management, and research and development. They have created a market within Ireland for subsuppliers and have stimulated native enterprise.

The United States is by far the most important source of new investment from abroad; it provided 60

Northern Ireland % FDI market share in comparison to rest of British Isles (including Republic of Ireland)

	FDI into NI		FDI into British Isles		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	
1999	7	7.3	141	95.3	148
2000	15	4.5	134	89.9	149
Total	22	5.8	275	92.6	297

(1) Figures are for those projects that IDB can offer support (i.e., manufacturing and internationally traded service sector projects)
 (2) Does not include any intra-U.K. investment

SOURCE: IDB Northern Ireland.

percent to 70 percent of the new investment projects and 80 percent of the foreign capital investment in the ten years between 1990 and 2000. The 524 U.S. affiliates in Ireland employ 86,000 workers, and account for three-quarters of the E43 billion in export sales of overseas-owned companies. Substantial investment has also come from the United Kingdom (179 subsidiaries), Germany (166), the Asia/Pacific region (54), and from other European countries (291). These foreign-owned companies dominate the high-tech sectors: information and communications technologies (ICT); pharmaceuticals and healthcare; internationally traded services, including software, teleservices, e-business, and financial services. Dublin's new International Financial Services Centre (IFSC), a public/private partnership venture on the north bank of the Liffey, dwarfs Gandon's superb neoclassical Custom House building. The IFSC has four hundred of the world's leading banks and finance houses, providing specialist services to international clients.

MARKET SHARE

Consistent comparative statistics on FDI are notoriously difficult to obtain. FDI includes new investment in all sectors as well as mergers and acquisitions. IDA Ireland's remit covers only manufacturing and international services; it does not include tourism, retail sales, property, or oil and gas, for example, and it counts mergers and acquisitions only when there is associated incremental investment or employment in Ireland. However, it is clear from independent reviews that Ireland wins a disproportionately large share of all available new investment in Europe. It attracts close to a quarter of all new U.S. manufacturing projects (excluding mergers and acquisitions, and expansions of existing facilities) that locate in Europe, although it accounts for a mere 1 percent of European Union population and GDP. In 1997 it was the fifth largest recipient of all U.S. investment abroad; typically, Ireland's share of U.S. FDI

is about 8 percent, up from less than 3 percent in the 1980s. The *World Investment Report 2001*, published by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), shows FDI flows into Ireland rising from \$2.7 billion in 1997 to \$16.3 billion in 2000; the figures for the United Kingdom were \$33.2 billion and \$130.4 billion respectively; and the United States had inward FDI of \$281 billion in 2000. Per capita, therefore, Ireland wins twice as much investment as the United Kingdom and more than four times the U.S. level. The value of total FDI stock in Ireland rose tenfold during the 1990s to \$60 billion, while U.K. FDI stock barely doubled over the same period.

Ireland's emergence as a highly successful location for inward investment, and as one of the world's most open economies, really began in the 1960s, although many of the sagacious policy decisions that prepared the way for the "tiger economy" date from the 1950s. The 1950s were a period of transition, from the protectionist self-sufficiency of the Irish Free State (1922–1949), to an economy actively promoting free trade and foreign direct investment. The Control of Manufactures Act (1932) mandated that Irish-based companies must be majority Irish owned, reflecting the economic zeitgeist of the period between the world wars. By the time that the last controls on foreign ownership of Irish businesses were removed in 1958, the Industrial Development Authority (IDA), established in 1949 as a relatively minor investment-promotion agency, had been given new powers to seek inward investors by offering capital grants and tax breaks as incentives. The most compelling incentive was export sales relief (ESR), introduced in 1956: It gave full tax relief on profits from exports of manufactured products. ESR was terminated for new investors in 1981 and replaced by a 10 percent rate of corporation tax for all manufacturers, and for services companies trading internationally.

Since 1970, when it became responsible for all aspects of planning, promoting, and negotiating industrial investment, IDA has concentrated on sectors appropriate to Ireland's attributes and in which Ireland could offer investors a competitive advantage. The agency has been successful in identifying emerging new sectors, often ahead of its competitors—call centers, shared services, and specialist financial services are examples from the 1990s. Most of the current inward investment is targeted at high-growth, high-productivity sectors.

IDA negotiates more than one hundred new investments each year; about half come from existing investors. The agency works with foreign subsidiaries in Ireland helping them to upgrade the value and quality of their activities (by adding marketing and research and development to a basic production unit, for example) in

order to make them more secure in times of economic crisis. Inevitably, given the volatility of the high-technology sector, Ireland has had its share of plant closures; the attrition rate is in line with international trends. While the policy of encouraging inward investment has the support of all sections of the community, the critical impact of U.S. investment leaves Ireland vulnerable to downturns in the American economy.

With Ireland in effect enjoying full employment, IDA will shift its emphasis away from single projects, mainly in manufacturing, to establishing “strategic business areas,” clusters of technology companies, venture capitalists, corporate and academic research centers, and consultants, on the Silicon Valley model. Over time, more of the incoming investment will be based on innovation and research, involving knowledge-intensive projects needing the high skills and expertise that Ireland is determined to have available.

NORTHERN IRELAND

At the time of Ireland’s independence in 1922 the six counties of Northern Ireland, which remained part of the United Kingdom, were more industrialized than the agricultural South. Shipbuilding and linen manufacturing were strong sectors (the *Titanic* was built in Belfast), and through the 1940s and 1950s heavy industry flourished. Exposure to foreign competition brought a decline in manufacturing in the 1960s and 1970s. Between 1973 (when Northern Ireland became part of the European Union) and 1990, employment in manufacturing fell by 36 percent.

As in the republic, measures to encourage industrial investment were first introduced in the 1950s; capital grants date back to 1954. The range of supports for industrial development has grown steadily since 1970. The Industrial Development Board was established in 1982 as an amalgamation of two existing agencies; it had responsibility for encouraging inward and indigenous industrial investment, for promoting exports, and for expanding small industry. At the beginning of 2002 the inward-investment arm of IDB was hived off as a new agency called Invest Northern Ireland (INI).

Northern Ireland has a long tradition of inward investment, but continuing civil unrest since 1970 has significantly curtailed the flow of new projects. In 1990 there were 207 externally owned plants in the province, including 129 from mainland Britain. By 2001 the total had risen to 388 establishments—100 from the rest of the United Kingdom, 95 from the United States, and 59 from the Irish Republic. They employ 55,000 workers, and their export sales are equivalent to almost one-fifth of N.I. GDP. IDB secured thirteen new FDI projects in

2000; the key targets are the knowledge-based sectors of software, telecommunications, network services, and e-business, which account for 69 percent of projects and 79 percent of FDI capital.

SEE ALSO Celtic Tiger; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; European Union; Industry since 1920; Investment and Development Agency (IDA Ireland); Lemass, Seán; **Primary Documents:** From the 1937 Constitution; Speech to Ministers of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community (18 January 1962)

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Finn Gallen

Overseas Missions

In the modern period Ireland’s first overseas missionaries came from the Protestant churches. The Irish auxiliary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded as early as 1714. Members of the auxiliary worked in the American colonies, South Africa, India, Japan, and West Africa. No less active was the Hibernian Church Missionary Society, founded in 1814. Many Irish men and women were also involved in English or international missionary agencies such as the South American Missionary Society, the Church of England Missionary Society, the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society, the Moravian missions, the Baptist missions, the Methodist Missionary Society, the Sudan Interior Mission, and the Sudan United Mission. Among the homegrown agencies were the Irish Presbyterian missions and the Mission to Lepers.

With the flood of emigration from Ireland during the nineteenth century the Irish Roman Catholic Church increasingly focused on the pastoral care of Irish emigrants to Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Aus-

tralia, New Zealand, South Africa, Argentina, and the West Indies. There were also considerable numbers of Irish soldiers and civil servants in British territories such as India who required pastoral care. The first institution to train missionaries specifically for this diaspora was All Hallows College, established in Dublin in 1842 by Father John Hand with the support of the church hierarchy. Before then the emigrants had been served by priests from Irish diocesan seminaries, principally Saint Kieran's College, Kilkenny (1782); Saint Patrick's College, Carlow (1793); Saint John's College, Waterford (1807); and Saint Peter's College, Wexford (1819). Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth (1795), Ireland's national seminary, also contributed priests, mainly for India and Australia. Irish convents were just as active: Loreto Sisters, Irish Sisters of Mercy, Presentation Sisters, Irish Sisters of Charity, Dominicans, and Ursulines all established foundations in the Irish diaspora countries. Irish Christian Brothers, De La Salle Brothers, and Patrician Brothers participated equally in serving the emigrant Irish.

Within the worldwide Roman Catholic communion there was a strong revival of missionary services to non-Christian peoples during the late seventeenth century, spearheaded by the French church and led by new agencies established exclusively for missionary work. This revival came in the wake of the decline and virtual disappearance of the great missionary movement which had followed the era of exploration and had endured down to the time of the French Revolution. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century this movement came to include Italy, Belgium, Germany, Holland, and England. Its arrival in Ireland dates from the establishment of the movement's main promotion and fundraising agency—the Association for the Propagation for the Faith (1838)—and the arrival of a number of continental agencies in search of candidates for their missions in British colonies, principally the Congregation of the Holy Ghost (1858) and the Society of African Missions (1877). These agencies set down roots in Ireland and promoted the missionary message. Several continental orders of women religious recruited successfully in Ireland, but they were less influential because, with few exceptions (Sisters of the Good Shepherd [1852], Sisters of the Holy Family [1875] and Sisters of Our Lady of Apostles [1887]), they rarely established convents in the nineteenth century. The Irish Church, too, growing more confident and outward looking since revocation of the penal laws, experienced a steady increase in young people offering themselves as priests, sisters or brothers to serve not only in Ireland, but overseas among the emigrant Irish and among non-Christian peoples.

In the opening decades of the twentieth century interest in missionary activity intensified within the Irish

Church. The formation of the Maynooth mission to China (Saint Columban's Foreign Mission Society) in 1916 was the great watershed in the history of the missionary movement. Influenced by Ireland's growing interest in missions and by the new spirit of cultural and political identity, the stream of missionary vocations became a flood. Existing religious orders such as the Vincentians, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, and Franciscans increasingly took on commitments to non-Christian missions. Presentation and Loreto Sisters were in the forefront of work among non-Christians in India. Christian Brothers went to Africa. Most significant of all, within the space of two decades four additional indigenous missionary bodies were established: The Missionary Sisters of Saint Columban (1922); the Sisters of the Holy Rosary (1924); Saint Patrick's Missionary Society (1932); and the Medical Missionaries of Mary (1937). Missionaries from these agencies worked principally in the Far East and Asia, in Africa, and in South and Central America.

During the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century Irish laity supported overseas missions with money that was channeled through the Association for the Propagation of the Faith and other mission-aid societies. There were some laypersons who took a more active part, assisting in the promotion of missionary magazines, and forming groups of apostolic workers who supplied sacred vessels and liturgical materials. Laity also served overseas mainly as teachers, nurses, doctors, and catechists. Lay participation increased significantly with the establishment of lay missionary organizations such as the *Viatores Christi* (1962) and an Irish branch of the Volunteer Missionary Movement (1972).

By the late 1960s Ireland had more than 7,000 Protestant and Catholic missionaries overseas. Since then the number has been gradually diminishing. In 1982, reflecting a decline in recruitment, there were 5,613 missionaries working in 86 developing countries, including 142 missionaries from Protestant denominations working in ten countries. Today the figure is significantly smaller, and the average age of the missionary is rapidly rising. But Irish missionaries, both to emigrants and to non-Christians, have made a signal contribution in establishing many young churches that are now growing to maturity. They continue to help in the development of countries through their work for education, health care, and other social needs, and they play an important role in alerting the global community to injustice and poverty.

SEE ALSO Evangelicalism and Revivals; Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Presbyterianism; Religious Orders:

Men; Religious Orders: Women; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

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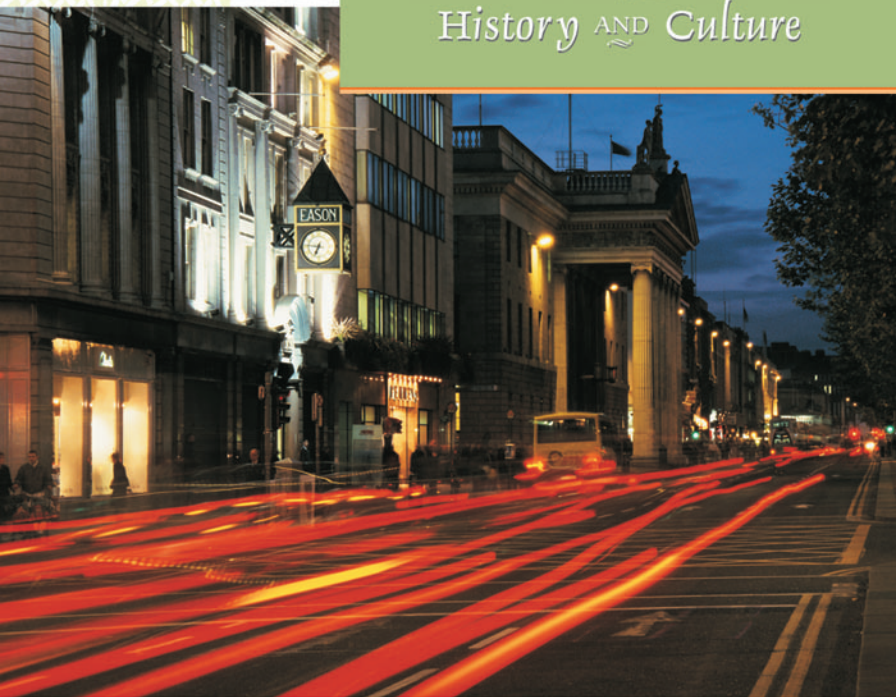
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Paisley, Ian

Ian Paisley (1926–), fundamentalist and unionist political leader, was born in Armagh city on 6 April. His father, a Baptist minister, formed a breakaway congregation in 1933. After training at evangelical colleges in Wales and Belfast, Ian Paisley became minister of an east Belfast fundamentalist congregation in 1946. In 1951 he founded the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster, attracting defectors from mainstream Protestant churches. Its non-Presbyterian features include Paisley's status as "moderator for life." (Paisley's ordination is unrecognized by mainstream Presbyterians.) During the 1950s Paisley was active in working-class unionist politics. An outspoken opponent of religious ecumenism and Northern Ireland's prime minister, Terence O'Neill, Paisley was briefly imprisoned for public-order offenses in 1966. Paisley reacted to the civil-rights movement with provocative counter-demonstrations that further destabilized Northern Ireland.

In 1970 Paisley won the Stormont by-election that was prompted by O'Neill's resignation, then took the North Antrim seat at the 1970 Westminster general election. In 1971 he founded the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). Throughout the 1970s the DUP grew by denouncing compromise, deploying menacing street protests against any hint of compromise, and outmaneuvering less adroit rival hardliners. (Paisley is frequently accused of inciting loyalists and sanctimoniously dissociating himself when they get caught.) Some officials hoped that Paisley might deliver compromise where moderates had failed, but he remained a reactive and opportunistic figure unwilling to risk his popularity. In 1979 Paisley topped the Northern Ireland poll in the European Parliament elections, his personal

popularity far outstripping that of his party. By the 1981 local elections, the DUP had drawn level with the Ulster Unionist Party in votes received and had acquired several talented young activists associated with Paisley's deputy and quasi-rival Peter Robinson. (Paisley's immediate family are prominent in both his party and church.) Paisley dominated the unionist front against the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement; the perceived impotence of his street politics convinced some unionists that they needed to influence future developments by participating in negotiations. Paisley walked out of the talks leading to the 1998 Belfast Agreement, marking the final breakdown of the unionist front. Despite his defeat in the 1998 referendum and health problems, Paisley retained the support of half the unionist community; the DUP benefited by denouncing the Belfast Agreement while taking advantage of devolution. (Paisley characteristically refused ministerial office.) Paisley is seen by international audiences as embodying unionism; his booming Ballymena voice (cultivated as a contrast to the strangled tones of upper-class unionism) was frequently caricatured. His good-humored image conceals a reactive, irresponsible, and ultimately destructive career.

SEE ALSO Loyalist Paramilitaries after 1965; Presbyterianism; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

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Patrick Maume

Parker, Dame Dehra

A prominent Unionist politician and the first and only woman to hold ministerial office in the Parliament of Northern Ireland, Dame Dehra Parker (1882–1963) was named after the place of her birth, Dehra Doon in India. In 1901 she married Lieutenant Colonel Robert Spencer Chichester from Castledawson in County Londonderry. Parker's early career showed both a public spirit and a commitment to the Unionist cause. She organized Ulster Volunteer Force nursing units during the third Home Rule crisis of 1911 to 1914 and was awarded an Order of the British Empire for her war work in 1918. She was a vice-chairman of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council from 1911 to 1930 and also served as a justice of the peace, a rural district councillor in Magherafelt, Co. Londonderry, and as a member of Magherafelt board of guardians, serving as chair of this body from 1924 to 1927. In 1921 she was elected as an Unionist MP for Londonderry in the newly established Parliament of Northern Ireland, one of only two women to be elected. Her maiden speech was received with cheers from the Northern Ireland Commons on 1 December 1921, and she quickly became recognized as a staunch defender of the Unionist government, particularly its premier, Sir James Craig. Her standing was such that in 1924 she was selected as the first woman in Britain to present the annual address on behalf of the Commons following the king's speech at the opening of the parliamentary session.

Widowed in 1921, she married Rear Admiral Henry Parker in 1928 and stepped down from her parliamentary seat in favor of her son-in-law, James Chichester-Clark, in the following year. She returned to politics after Chichester-Clark's death in 1933 and remained an MP for South Londonderry until she retired from politics in 1960. A stalwart Unionist, Parker was appointed Northern Ireland parliamentary secretary for education in 1937, retaining this post until 1944. In 1949 she was appointed Northern Ireland minister of health and local government, becoming the first woman in Northern Ireland to hold a cabinet position. She held this post until 1957. She was also grandmother to two prime ministers of Northern Ireland: James Chichester-Clark and Terence O'Neill.

A voluble orator with a wry wit, Parker was the most prominent and long-serving woman in the Parliament of Northern Ireland. Made a Dame of the British Empire (DBE) in 1949, she retired from politics after a thirty-five-year career in June 1960 because of ill health. She died in November 1963 and was aptly re-

membered by one former colleague, J. A. Oliver, as "capricious, an adroit politician and a most formidable operator" (Oliver 1974, p. 81).

SEE ALSO Ulster Unionist Party in Office; Women's Parliamentary Representation since 1922

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Diane Urquhart

Parnell, Charles Stewart

Irish Parliamentary Party leader Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891) was born on 27 June 1846 at his family's estate at Avondale, Co. Wicklow. Parnell went to school in England and attended Cambridge University but did not graduate. He was elected Home Rule MP for Meath in 1875 and made a name for himself by obstructing the business of Parliament. After Isaac Butt's death in 1879, Parnell became the de facto leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP), but he came to lead the wider nationalist movement only when agricultural depression revived the land question in the late 1870s. When Michael Davitt organized the Irish Land League in 1879, Parnell, himself a Protestant landowner, realized the league's political potential and became its president. Widespread agrarian violence characterized the ensuing Land War of 1879 to 1881, and Ireland seemed on the verge of revolution. Capitalizing on British fears, Parnell wrested the Land Act of 1881 from the British government. This legislation finally granted Irish tenants the "three Fs"—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale.

Fearing continued agrarian instability, in 1882 Parnell shifted his focus to winning Home Rule in the British Parliament. Parnell gave the IPP a national organization by creating the Irish National League and established greater discipline and loyalty to himself within the IPP. These steps paid off when the IPP won a record eighty-six seats in the 1885 election. This electoral mandate gave Parnell the leverage necessary to



Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891) pursued a political career that belied his background as a Wicklow landlord and an English-educated Protestant. He became president of the Land League at its foundation (October 1879) and chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party (May 1880). He fought for agrarian reform until 1882, when he switched the emphasis of the Irish national movement to Home Rule. His political alliance with the Liberal leader William Gladstone failed to bring Home Rule in 1886, and his love affair with Katharine O'Shea eventually destroyed Parnell's career. Photograph c. 1885 by William Lawrence. © HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

convince the British Liberal Party to support Home Rule. Although the 1886 Home Rule bill failed to pass, Parnell had placed Irish self-government on the Liberal agenda.

Parnell rapidly fell from the heights that he had reached in 1886. The new Conservative government's fierce opposition to Home Rule left Parnell with less political flexibility. Parnell also faced a public outcry in 1887 when *The Times* incorrectly linked him to the infamous Phoenix Park murders. But it was Parnell's personal life that ultimately ended his career. In December 1890 British Liberals and Irish Catholics turned on Parnell after news surfaced of his long-standing love affair with Katharine O'Shea, the wife of a Home Rule MP. Most members of the IPP repudiated Parnell's leadership, and although he fought to maintain his position, his political career was over. Physically exhausted, Par-

nell died on 6 October 1891. Parnell was an exceptional figure: a Protestant landlord who advocated land reform for Irish Catholic tenants and a distant and rather difficult man who during the 1880s was the charismatic uncrowned king of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Butt, Isaac; Davitt, Michael; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Ladies' Land League; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Newspapers; Plan of Campaign; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; **Primary Documents:** Establishment of the National Land League of Mayo (16 August 1879); Call at Ennis for Agrarian Militancy (19 September 1880); Land Law (Ireland) Act (22 August 1881); On Home Rule and the Land Question at Cork (21 January 1885); On Home Rule at Wicklow (5 October 1885); The Irish Parliamentary Party Pledge (30 June 1892)

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Patrick F. Tally

Peace Movement in Northern Ireland

Even during the early 1970s, the darkest days of the "Troubles," there were people committed to the pursuit of peace. Spontaneous outbursts of protest frequently followed in the wake of local hijackings or murders, but organizations also emerged, usually headed by women, to bring the call for peace to the forefront of public attention; for example, Women Together was formed in 1970 and the Women Caring Trust two years later. Individuals as well as groups regularly led peace rallies, marches, and prayer meetings, particularly at times of paramilitary truce, and local peace committees were set up in many areas. Most peace activists declared themselves, like Women Together, to be "not political, just sick of violence" (*Women Together*). This was not an easy

stance to maintain in a country dominated by politically inspired disturbances, and peace activists frequently met hostility from paramilitaries and their supporters.

The names most usually associated with the Northern Ireland peace movement are Betty Williams and Máiréad Corrigan, whose campaign followed a particularly tragic incident. On 10 August 1976 Corrigan's sister Anne Maguire was walking with her four children when the getaway car of a wounded gunman crashed into them, killing three of the children and leaving their mother seriously injured. Corrigan and Williams's call for an end to such senseless deaths and their subsequent campaign for peace drew wide public support. Tens of thousands gathered to sign petitions and join a group that became known as the Peace People, led by the two women with the assistance of reporter Ciaran McKeown. As many as 20,000 people attended rallies in Belfast during that first month, and 25,000 turned up in Derry in September. Marches held every weekend in the different cities of Northern Ireland, England, and the Republic during the following months continued to attract large crowds and massive media attention, as the frustration and despair of years was transformed into a wave of hope and optimism.

The high point of the movement came with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Corrigan and Williams in 1977, but the leaders of the movement, constantly in the public spotlight and seemingly out of touch with the wider membership, were increasingly divided over organization and direction, and Williams left in 1979. Moreover, lacking an agreed political agenda, they were prone to attack from both sides of the religious and political divide, and by 1980 growing popular disillusionment had led to a rapid decline in membership. The movement had blossomed during a period of political stalemate, and although it offered a ray of hope in a seemingly irresolvable situation, it lacked a policy of sufficient strength to sustain its growth. While individuals and organizations continued to work for peace in their localities, fundamental political issues had to be addressed before large-scale progress would be possible.

SEE ALSO Women's Movement in Northern Ireland

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Myrtle Hill

Pearse, Patrick

Educator, poet, journalist, and leader of the Easter Rising, Patrick Pearse (1879–1916) was born in Dublin on 10 November. Although he received a bachelor of law degree from the Royal University of Ireland, Pearse managed his late father's church-statuary business while pursuing his love of native culture.

A member of the Gaelic League since 1897, he edited its weekly newspaper *An Claidheamh Soluis* from 1903 until 1909. Contrary to his later disingenuous claims, Pearse did not use his post to undermine the nonpolitical stance of the organization. His most important writings from this period focused on education. Pearse was not an original thinker, but he energetically pursued concepts that interested him, and in 1908 he established his own school, Saint Enda's, based on the bilingual schools in Belgium. Innovative in an Irish context, the venture was financially draining and increased Pearse's growing personal desperation after 1910.

A proponent of Home Rule until 1912, he came to believe that constitutional agitation was ineffectual, and his growing affinity for Robert Emmet, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and John Mitchel led him to gravitate toward militant expressions of nationalism. Critically, his writings from this period reflect that he—like others in contemporary Europe—became fixated on the idea that a blood sacrifice was needed to “cleanse” and reinvigorate the national spirit.

By December 1913, his public speeches had convinced skeptical Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) leaders that he had developed into an “advanced” nationalist, and one month after Pearse helped to found the Irish Volunteers, Bulmer Hobson swore him into the IRB. When the Volunteers split over whether to fight alongside Britain in the Great War, Pearse was a central figure in surreptitiously securing control of the smaller, breakaway faction for the IRB. He was also part of a secret military council within the IRB that planned to use the Volunteers in an armed revolt at Easter 1916.

Alongside labor activist James Connolly, Pearse commanded forces in Dublin during the six days of fighting, proclaiming that they fought on behalf of an existing Irish republic. In contrast to his more disappointed comrades, Pearse believed that the failed Rising fulfilled his vision of blood sacrifice and positioned himself centrally as a Christ figure. Although the public was initially hostile toward the insurgents, the court-martials and executions of their leaders, including Pearse on 3 May 1916, did gradually turn public sentiment against the existing regime.

Subsequent idealizations emphasized Pearse's piety and his romantic commitment to Gaelic culture and militant republicanism, but his true legacy is both more pragmatic and more ambiguous: He was a gifted teacher whose last days facilitated the foundation of an independent Irish state and perpetuated the use of the gun in politics.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Hyde, Douglas; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; **Primary Documents:** O'Donovan Rossa Graveside Panegyric (1 August 1915); The Proclamation of the Irish Republic (24 April 1916)

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Timothy G. McMahon



Penal Laws

The penal laws may be described as the corpus of legislation that created and maintained the confessionalism of the early modern Irish state. As such, they include legislation against Protestant dissent as well as anti-Catholic legislation. They also include all the legislation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that formed the Anglican establishment and undermined Catholic economic and political power by land confiscation. However, late-eighteenth-century Catholic activists were anxious to assure Protestants that they sought to overthrow neither the religious establishment nor the existing distribution of property. They thus complained only of such anti-Catholic measures as were enacted in the period after the extension to Ireland of the successful Dutch invasion of Britain in 1688. This gave a more limited and still generally accepted meaning to the term *penal laws*.

The elements of the penal code have parallels in the contemporary bodies of law enacted against religious dissenters elsewhere in Europe. However, the rise of democratic and nationalist sentiment in the nineteenth century rendered the Irish legislation, in retrospect, particularly objectionable. Democratic thought held the nation to be constituted by its population, and because the penal laws had affected the greater part of that population, they came to be regarded as among the most notable of the Irish nation's historical grievances. Sectarian social and political divisions also ensured that the "penal era" did not lose its importance in popular historiography. Historians of the late twentieth century, in contrast, have worked hard to place the condition of eighteenth-century Catholics in a more favorable light.

Insecurity was the dominant feature of the new British regime established in the wake of the Dutch invasion. Many Anglicans feared that with the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, the terrible events of mid-century were beginning to repeat themselves. Irish Presbyterians consequently found themselves excluded from much of public life and subject to irksome legal restrictions, though their situation was improved in the reign of George I. As always, however, fear of popery was much greater and was intensified by the real threat of a restoration by force of the deposed James II or, from 1701, his son—known to his foreign allies and domestic supporters as James III. For some seventy years after the usurpation of 1688, the Glorious Revolution, as its partisans named the event, was by no means irreversible. The anti-Catholic legislation of the late Stuart and early Hanoverian period may be attributed simply to the fear that this engendered. Legislation enacted in 1695 answered the immediate need to disarm potential insurgents. The assault on Catholic landownership, most notably in the Popery Act of 1704, was intended to ensure, in a society in which the right to power was often held to depend on property, that no Catholic party would ever again exist. Legislation directly aimed at the Catholic Church, such as the Bishops' Banishment Act of 1697, is similarly explained by the desire to defend an insecure regime. The perception of Catholicism as primarily a political conspiracy was deeply embedded in the British Protestant mind. Equally, however, the measures that were not ostensibly concerned with the church itself might be justly seen as having a primarily religious motivation. In an age in which religion was by no means a matter for the individual, particularly in the lower ranks of society, it was assumed that the now exclusively Protestant character of the elite would determine the religion of those outside it. This view received support from the proponents of the early Enlightenment who held naive beliefs about what might be expected of education.

In reality, there was little religious change in the population at large. The established church was incapable of a sustained campaign of proselytism, while the Catholic clergy restored a restricted but effective pastoral presence in the country within decades. The poverty of the lowest ranks of society gave them immunity against the penal code's threats and bribes, and their linguistic and cultural separation from the Protestant elites served as further protection, if one was needed. However, among those who, their Catholicism aside, had claims or aspirations to be included in the elite, a degree of religious change was affected. The stick of the imposition of a humiliating status, involving exclusion from public office or the more desirable professions, and the carrot of economic advantage were recognized by the Catholic community as sufficiently persuasive to prevent great opprobrium falling on those who chose conversion. For those who remained Catholic, there were difficulties, but by no means were all paths to increased prosperity and influence in society barred. A Catholic economic environment, with varying degrees of self-sufficiency, was constructed and extended to the European mainland. Trade was attractive because land, in the early eighteenth century, was not a particularly good investment, quite apart from the restrictions on Catholic ownership of it. Still, short leases of up to thirty-one years were perfectly legal and often economically advantageous. Moreover, restrictions on more permanent forms of possession could be circumvented.

With the British victory in the Seven Years' War the threat to the ruling dynasty was gone. The alienation of the Catholic population in the British Isles was not merely needless, but politically and militarily foolish. Thus, toward the end of the 1770s, the dismantling of the penal code began. Yet in breaking Catholic power in Ireland, it had served the later Stuarts and the Hanoverians well. Unlike Scotland, Ireland never at any time after 1691 became the base for assaults on the regime established by William III. The penal code's importance lies also in its enduring effects on Irish society. The importance of religious affiliation in the distribution of privilege in the Irish ancien régime did much to produce a very extended elite, eventually held by many to encompass the whole Protestant community—the "plebeian oligarchy," which Edmund Burke attacked. Its enduring strength as an oligarchy, together with its fears of Catholicism and the secularizing British state, played a major role in forming the sectarian politics of the nineteenth century and beyond.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—

Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Government from 1690 to 1800; O'Connor, Charles, of Balenagare; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829; **Primary Documents:** An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1704)

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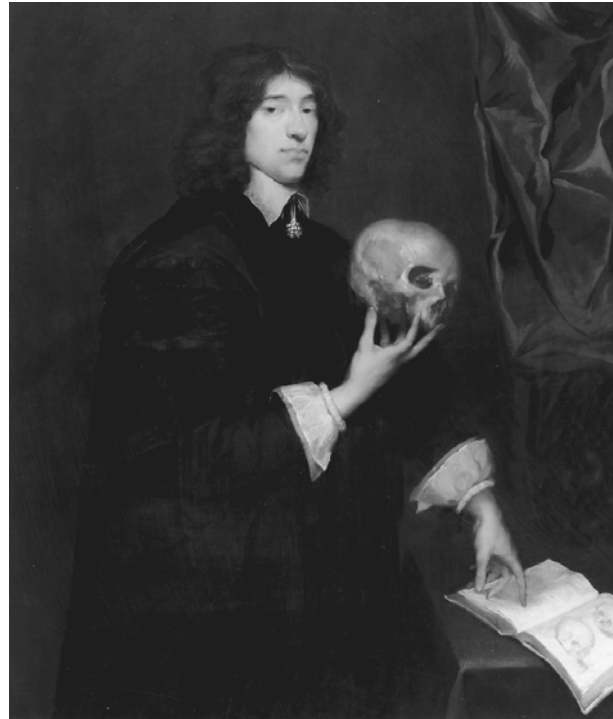
C. D. A. Leighton

Petty, Sir William

Sir William Petty (1623–1687), scientist and statistician, first came to public notice in Ireland in the 1650s. He was set on the path of scientific inquiry after having been taught mathematics by Jesuits in Normandy. Back in England, he was influenced by a group of reformers around Samuel Hartlib, a Protestant refugee from central Europe eager for social and educational changes. In 1651 the new regime first made Petty professor of anatomy at the University of Oxford and then in 1652, physician to the army in Ireland. He soon took over the survey of lands confiscated by the English state between 1649 and 1653. The result, the Down Survey, although not without flaws, provided the basis for the Cromwellian land settlement. Besides benefiting many military and Protestant civilians, the land redistribution also enriched Petty: He received £9,000 and substantial estates with annual rentals approaching £6,000 by the 1680s.

The Dublin administration, appreciative of his skills, made him clerk to the council and after 1655 secretary to the effective ruler of the island, Henry Cromwell, the younger son of Oliver Cromwell. Petty shared Cromwell's wish to move toward civilian instead of military government; this provoked radicals and soldiers to attack him in the Westminster Parliament of 1659, of which he was a member. He readily submitted to the restored Charles II, hopeful of high employment, but what he received—a knighthood in 1661, a place on the Irish privy council and its council of trade, and the judgeship of the Irish admiralty court in 1676—hardly matched his high estimate of his own abilities. He directed his energies into science and technology. A founder-member of the Royal Society of London, he was intermittently active in its affairs. He also pioneered, with John Graunt, the analysis of mortality rates in London and Dublin, and extrapolated both trends and population totals. His interest in quantification (although his figures were not always accurate) led to more sustained treatments of the natural and human geography of Ireland. On his own estates, especially in remote Kerry, he sought to demonstrate the merits of a methodical approach in exploiting iron ore, water power, timber, and the sea. The results failed to live up to his extravagant hopes.

Embittered by what he saw as his own neglect, Petty could be intemperate. In private he delighted friends with his irreverence. He wrote, sometimes obsessively and repetitively, about the politics, economy, and society of Ireland and England. Much was utopian or merely outrageous: He happily contemplated the enforced exchange of peoples from the two kingdoms. He was excessively optimistic that his unsentimental ideas about Ireland would recommend him to the Catholic James II, but a deluge of proposals failed to return Petty to the influence that he had briefly enjoyed between 1655 and 1659. He left behind a body of writings, many focused on Ireland, that showed him to be an unusually disciplined analyst. He also prepared the first county maps of Ireland, published in 1685 as *Hiberniae Delineatio*. The scope of Petty's interests and the scale of his achievements were fully apparent after his death: His *Political Arithmetic* was published in 1690, his *Political Anatomy* in 1691. The publication of all of his significant works has still to be completed. His writings, if sometimes repetitive and impractical, provide abundant details of the physical and human geography of seventeenth-century Ireland and England. They also show Petty's formidable intellectual prowess, especially as the originator of the statistical method known as political arithmetic.



Sir William Petty (1623–1687) was an English-born polymath who went to Ireland in 1652 as Physician General to the Commonwealth Army there. He stayed to carry out the pathbreaking “Down Survey” of Irish land (1654–1659), was enriched with confiscated estates in Kerry by Cromwell, and knighted (1662) by Charles II. He later divided his time between England and Ireland and was a founding member of both the Royal Society in London and the Dublin Philosophical Society, two important early academies of natural and social science. BY COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1500 to 1690; Boyle, Robert; Cromwellian Conquest; Dublin Philosophical Society; Restoration Ireland

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Toby Barnard

Plan of Campaign

The Plan of Campaign was the second of three phases of land agitation that occurred in Ireland between 1879 and 1903. Like the Land League before it, the Plan of Campaign was a reaction to falling agricultural production and prices that made it difficult for many tenant farmers to pay their customary rents. An increase in the late summer and early autumn of 1886 in the number of legal and forcible dispossessions of defaulting tenants, more commonly known as evictions, and the seeming indifference of the newly elected Conservative government to the tenants' economic plight, sparked the agitation, which in essence was a refusal to pay the contracted rents on selected estates.

The Plan of Campaign manifesto was published in the nationalist newspaper *United Ireland* on 23 October 1886. According to the manifesto, tenants on individual properties were to decide the percentage rent reduction they required. If the landlords refused their demands, the tenants were to entrust their rents, less the desired reduction, to individuals known only to themselves. This money, which was known as "the estate fund" or "the campaign fund," was to pay general expenses and to support evicted tenants. Campaigners were strongly urged not to pay legal costs, to publicize and resist evictions, and to boycott those responsible for them.

The Plan of Campaign affected a mere one percent of Irish estates during its five-year existence. It was implemented on at least 203 properties—75 in Munster, 71 in Connacht, 33 in Leinster, and 24 in Ulster. Although the heaviest concentration was in the poorer western half of the country, the Plan of Campaign was not simply the reaction of an impoverished peasantry to adverse economic circumstances. The evidence suggests that virtually all of the crucial Plan of Campaign struggles were fought on estates that had notoriously insecure financial bases. If tenant farmers, by withholding rents, could bring landlords to the verge of bankruptcy and force them to sell at sacrificial prices, the occupying tenants might be the beneficiaries.

The leadership of the movement was drawn from the more radical, agrarian wing of the Irish Parliamentary Party that regarded landlords as parasites and landlordism as alien. Additionally, and perhaps more significantly, the landlords were seen, and largely saw themselves, as part of the English garrison in Ireland, and as such, they were a considerable barrier to the establishment of a Home Rule parliament in Dublin. The leading proponents of land agitation in the 1880s made no secret of the fact that Home Rule was their ultimate aim, and thus the Plan of Campaign had a political dimension from the beginning.

The agitation was exclusively Catholic. With some exceptions, the Catholic hierarchy and clergy shared the nationalist community's attitude toward the landlords and the Plan of Campaign. They took their lead from the two most influential churchmen of the day, Dr. William Walsh, archbishop of Dublin, and his archiepiscopal colleague in Cashel, Dr. Thomas Croke, both of whom, after initial misgivings, defended the morality of the agitation. Their position was challenged by the more conservative members of the Catholic hierarchy, notably the redoubtable bishop of Limerick, Dr. Edward Thomas O'Dwyer. He and a handful of like-minded colleagues regarded the refusal to pay rent as illegal and morally wrong—a violation of the sacrosanctity of contract as enshrined in the Land Act of 1881. Their objections were strengthened in late December 1886 when the Irish executive proclaimed the agitation "an unlawful and criminal conspiracy," and made absolute in April 1888 when a papal rescript condemned the Plan of Campaign on the grounds that it was unlawful to break contracts freely entered into by landlords and tenants, that the land courts were available to those who believed that their rents were unfair, and that funds collected under the Plan had been extorted from tenants. The pope decreed that boycotting was contrary to charity and justice, depicting it as a tactic designed to intimidate individuals who were willing to pay their rents or who were exercising their legal rights in taking farms from which other tenants had been evicted.

The general response to the papal decree was great indignation. John Dillon, William O'Brien, and other Catholic leaders acknowledged Rome's religious and spiritual jurisdiction but rejected the pope's condemnation of boycotting and the Plan of Campaign as unwarranted meddling in Irish political affairs. In their reaction to the rescript and in the ensuing debate on the question of church-state relations, Irish Catholics demonstrated impressive political maturity and firmly indicated that, in an independent Ireland, Home Rule would not necessarily mean Rome Rule.



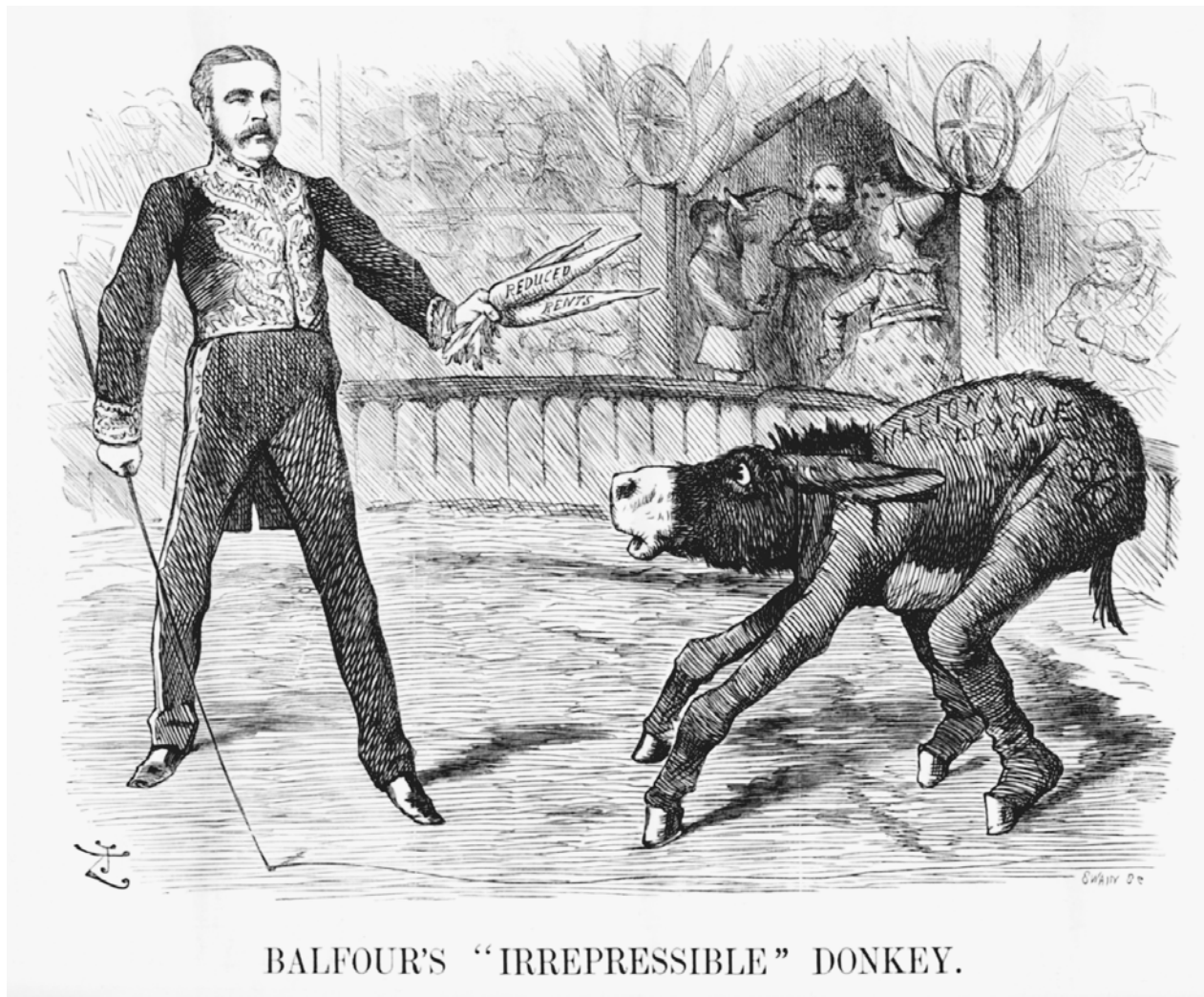
In the late 1880s tenants on some 200 Irish estates adopted the "Plan of Campaign" and deprived their landlords of the usual rents by concerted action. In striking back, some landlords, including Captain Hector Vandeleur of Kilrush House, Co. Clare, made use of a battering ram to oust resisting tenants, as depicted in this 1888 photograph. © SEAN SEXTON COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

An ironic exception to the broad nationalist consensus on the Plan of Campaign was Charles Stewart Parnell, the charismatic leader and embodiment of Irish nationalism. His attitude was one of undisguised antipathy, and he disavowed the agitation publicly on several occasions, notably in a press release in December 1886 and more comprehensively in a major address to the Liberal Party hierarchy at the Eighty Club in London on 8 May 1888. Parnell was opposed to the agitation on political and tactical grounds rather than on moral ones; he was concerned that certain aspects of the Plan would have an adverse affect on English public opinion and on the political situation generally. Agrarian agitation endangered the alliance that Parnell had forged between Irish nationalists and English Liberals, and thus it threatened the prospect of Home Rule for Ireland, Parnell's overriding political ambition.

The Plan of Campaign came through the twin traumas of the papal rescript and Parnell's Eighty Club address more or less unscathed. However, the leaders of the agitation could not escape the crippling shortage of funds and the financial demands of an ever-increasing

number of evicted tenants, and their difficulties became more acute as the government and the landlords sharpened and coordinated their responses. But the blow that precipitated the collapse of the agitation was the London divorce-court verdict against Mrs. Katharine O'Shea and Parnell on 17 November 1890. The subsequent rending of nationalist Ireland into pro- and anti-Parnellite camps was reflected in the ranks of the campaigners. Several of the Plan's leading advocates sided with Parnell, but the majority lined up against him. The tribulations in the nationalist camp demoralized the tenants, and by mid-1891 many had settled with their landlords, accepting terms that many observers regarded as ruinous. A small number of disputes dragged on for several years, but to all intents and purposes the agitation was moribund by the time of Parnell's death in October 1891.

Despite its precipitous and less than glorious termination, the Plan of Campaign was successful on most of the estates on which it was implemented and secured sizeable rent reductions for many tenants. In addition, the agitation had a considerable, if incalculable, indirect



BALFOUR'S "IRREPRESSIBLE" DONKEY.

Coercion and conciliation were standard elements in the Tory government's response to the land war in the late 1880s. Agrarian activists were jailed while the land courts forced landlords to lower the rents of leaseholders. In this Punch cartoon of 1888 the Irish chief secretary A. J. Balfour holds out the carrot of reduced rents to the "irrepressible donkey" of the Irish National League. FROM PUNCH, 14 JANUARY 1888.

influence on rent movements—many landlords conceded to their tenants' demands when threatened with the Plan or after seeing it take root in their area. The agitation exposed the fallacy of dual ownership in the soil by landlord and tenant, and it signalled that peasant proprietorship was the only long-term solution to the Irish land question. In the wake of the Plan of Campaign the political and social isolation of the mainly Protestant landed class was almost complete.

SEE ALSO Congested Districts Board; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Land Questions; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; United Irish League Campaigns

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Laurence M. Geary

Plunkett, Oliver

(Saint) Oliver Plunkett (1625–1681), the martyred Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh, was born in Loughcrew, Co. Meath, on 1 November. After an early education in Ireland, Plunkett traveled to study in the Irish College in Rome in 1647. He was ordained on 1 January 1654, and in 1657 was appointed professor of theology at Propaganda College. He was later transferred to the chair of controversies, the branch of theology dealing with items at issue between the Christian denominations.

Plunkett was elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh in 1669 and consecrated in Ghent. After arriving in Ireland in March 1670, he quickly set about visiting and reorganizing his archdiocese and reforming abuses. He worked to improve the education and lifestyles of his parochial clergy, discouraging such vices as drinking and womanizing, removing factious clerics from their posts, and ordaining more suitable candidates. His ongoing attempts to regulate the size, training, activities, and rivalries of the religious orders in his province, as well as his opposition to Jansenism (a Catholic ideological movement frequently denounced as heretical), led him into conflict with the Franciscans in particular. In his dealings with the laity his major concerns were with confirmation, regularizing marriages not contracted in full conformity with Canon Law, and restraining “tories” (bandit members of the dispossessed gentry). He was particularly concerned with education and sponsored Jesuit-run schools that were later forcibly closed by the Protestant authorities. In 1672 he wrote *Jus Primatiale*, a defense of the primacy within Ireland of the see of Armagh, in response to the rival claims of Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin. A practical and effective administrator, he held several synods and dispatched numerous letters to his superiors on the continent detailing his achievements and recommendations for the Irish church. The poverty of his see led him to complain of financial hardship, and outbreaks of persecution beginning in late 1673 occasionally forced him into hiding.

During the fallout from the Popish Plot (a fictitious conspiracy to assassinate Charles II and replace him with his Catholic brother) Plunkett was arrested, imprisoned successively in Dublin and London, accused of treason, and tried and convicted on 8 June 1681 on the perjured evidence of several Irish witnesses, including priests and friars from his own province. He was executed at Tyburn on 1 July. His body was buried in Saint Giles’s churchyard, London, but it was subsequently



Oliver Plunkett (1625–1681), Catholic archbishop of Armagh from 1669, had the misfortune to be caught up in the so-called Popish Plot in 1679. Tried in London on dubious charges, he was convicted and executed there in 1681. He was canonized by the Roman Catholic Church in 1975. NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 11 073. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

translated to Lamspringe, Germany, and thence to Downside Abbey, England. His head is preserved in Saint Peter’s Church, Drogheda, Co. Louth. Plunkett was declared venerable on 9 December 1886, beatified on 23 May 1920, and canonized on 12 October 1975. His feast day is 11 July.

SEE ALSO Council of Trent and the Catholic Mission; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); Restoration Ireland

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Clodagh Tait

Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon

Sir Horace Curzon Plunkett (1854–1932) was born in Gloucestershire, England on 24 October 1854, the son of the sixteenth Baron Dunsany and his wife, the Honorable Anne Constance Dutton. He was educated at Eton and Oxford and devoted his life principally to agricultural reform in Ireland.

As agent for his father at Dunsany Castle, Co. Meath, Plunkett took the initiative in 1878 of establishing a Dunsany Co-operative Society, the germ of the idea that was to dominate his life. Influenced by the British cooperative movement, ranching experience in the U.S. west, and the agricultural modernization of Denmark, he developed a concept of cooperation appropriate to the needs of the Irish small farmer. He saw in cooperation a means of establishing improved agricultural production, processing and distribution, a new sense of community, and an alternative social and moral order able to fill the gap that had been opened by the demise of the landlord system. However, a lack of political acumen compromised his achievements, and he attracted enmity within both major communities in Ireland: By antagonizing unionist voters, he lost the parliamentary seat on which his long-term vice-presidency of the Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction depended; by attacking nationalist parliamentarians and the Catholic clergy, he alienated those who most directly represented the class on whom the success of his reforms depended. In addition, his ideas threatened the shopkeeper and money-lending class, which provided much of the rural leadership of the nationalist movement. Perversely, he took pride in this multipartisan opposition, comparing his popularity to that of “a dog on a tennis court.”

The escalating crisis in Ireland after 1916 brought much more into the open the covert nationalism that Plunkett had long disguised. He sought, particularly through his chairing of the Irish Convention (1917–1918), to avert the partition of Ireland, and in 1919 he founded the Irish Dominion League in a further futile effort to that end. His achievements and contributions, however, were notable. The Irish Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department was created in 1899 as a result of his efforts. He was a member of the Congested Districts Board between 1891 and 1918, and in 1922 he became a senator of the Irish Free State. An adviser on agriculture to United States governments, he had an especially close relationship with President Theodore Roosevelt. Most notably of all, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, which he founded in 1894, not only

devised practical improvements to Irish farming but also enriched a relatively impoverished rural environment by increasing opportunities for social intercourse and a shared sense of community.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Congested Districts Board; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Land Questions; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Unionism from 1885 to 1922

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Philip Bull

Poetry, Modern

In modern Irish poetry certain important themes recur and are explored, defined, and refined throughout the twentieth century. Irish poets have continued to focus on their relation to place, politics, history, the private world, and those points where the public and the private collide. The early agenda was set by William Butler Yeats, whose figure and achievement continue to cast a large shadow. The principal themes in Yeats’s work are Irish mythology; the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods in Ireland, with their attendant heroes and villains; and love, mortality, and the poet’s search for immortality through mysticism and art. Although he produced compelling work throughout his career, his greatest achievements are found in the second half, in such landmark poems as “Easter 1916,” his poem about the Easter Rising; “The Wild Swans at Coole,” a vision of rural paradise; and “Sailing to Byzantium,” a profound meditation on aging and the quest for immortality. Yeats was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1923.

The middle period of twentieth-century Irish poetry is dominated by Austin Clarke, Louis MacNeice, and

Patrick Kavanagh. Clarke is best known for his long poems *Mnemosyne Lay in Dust* and *Tiresias*, and for the short, often pointed, lyrics which comprise the major part of his *Selected Poems*. In the early part of his career much of the material of his poetry was derived from Irish mythology and concerned with faith and loss of faith. His best work explores, with a satiric eye, the political, cultural, and sexual inadequacies of Irish life between the 1950s and 1970s. Louis MacNeice was born in Belfast, educated in England, and spent much of his adult life in London as a contemporary of W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, and the British poets of the 1930s. He has written many memorable Irish poems, the most famous being "Carrickfergus," an autobiographical account of his Ulster upbringing. Patrick Kavanagh, born and raised on a farm in County Monaghan, is the most important poet of this period, whose work has had an enormous influence on many poets who were to follow, Seamus Heaney and Eavan Boland in particular. In his long poems *The Great Hunger* and *Lough Derg*, Kavanagh shows that the romantic version of rural life presented by Yeats does not match reality. The rural world, in Kavanagh's view, is dominated by social, intellectual, sexual, and economic hungers. Toward the end of his life, after successful cancer surgery, Kavanagh produced his great lyric poems: "Canal Bank Walk," "Lines Written on a Seat on the Grand Canal, Dublin . . .," and "The Hospital." Other notable poets of the period include the trio of modernists Denis Devlin, Thomas MacGreevy, and Brian Coffey; and Máirtín Ó Direáin and Seán Ó Ríordáin, the most prominent Irish-language poets.

In the 1950s a new generation finally brought Irish poetry out from under the shadow of Yeats and provided it with a new agenda: exploring and defining the new, more prosperous, and more outgoing Ireland that replaced the isolated post-independence nation. In *The Rough Field* John Montague provides the first extended poetic meditation on the role of history and place in the developing "Troubles" in Northern Ireland and in *The Dead Kingdom* he explores the lives of those Irish who were lost in America as part of the Irish Diaspora. Thomas Kinsella, a more hermetic poet than Montague, has explored the loss of language and of one's place in the world in work that takes daring risks with poetic form, becoming more avant-garde as his career has progressed. James Liddy is the most exuberant poet of this generation. His work is influenced primarily by the American Beat poets; it is through his work that the Beat influence is introduced into Irish poetry. Kinsella's and Liddy's best works are gathered in their respective volumes of *Collected Poems*. Richard Murphy is a poet associated primarily with the west of Ireland, County Galway in particular, and is known for his exploration of the natural world and of the lives of men who make

their living as fishermen. With the publication of Murphy's *High Island*, an Irish literature of the environment begins to emerge. Another notable poet of this generation is Pearse Hutchinson, whose poetry, written in both English and Irish, is concerned with the vanishing language and vanishing culture of rural, Gaelic Ireland. Also associated with the writers of this generation is Anthony Cronin, whose *New and Selected Poems* is a significant volume that explores the Irish social and political conscience.

POETRY FROM NORTHERN IRELAND

The 1960s saw the resumption of the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland and the emergence of an important group of poets who have dominated Irish poetry since their first work began to appear. The best known of these poets is Seamus Heaney, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1995. Heaney, who was born in Mossbawn, about thirty miles northwest of Belfast, has produced a remarkable body of varied work. The political turmoil of Northern Ireland has an important place in his poetry, but it does not overwhelm it. Heaney also examines the natural world and its points of intersection with the world of men and women. He is a poet of bogs, hills, and fields, and of the people who interact with this world and violate it with violence. In *Opened Ground: Selected Poems, 1966–1996*, one is struck both by the remarkable quality of Heaney's lyric poems, in which he extols the quiet virtues of ordinary people. In contrast, Derek Mahon's complex work, influenced by Samuel Beckett and the French existentialist writers, takes note of the loss of order in the contemporary world. It is elegant and highly structured. His best-known poem is "A Disused Shed in Co. Wexford," which is found in his *Collected Poems*. Michael Longley's poetry is classical in tone and influence. In looking at Belfast, he gazes through the prism of classical literature and philosophy to help define the city, its people, and their predicaments. Longley's *Poems, 1963–1983* also reveals a deep attachment to the natural world of the west of Ireland. In *Poems, 1956–1986*, James Simmons mixes the lyric and the comic as he seeks to describe the tangled personal and public realities of Northern Ireland.

In the 1980s a second wave of poets from the North emerged; the most prominent figures in this group are Paul Muldoon, Ciaran Carson, Medbh McGuckian, Tom Paulin, and Frank Ormsby. Muldoon's work is set both in Ireland, where he grew up and was raised, and in the United States, where he now lives, and it ranges widely in themes, forms, and attitudes. Muldoon provides his readers with an ironic and postmodern view of the Irish experience in such collections as *Meeting the British* and

Madoc. Ciaran Carson's best-known book is *Belfast Confetti*, a volume of narrative verse that reveals the vital essences present in contemporary Belfast. Medbh McGuckian's work is sometimes considered inscrutable by readers. In her luminous poetry, she reveals the interiors of experience. It is as if everything is reversed: instead of describing the world as we see it, McGuckian presents a deep-rooted vision of how the exterior world is recreated by the female psyche and body. Frank Ormsby's most prominent work is found in *A Northern Spring*. Fivemiletown is Tom Paulin's best-known work.

WOMEN POETS AND THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

Until recently, many women poets have felt excluded and marginalized in the Irish literary world, but a brilliant generation of women poets appeared in the 1980s. To date, the most important figure, as writer and influence, is Eavan Boland. Raised in Dublin, London, and New York, Boland articulated the struggles she faced as a young woman, mother, and poet in her prose memoir *Object Lessons: The Life of the Woman and the Poet in Her Time*. She has also published many volumes of poetry, including *The Journey, A Woman in a Time of Violence*, and *The Lost Land*. Throughout the 1980s, she conducted workshops for women in rural Ireland that encouraged them to write and publish. Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill has published a number of important volumes, the best known being *Pharaoh's Daughter* and *The Astrakhan Cloak*, in which Irish mythology is wedded to an original feminist outlook to produce a new Irish poetic vision. Ní Dhomhnaill writes in Irish, and her success has encouraged other Irish-language poets (including her male contemporaries Michael Davitt and Cathal Ó Searcaigh, both of whom have published distinguished work). Mary O'Malley, in such volumes as *The Knife in the Wave* and *Asylum Road*, has also introduced mythology into her work. In addition, her explorations of the west of Ireland are the first sustained feminist interpretation of the western landscape. Paula Meehan has written many fine love poems and poems of family, and poems in which ordinary Dubliners are given voice; her book *The Man Who Was Marked by Winter* has had wide influence in Ireland. Other women who have produced important poetry in recent years include Mary O'Donnell, Rita Ann Higgins, Sara Berkeley, and Moya Cannon. The poetic vision of these women has been influenced by poets from the United States, particularly Adrienne Rich. With the exception of Medbh McGuckian, all of these women are from the Republic, from

where most of the most significant new writers have come.

The following distinguished collections by men were published in the 1990s: Theo Dorgan's *Rosa Mundi*, Tony Curtis's *Three Songs of Home*, Greg Delanty's *The Hell Box*, Philip Casey's *The Year of the Knife*, Sean Lysaght's *The Clare Island Survey*, Gerard Donovan's *The Lighthouse*, Dennis O'Driscoll's *Weather Permitting*, Michael Coady's *All Souls*, and Pat Boran's *The Shape of Water*. These works are often united by a common desire to escape what we understand to be the traditional themes of Irish poetry—they are more likely to be concerned with social issues than with historical though, overall, the world they depict is more private than public. It is poetry inspired by Kavanagh that also shows the influences of European and American poets. Contemporary Irish poets, male and female, have produced work that is both exciting and unpredictable, that steps out from under the great canopies of the past.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Drama, Modern; Fiction, Modern; Heaney, Seamus; Literature: Twentieth-Century Women Writers; Yeats, W. B.; **Primary Documents:** "Easter 1916" (1916); "Burial of an Irish President (Dr. Douglas Hyde)" (c. 1949); "An Irishman in Coventry" (1960); "Punishment" (1975)

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Eamonn Wall

Elected members of Fianna Fáil walking to Dáil Éireann in 1927. Their decision to take their seats in Dáil Éireann in August 1927 consolidated parliamentary democracy in the Irish Free State. © RTÉ STILLS LIBRARY, REF. NO. 504/100. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Political Parties in Independent Ireland

The party system of independent Ireland is atypical of Europe. Instead of the configuration of liberal, Christian democratic and socialist parties that characterizes other predominantly Catholic societies, there is one set of parties that originated in the nationalist Sinn Féin (We ourselves) movement and another that grew out of sectional interests or alternative perspectives. The electoral support bases and ideological standpoints of all of these parties are unusual.

SINN FÉIN AND ITS SUCCESSORS

Although the party that became known as Sinn Féin was founded by nationalist journalist Arthur Griffith (1871–1922) and others in 1905, it was not until the British general election of 14 December 1918 that it

moved to the center of the Irish political stage. By that time, what had been a marginal political force had become a broad national movement, a change marked by the accession of Eamon de Valera (1882–1975) as party leader in October 1917.

Having won 73 of Ireland's 105 parliament seats (including 69 of the 74 seats that were located in what is now the Republic of Ireland) in 1918, the success of Sinn Féin's campaign to force the British to the negotiating table left the party poised to become the dominant political force in the new Ireland. But disagreement over the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6 December 1921 provoked a split in Sinn Féin. With de Valera's resignation as president of the revolutionary regime on 9 January 1922, he and other opponents of the treaty parted with their colleagues, arguing that the treaty, in addition to excluding Northern Ireland from the new state, failed to assert full Irish independence. The antitreaty group, which retained the name Sinn Féin, was roundly defeated in a general election on 16 June 1922, and its IRA supporters were crushed in the Civil War of 1922 to 1923.

Rejecting the legitimacy of the new state and its institutions, Sinn Féin remained in the political wilderness in the early 1920s. At the party's convention in March 1926, however, when de Valera's advocacy of a more pragmatic approach was rejected, he and his supporters withdrew from the party. On 16 May 1926 they founded a new party, Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny). In spite of its uncompromising stand for Irish unity and independence, Fianna Fáil entered the Dáil on 11 August 1927 and went on to register a series of landmark political victories. In the general election of February 1932 it became Ireland's largest party and formed a government that lasted for sixteen years. Notwithstanding a significant drop in support in the 1990s, Fianna Fáil's average support in general elections during the period 1932 to 2002 was 45.3 percent.

The victorious protreaty section of Sinn Féin reorganized itself as Cumann na nGaedheal (Party of the Irish) on 8 April 1923. Although it formed the government until 1932, it never won an overall majority, and a further decline began after its loss of power. On 8 September 1933 it merged with two smaller groups to form Fine Gael (Family or Tribe of the Gaels), which headed Ireland's first coalition government (beginning 18 February 1948) and subsequently participated in five other coalitions. Between 1932 and 2002 average support for this political stance has been 30.1 percent.

The Sinn Féin rump that remained after de Valera's withdrawal in 1926 shifted to the left following the collapse of an IRA campaign in Northern Ireland between 1956 and 1962, and limped on until the outbreak of the Northern Ireland troubles. It split again on 11 January 1970. The "official" group that retained control of the party led it further to the left, later abandoned the name Sinn Féin (becoming the Workers' Party), and eventually faded away. Most of its parliamentarians ultimately joined the Labour Party. The "provisional" group that seceded set down deep roots in Northern Ireland and is now known simply as Sinn Féin in both parts of Ireland.

OTHER PARTIES

Two distinctive sets of sectional interests have also been significant since 1922. First, a small Labour Party appeared in 1922 as an offshoot of the trade-union movement, and has been continuously represented since then; its average support between 1932 and 2002 has been 11 percent. Second, a Farmers' Party—originating from the Farmers' Union, an organization of larger farmers—existed between 1922 and 1932; average support during its lifetime was 7.7 percent. A more extensive agrarian party, Clann na Talmhan (Party of the Land), was founded on 29 June 1939 and

later participated in two coalition governments. Its support tended to come from smaller farmers, especially in the western counties, but this gradually tapered off; the party's average support from 1943 to 1961 was 5.5 percent.

Few other parties disturbed the pattern of relatively stable party support. The radical left has been very weak, and only one communist-linked deputy has ever been elected (James Larkin, in September 1927). Some minor nationalist parties existed in the 1920s, but on 6 July 1946 a more vigorous radical party appeared—Clann na Poblachta (Party of the Republic), which took support from Fianna Fáil and allowed the formation of the first coalition government on 18 February 1948. Clann na Poblachta proved to be ephemeral; it disappeared in the 1960s; its average support between 1948 and 1961 was 6.5 percent. Since then, the most significant new arrival has been the Progressive Democrats, founded on 21 December 1985, whose origins lay in divisions within Fianna Fáil over the leadership of Charles Haughey but which also attracted support from other parties. The party's share of the vote has slipped since its first electoral outing in 1987, but it averaged 6.1 percent over the four elections between 1987 and 2002. It has participated in coalition governments with Fianna Fáil from 1989 to 1992 and since 1997.

PARTIES AND VOTERS

The three main parties had long been considered atypical of Europe because they reflected underlying social divisions only weakly. Fianna Fáil has traditionally been a catchall party, with more pronounced support in the small-farming areas of the western counties in its early years. Fine Gael has had a slightly more middle-class support base and has traditionally been strongly represented among large farmers. The Labour Party's areas of greatest strength are in the south and east of the country, with farm laborers as one of its more distinctive traditional components and some urban working-class support in more recent years.

Parallel to the weak link between the parties and social structure, there is a near-absence of ideological distinctiveness. In its early days Fianna Fáil was more socially radical, and Fine Gael more conservative, but since the late twentieth century the two parties have contested the middle ground. The Labour Party originally represented itself as a relatively cautious wing of the trade-union movement, but it swung sharply to the left in the late 1960s, then returned decisively to the center in the 1980s.

By the end of the twentieth century the similarity of Irish political parties mirrored developments in other

European countries. The bitter differences that led to the formation of the party system in the 1920s were substantially purged when in 1948 Fine Gael appeared to appropriate Fianna Fáil's cause and broke the remaining tenuous link with the United Kingdom by ending Ireland's membership of the Commonwealth. Since then, although the imprint of Fianna Fáil's more nationalist history is still plain, competition between parties has been based on pragmatic rather than ideological arguments.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Civil War; Clarke, Kathleen; Cosgrave, W. T.; de Valera, Eamon; Irish Republican Army (IRA); Lemass, Seán; Mother and Child Crisis; Politics: Impact of the Northern Ireland Crisis on Southern Politics; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Proportional Representation; Trade Unions; Women's Parliamentary Representation since 1922; **Primary Documents:** Provisional Government Proclamation at the Beginning of the Civil War (29 June 1922); Republican Cease-Fire Order (28 April 1923); "Aims of Fianna Fáil in Office" (17 March 1932); From the 1937 Constitution; Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951)

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John Coakley

Politics

1500 TO 1690
1690 TO
1800—A
PROTESTANT
KINGDOM

STEVEN G. ELLIS
DAVID W. MILLER

1800 TO 1921—
CHALLENGES TO
THE UNION
INDEPENDENT
IRELAND SINCE
1922
NATIONALIST
POLITICS IN
NORTHERN
IRELAND
IMPACT OF THE
NORTHERN
IRELAND CRISIS
ON SOUTHERN
POLITICS

D. GEORGE BOYCE

DIARMAID FERRITER

ÉAMON PHOENIX

JOHN COAKLEY

1500 TO 1690

In large measure political divisions in late medieval Ireland still reflected the pattern of earlier English colonization. This in turn had been shaped by geographical divisions between arable lowlands and predominantly pastoral regions of mountain, wood, and bog. Medieval English settlement had been concentrated in the eastern and southern lowlands, which remained the heartland of the English lordship into early Tudor times. By then, however, little remained of the less heavily colonized regions of English Connacht and Ulster. English rule in these parts had mostly been swept away by the Gaelic revival (c. 1300–1460), leaving small coastal strips around Galway and extending north from Carlingford to Carrickfergus; and even the English heartland had been somewhat reduced by Gaelic military pressure on the frontier borders. Thus, by 1500, Ireland as seen by English officials was divided politically and culturally into three main regions. First, there was the "English Pale," first so described in 1494. In the narrow sense, this meant the fortified area of English law, language, and culture around Dublin—the "four obedient shires" of the eastern coastal plain inhabited by "the king's loyal English lieges," although even here Gaelic customs retained a hold. The Pale also referred more loosely to the wider English lordship, particularly the royal port-towns and cities, and other densely settled areas like south Wexford and the Barrow–Nore–Suir river basin, which were readily accounted part of the Tudor state. Second, there was the area of the "king's English rebel," that is, various lordships of mixed English and Gaelic law and custom ruled by families of English descent, which were effectively independent or only intermittently answerable to royal government. Finally, there were those regions inhabited by "the king's Irish enemies," the Gaelic clans and chiefs who ruled over sixty independent lordships and a host of dependent chieftaincies by Gaelic law and custom.

Politically, therefore, Ireland around 1500 was a highly fragmented land, in which the effective unit of authority was the lordship. English kings usually governed their Irish territories—like other Tudor borderlands—by appointing as their deputy the most powerful magnate among the local English, in this case, the earl of Kildare. By this means the Crown could harness to defend the English both the earl's personal *manraed* ("counsel of men," including his tenants, members of his household, and other supporters) on the Pale's southern borders and also his extensive political connections elsewhere, so as to supplement the meager resources traditionally available to the Dublin administration. With royal support successive Kildare earls had gradually built up an effective system of peels (tower-houses), dikes, and fortified bridges to defend the Pale. They had also reduced and recolonized key outposts long reoccupied by the Irish in exposed marchlands. Thus English rule was consolidated during the Kildare ascendancy, and the English lordship was again made financially and militarily self-sufficient.

To the Tudors, however, there were also disadvantages in this system of devolved administration through a powerful regional magnate (known as aristocratic Home Rule to an earlier generation of nationalist historians). As long as Henry Tudor concentrated on reestablishing royal authority in lowland England, and Kildare refrained from backing Yorkist pretenders, the arrangement worked well; and initially too, Henry VIII was far more interested in reviving the Hundred Years' War against France than in fostering good rule in remote borderlands. By 1520, however, when the earl of Surrey led a reconnaissance in force to establish "by which means and ways your grace might reduce this land to obedience and good order," Tudor expectations of their ruling magnates had advanced beyond the mere preservation of a precarious peace in the Pale. Moreover, English merchants and gentry of the *magheries* (Pale heartland) increasingly demanded "good English order and rule" instead of march law (a local hybrid of English and Gaelic law specific to the borderland) and feudal excesses that left the king's subjects "in no better case than the wild Irish." The Kildares therefore became a victim of their own success. An effective system of defenses fostered the growth in the Pale *magheries* of an ordered society akin to that in lowland England, and with like expectations of "good rule." Yet, so long as Ireland remained overall a turbulent society—with a military frontier between two nations, cultures, and political systems—defensive needs necessarily remained paramount.

THE ORIGINS OF THE TUDOR CONQUEST

The Kildare rebellion of 1534 to 1535 was in effect precipitated by growing tensions between traditional magnate power and the heightened expectations of Tudor monarchy and Pale society. Hitherto, the Tudors had generally declined the option of an English-born outsider as governor, with the consequent expense of supplying a military retinue to enforce royal authority. Yet the crushing of the rebellion also destroyed the earl's political connection by which the English in Ireland had been defended, thus bringing the Tudor monarchy for the first time into direct contact with the turbulent border chieftaincies hitherto controlled by Kildare. This left the Crown with little option but to retain as a standing garrison the nucleus of the English relief army sent to crush the rebellion, together with its administrative backbone, the financial officials, and army captains headed by the successive military commanders (Sir William Skeffington, deputy, 1534–1535, and Lord Leonard Grey, deputy, 1536–1540).

Government through an English-born outsider transformed the Crown's immediate problem from supervising a wayward deputy to finding additional revenues to meet the extra expenses of what some historians have termed *direct rule*. The so-called Irish Reformation Parliament (1536–1537) not only applied to Ireland Henry VIII's religious initiatives and arrangements for the royal succession but also attempted to put the Irish revenues on a more secure footing. Acts for the attainder of Kildare and his supporters, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the confiscation of the lands of English absentees all swelled the supply of Crown lands, nominally tripling the annual Irish revenues. In practice, however, much of this land was marchland that the new regime, lacking Kildare's cross-border connections, was unable properly to defend. Lord Leonard Grey worked wonders with the small army at his disposal, but the events surrounding the Geraldine League underlined the fact that both financially and militarily his administration was seriously undersupplied.

The long rule of Sir Anthony Saint Leger as governor (1540–1548, 1550–1551, 1553–1556) provided more continuity in the Dublin administration and a more consistent attempt to adapt for Ireland the characteristic Tudor reform policies—reducing outlying parts to good rule. The ground was prepared by the so-called surrender and regrant initiative. A statute of 1541 in the Irish Parliament confirmed Henry VIII as king of Ireland—so that what had been a mere land or lordship annexed to the Crown was now erected into a separate kingdom. By these means a mechanism was belatedly established for turning Irish enemies into English subjects and incorporating Gaelic lordships into the Tudor

state. Gaelic chiefs would hold their lands from the Crown, with leading clansmen transformed into tenants by a process of subinfeudation; Gaelic lordships would become English shires; and English law and administrative structures would replace Gaelic law and customs. In short, the extension of English government throughout Ireland would eliminate the traditional constitutional divisions between the Irish and the English.

Administratively, this initiative closely resembled the so-called Welsh act of union (1536–1543), whereby Welsh marcher lordships had been shired (made into counties or shires) and the “mere Welsh” granted English law. Yet Wales had been conquered by 1283, was part of the same land mass, and its peoples regarded the Tudors as Welsh. Ireland, by contrast, was not only a separate island four times as large, but more than half of it was inhabited by hostile clans—part of a wider Gaelic world extending into Scotland—that had no natural ties with the Tudors. The decision to turn Ireland into a second Tudor kingdom (albeit still a dependency, not a sovereign kingdom) perhaps reflected some appreciation of these essential differences that Ireland could not simply be submerged into a greater England. Yet the Tudor aim was nothing less than to erect on the flimsy foundations of medieval English settlement—a mere patchwork of lordships and port-towns scattered through Leinster and Munster—a centralized early modern kingdom comprehending the whole island, which was also thoroughly English in law, government, culture and, eventually too, in religion. This was probably the most ambitious project that the Tudors ever attempted. Yet for much of the century Ireland ranked a bad fourth, after English domestic concerns, continental developments, and relations with Scotland, in the priorities of Tudor government, and so also in the resources which successive monarchs were prepared to commit to this enterprise.

The inevitable result of scanty resources matched to great ambition was very slow progress. Paradoxically, this worked initially in the government’s favor. With only five hundred men available and the old king already grumbling about an annual deficit of IR£5,000, Saint Leger had little option in his dealings with Gaelic chiefs but to prefer inexpensive compromise and conciliation over coercion. Henry VIII’s death (in January 1547) saw surrender and regrant completed only in regard to three of the more powerful chieftaincies: O’Brien and O’Neill were created earls of Thomond and Tyrone respectively, and MacGiolla Phádraig was ennobled as Lord Fitzpatrick of Upper Ossory. In addition, two lords of English descent were reconciled to the Crown: James FitzGerald, earl of Desmond, and Ulick Bourke, who was created earl of Clanrickard. Yet transforming Gaelic

chiefs into feudal magnates like Kildare did little to foster the kind of ordered society that Tudor officials increasingly saw as the only authentic expression of English civility. The deployment of Gaelic *kerne* (unarmored, variously armed foot soldiers) in France and Scotland in 1544 to 1545 temporarily eased the problem of underemployed professional soldiers in these lordships, but the replacement of Gaelic succession and inheritance customs by English tenures and primogeniture, as envisaged by surrender and regrant, proved very divisive in the erstwhile ruling clan. Thus Ireland still looked very disturbed and disorderly to English observers, despite the optimism engendered by these new initiatives. And not until 1557 was any Gaelic lordship actually shired, and then only in very different circumstances.

The English saw the Irish as living in idleness and brutality in mountains, woods, and bogs, in insubstantial dwellings, and practicing other, apparently bizarre customs, and officials automatically relegated them to the lower rungs of the great chain of being. Surrender and regrant accordingly presented a great opportunity to adopt a better way of life. Yet, instead of eager acceptance of this generous offer, English officials detected reluctance on the part of Gaelic nobles to embrace the benefits of English civility. The slow progress of Tudor reform was soon blamed on the malice of chiefs and clansmen who seemingly wished to preserve their privileges and tyranny over the poor earthtillers who were without rights in the lands they worked. Thus, once Henry VIII’s death had eased the purse strings, the regency council of the young Edward VI developed more coercive strategies to force the pace, and was prepared to pay for results. The army was quadrupled in size, military control south of a line running from Carlingford to the Shannon was quickly established, and, following disturbances by the O’Mores and O’Connors in the Gaelic midlands, Leix and Offaly were declared forfeit to the Crown. Having established Forts Governor and Protector to control these lordships, the government then took steps to plant them with colonies of Englishmen—Pale gentry or New English servitors—in a bid to screen the Pale.

Yet increased coercion proved both expensive and counterproductive. By 1552 the annual deficit had soared to IR£52,000, which the government could not afford. The army’s lack of discipline and the increased cost of purveyance to support it alienated the local English, as did other sporadic attempts to shift the financial burden onto them: the disastrous Tudor experiment of debasing the coinage, which ruined trade; and various attempts into the 1580s to commute purveyance (called *cess* in Ireland), which was opposed as a system of military taxation without parliamentary consent.



An English depiction (c. 1581) of Irish life by John Derricke. It shows Irish kerne—or brigands—bands of lightly armed, loosely organized toughs who preyed on civilians and contributed (particularly from an English point of view) to the instability of the countryside. FROM JOHN DERRICKE'S *THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE* (1581).

The Irish too were unsettled by the activities of an enlarged army, seeing its exploits, particularly the Leix-Offaly plantation, not as a development of Tudor reform but as a reversion to the more traditional English ambition of military conquest. Moreover, although Leix and Offaly were shired as queen's and king's counties in 1557, the struggling English settlement of soldier-colonists proved both a financial drain and a military liability. The expropriated Gaelic clans never accepted this purported oasis of English civility planted in their midst, and these new shires, lying beyond the standing defenses of the Pale, also proved difficult to defend.

By the time the young Queen Elizabeth tried to rein in costs—following a second bout of military adventures in Ulster by Saint Leger's successor, the enthusiastic but inexperienced earl of Sussex—an army of fifteen hundred was about the minimum force that could be contemplated to maintain order. And in the longer period of peace down to the outbreak of the Spanish war (1585–1604), the Irish service was almost the only outlet for younger sons of English aristocrats bent on soldiering to make their fortunes.

Contrary to the contention that English captains were swayed by ethnological and anthropological distinctions between Irish and English, research from the 1990s suggests that they thought conventionally in

terms of good subjects and rebels, and generally felt themselves bound by the normal rules of war as practiced elsewhere. Yet the increasing resort to martial law did nothing to promote respect among the *Gaedhil* (Gaelic Irish) for English law and government; and neither ministers in London nor in Dublin could effectively check the abrasive conduct of local captains and officials more concerned to establish themselves as landed gentry than to advance Tudor reform. Growing political and military pressure exerted by the Dublin administration mainly prompted disaffected Gaelic chiefs and feudal magnates to band together to resist Tudor centralization. Late Tudor politics was punctuated by major rebellions as native opposition became more generalized and ideological. And by 1579 originally distinct movements of political and religious opposition were coalescing. Widespread withdrawal from Church of Ireland services fostered a settled recusancy among Gaelic and Old English peoples alike.

In appealing to Gaelic chiefs for support James Fitzmaurice combined the appeal of faith with fatherland. Likewise, Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, who mounted the most serious challenge to Tudor rule during the Nine Years War (1594–1603), courted Old English support from 1596 onwards by attributing to Ireland and the Irish a common faith and a common fatherland. Within thirty years this new nationalist ideology was

to erode earlier differences of race and culture, but in the 1590s Gaelic particularism and the traditional politics of ethnicity proved insuperable obstacles in Tyrone's efforts to build a national movement against the Tudor conquest. Despite English fears of an Old English rising in support of their fellow Catholics, or the Spanish landing at Kinsale, Lord Deputy Mountjoy's commanders at the decisive battle of Kinsale (1601) included the Gaelic earl of Thomond and the Old English earl of Clanric-kard.

A BRITISH KINGDOM

Tyrone's surrender to Mountjoy at Mellifont in March 1603 brought the Tudor conquest to completion at the same time as the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English Crown created a new multiple monarchy extending throughout the British Isles. These twin developments transformed the character of Irish politics. In the first place, Ireland was now governed as a centralized early modern kingdom. Within three years the normal officials of English shire government were operating in the erstwhile Gaelic lordships, and English laws and customs had ousted Gaelic ones. Similar moves against Gaelic law and custom in Scotland removed the political underpinning of the Gaelic system there too, thus facilitating the partition of medieval Gaeldom between two composite kingdoms. Behind these changes lay a subtle redirection of Crown policy. King James sought the gradual assimilation of his patrimony into a British polity following best practice in politics, government, and religion. Rather than imposing "civility" like the Tudors by a rigid enforcement of English norms and values, his aim of erecting a "perfect union" on the union of the crowns envisaged detailed differences between his three kingdoms. He was also more familiar with, and indulgent of, Gaelic traditions. Gaelic bards were indeed conscious of the Stewart dynasty's Gaelic lineage, extolling James in traditional praise poetry as "our true king."

In consequence, early Stuart Ireland witnessed the rapid advance of what might be described as national politics in the modern sense, focused on king and country, faith and fatherland. The Crown and institutions of English government were soon accepted in Gaelic Ireland, so much so that during the War of the Three Kingdoms (1638–1652) support for a restoration of the old Gaelic system was negligible. A striking indication of this change was the creation of a new political vocabulary in Gaelic, attuned to the changed circumstances, with terms like *dúthaigh* and *athartha* now denoting *native land* and *fatherland*. The poets quietly decided that the *Gaill* (foreigners) were Irish Catholics like the *Gaedhil*. Accordingly, the common denomination

Éireannaigh (the people of Ireland) now applied to these Catholic descendants of medieval *Gaedhil* and *Gaill*, whether of English or Gaelic speech and culture. The real foreigners, for whom the term *Gaill* was now reserved, were the New English, followers of Luther and Calvin and other Protestant heretics. Also excluded were the *Gaedhil* of Scotland: though no less Gaelic in language, law, and customs, these *Gaedhil* were neither Catholic (in many cases) nor living in Ireland. Yet surviving Gaelic landowners increasingly adopted English law and language to protect their estates in the new Ireland. The descent of the Gaelic learned classes into poverty mirrored the language's declining status. By 1700 a series of predominantly spoken dialects had ousted the standard literary language, common classical Gaelic.

These changes engendered real bitterness among the Gaelic literati: In satires such as *Parliament Chloinne Tomás* (The parliament of Thomas's clan) they denounced the accompanying social revolution that transformed oppressed Gaelic laborers into smallholding tenants of New English landlords. By contrast with the autocratic Gaelic system, the model of English local government envisaged comparatively humble freeholders and copyholders (yeomen, husbandmen, and even artisans) serving as parish constables, churchwardens, and members of grand and petty juries. Similarly, English tenures held out the prospect of protection at common law for erstwhile Gaelic laborers. In practice, however, the parallel intrusion through plantation projects of numerous British settlers frustrated English efforts to build an ordered society and an English pattern of politics. In the aftermath of the Desmond rebellion (1579–1583) earlier experiments with small-scale plantation projects gave place to more sweeping measures. The expropriation of native landowners was still more thorough in the Ulster plantation of 1610, covering six escheated counties in the northwest, even though many native smallholders remained on the land. Thus the apparent success of anglicization masked growing tensions within the political system, focusing on land and religion.

Throughout James I's reign the basis of support for Crown policy remained disturbingly narrow, with central government dominated by an unrepresentative clique of New English adventurers, backed by a small standing army, fixed initially at eleven hundred men. Under the English model, local government was traditionally run by the major landowners acting as justices of the peace and sheriffs; but outside the major plantation districts, these remained predominantly Catholic, whether Gaelic or Old English. The government's difficulty was highlighted by the events of the 1613 to 1615 Parliament (repeated in the 1634–1635 Parliament),

when most shires and traditional boroughs elected Catholic members (temporal peers in the Lords were also predominantly Catholic) and the government was forced to create new boroughs to engineer a compliant and Protestant Commons majority. Further plantations (as proposed, most sweepingly, for Connacht in 1635) gradually produced more Protestant landowners, but also deepened the divisions between Catholic tenants, threatened or dispossessed landowners, and Protestant newcomers, thus highlighting the regime's predominantly colonial character.

With Charles I's firm backing, the able but unscrupulous Viscount Wentworth (deputy, 1633–1640) was able to recover some freedom of maneuver for the Crown by balancing natives against planters, but when the king's policies of centralist "personal rule" collapsed in his other two kingdoms and Wentworth was recalled, the weakly directed Dublin administration proved quite unable to contain the ensuing Ulster rising (1641). Catholics exploited the political paralysis in England to launch a preemptive strike in a bid to disarm the Protestant communities of Ulster and the Pale. The revolt quickly got out of hand, precipitating the worst civilian massacres ever seen in the British Isles: perhaps three thousand Protestants were slaughtered, and many more fled to England. The ensuing civil war (1641–1649) was nakedly sectarian: English and Scots armies were sent over to prop up the Protestant and settler interest still holding out in small pockets; the "Confederate Catholics of Ireland" (from July 1642) established control elsewhere. Yet the Confederates were riven by internal dissensions, chiefly between the Old English anxious for a speedy settlement with the king to safeguard their estates and the already dispossessed *Gaedhil* who were more eager to prosecute the war. These divisions in turn prevented the Confederates from supporting the king effectively against the English parliamentarians and Scots, with the result that, following Charles's defeat and execution (1649), Oliver Cromwell was able to redeploy the New Model Army to accomplish the military subjugation of Ireland and the restoration of English authority (1649–1651).

IRELAND UNDER CROMWELL

With the important exception of the land settlement, the establishment of Ireland's first republic (1653–1660) had little long-term impact on the political system. Over one-third of the land was confiscated and redistributed to English soldiers or investors, but even with a large army of occupation, the republic's efforts to transplant the Catholics to Connacht proved beyond its administrative capacity. In 1653 Ireland and Scotland were accorded representation in the 460-member

English parliament, but the 30 Irish members who sat in the three succeeding parliaments were chiefly army officers. The republic's speedy collapse following Cromwell's death (1658) not only discredited what little anti-monarchical sentiment had existed in Ireland but also occasional proposals in the settler community for a parliamentary union.

THE RESTORATION

With the monarchy's restoration (1660) came also a return of the old constitutional relationship with England, the Church of Ireland, and the early Stuart system of politics and government. What was not restored, however, was the land confiscated from Irish Catholics. While his throne remained insecure, Charles II dared not alienate the Irish Cromwellians (who had supported the Restoration). Thus, despite the king's sympathy for the dispossessed, and despite the selective restoration of lands to a few leading royalists like the duke of Ormond, the most that could be achieved was a piecemeal modification of the Cromwellian settlement. In 1641 Catholics had still held 59 percent of the land; by 1688, the Catholic proportion had fallen to 22 percent. Moreover, when Parliament first met in 1661, very few restorations had occurred, and so the Cromwellian interest dominated an exclusively Protestant Commons. Restoration Ireland had the form of a parliamentary constitution, but it was essentially a colony governed through deputy and council.

Under the circumstances, political stability depended on the English connection. As before, many of the dispossessed soon departed to Catholic Europe or took to banditry. Protestants feared another Catholic insurrection, as in 1641. The hysteria surrounding the Popish Plot (1678–1681) prompted the execution of the Catholic archbishop of Armagh for treason, and new orders for the expulsion of Catholic clergy and the surrender of arms by Catholics. With the accession in 1685 of a Catholic king, James II, however, the Restoration settlement soon unraveled. Initially, James denied any intention to alter the land settlement and moved cautiously to admit Catholics to office and replace Protestant army officers, but Catholic expectations of great changes arose. Many Protestant merchants sold up and moved to England. The pace of change quickened considerably in 1687 after a Catholic deputy, Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell, was appointed. In preparation for Parliament, Tyrconnell selected Catholic sheriffs, remodeled the corporations, and greatly increased the size of the now Catholic army.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION AND THE SUBJUGATION OF IRELAND

By the time Parliament met in the summer of 1689, however, James had been deposed in England in favor of William of Orange. Tyrconnell still held Ireland (excepting Londonderry and Enniskillen) for James who had since arrived in person. The overwhelmingly Catholic Parliament asserted Ireland's legislative independence, removed civil disabilities imposed on religious grounds, overturned the land settlement, and attained over 2,400 Protestants, including almost all the landowners. Yet this program could only be implemented by military victory since a Williamite army had meanwhile landed near Belfast and recovered Ulster for William. The Jacobite forces were strengthened by 7,000 French troops in March 1690, but William's arrival tipped the balance. William's victory at the Boyne did not end the campaign, but with James's immediate departure for France the issue was no longer in doubt. The Boyne restored Protestant political control, and Catholic influence was soon reduced still further by renewed expropriation of Catholic landlords. It also marked the climax of a political conflict that had grown steadily more explicit and intense since the mid-Tudor period.

SEE ALSO Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Legal Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; Monarchy; Surrender and Regrant; **Primary Documents:** From *Solon His Follie* (1594); On Catholic Ireland in the Early Seventeenth Century; From *A Direction for the Plantation of Ulster* (1610); Ferocity of the Irish Wars (1580s–1590s)

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Steven G. Ellis

1690 TO 1800—A PROTESTANT KINGDOM

Politics is contention for power, and we may call that subset of the population within which a country's poli-

tics takes place the "polity." Ireland's political history over this period of eleven decades begins with the expulsion from the polity of one of the major groups of contenders in the politics of the previous era—propertied (or previously propertied) Catholics. It ends with the collapse of that polity in the face of demands not only by the heirs of those contenders but also by various other groups for admission to the polity, and with a decision by the government to replace the old polity with an entirely new one.

A polity is always more than just the government but less than the whole population. The government is one contender for power; other contenders in an early modern European polity typically include elite coalitions organized around some interest—economic, religious, dynastic, ideological, and so on—and the object of their contention is usually some degree of influence in or upon the government. Normally, however, all members of the polity regard themselves as entitled to protection by the combined resources of the whole polity, including those of the government, whenever threatened by those outside its geographic or social boundaries. There are, however, abnormal times when members of the polity seek alliances with entities outside the polity—for example, domestic nonelite groups or foreign powers. We call such times "revolutionary."

The process by which a government gained a monopoly of one particular component of power—physical coercion—has a special name in the historiography of early modern Europe: "the rise of the state." In the modern world we measure the legitimacy of a state by the extent to which its population recognizes the right of its government to such a monopoly. Two successive polities embracing Ireland—the "Kingdom of Ireland" in its Protestant-dominated phase (1691–1800) and the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" (1801–1922)—spectacularly failed to attain legitimacy by this standard. Just what sort of a state was the eighteenth-century Irish polity, and why did it fail?

THE COMPOSITION OF THE IRISH POLITY

The Irish polity in this period consisted of the Protestant landed class (who, together with their clergy, came to be known as the "Ascendancy") and a government headquartered in Dublin Castle. The fact that the Irish polity excluded the great majority of the population—the "lower orders"—was quite normal in ancien régime Europe. It had, however, two quite peculiar features. First, it excluded a large and important elite: those members of the nobility and gentry who were Roman Catholics. Second, its government was extraterritorial—that is, government officials owed their appoint-

The Irish House of Commons (1780) by Francis Wheatley. The member standing to the right of the table is Henry Grattan. The theatrical character of the chamber is emphasized by the gallery of fashionably dressed spectators. LEEDS MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES (LOTHERTON HALL) U.K./BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ments to the workings of the polity of another country, Great Britain (or England prior to 1707).

The ideal of a nonmartial politics was symbolized in Ireland by the existence of a parliament modelled on its English counterpart. During the late Middle Ages the geographic range within which the government might dare to hope that local elites could be trusted to engage in politics with voices rather than with swords was reflected in the territory that had been “shired”—that is, carved up into counties entitled to send representatives to the House of Commons. It was not until the 1690s, however, that the government was forced by financial needs to summon Parliament with sufficient frequency to make it the primary venue of contention within the polity.

The first object of contention was the composition of the polity itself. At the end of the seventeenth century, of course, it went without saying that membership

in the polity would be limited to the landed. Confiscations had reduced the Catholic land ownership to 22 percent of the land in Ireland by 1688. In 1691 William consented to terms of Jacobite surrender at Limerick whose leniency toward Catholic landowners enraged Protestants. Catholics having been barred from sitting in the Irish parliament in 1691, Protestants used their control of that institution to put pressure on the king to restrict implementation of provisions favorable to continued Catholic landowning. By 1703 the Catholic share of Irish land had been reduced to 14 percent. Furthermore, the Irish parliament insisted upon enactment of a series of anti-Catholic penal laws toward which the government was lukewarm. While this legislation seemed to envisage the complete elimination of the Roman Catholic Church from Irish soil, restrictions on the exercise of the Catholic religion came to be rarely implemented. Patterns of enforcement suggest that the Ascendancy’s real objective was to reduce the property

of wealthy Catholic laymen even further and to prevent them from ever acquiring more land.

Thus by about 1710 the composition of the polity seemed decided: It would consist of the Protestant Ascendancy and the government and no one else. So long as that remained true, no monarch would be able to play off the Catholics against the Protestants in the manner of several earlier Stuart kings. For the foreseeable future the principal object of contention within the polity would be the power relationships between the Ascendancy and the government. The principal mechanism regulating those relationships was Poyning's Law, which had been enacted in 1494 to prevent Ireland from being used as a launching pad for pretenders to the English crown. In the eighteenth century its practical effect was to give the king's ministers in London the power to amend or veto legislation proposed by the Irish parliament. In the Declaratory Act of 1720 the British parliament further asserted its right to pass legislation binding on Ireland. Members of the Ascendancy generally acquiesced in these arrangements, though a Patriot Party opposed to the subordinate status of the Irish parliament emerged in mid-century. Most of the time the government was able to manage the Irish parliament through the same arts of influence and patronage that were perfected in the British parliament in this period.

How well did this curious polity work? Certainly, it did succeed for eight decades in averting violent contention for power among its own members: Differences among gentlemen might lead to duels, but not to civil wars. Of course, the Catholic side in the violent contentions of the previous century had been decisively weakened by the penal laws as well as by the departure of many of their gentry to the continent. However, even when a reversal of their fortunes seemed possible during the invasions of Scotland in 1715 and 1745 by the Stuart pretenders (nominally recognized as the legitimate royal line by the Catholic Church), Catholic gentry in Ireland lay very low indeed.

But how well did the polity succeed in gaining the acquiescence of those who were outside it not because of their religion (or at least not solely because of it) but because of their social class? Outbreaks of violence involving either Catholic peasants in southern districts or their Protestant counterparts in parts of Ulster became especially frequent from around 1760. These disturbances, however, were focused on local grievances and did not threaten the authority of the polity itself. Indeed, there is evidence that rioters had a "moral economy" perspective on their plight—a deferential expectation that the gentry could and should be expected to redress their grievances on principles of social justice.

To the extent that there was a cultural "glue" that legitimated the eighteenth-century polity it was not nationalism (however fervently patriot orators might espouse the cause of the "Irish nation") but a political culture based on patron-client relationships. To sustain cordial relations with their local tenants and other dependents, members of the polity practiced various sorts of reciprocity, ranging from rent abatements to generous provision of popular festivities. In addition, reliable Protestant retainers participated in a special ritual of clientage in times of alarm, foreign or domestic: Their patron might assemble them as an ad hoc military force upon which the government might (or might not) confer the official status of a militia.

During the late 1770s some unofficial local militias, which had been mobilized in recent years to deal with agrarian disturbances, were suddenly supplemented by the formation of numerous other "volunteer" units throughout the country in response to rumors of a possible invasion by the French allies of the U.S. rebels. Though the original purpose of these forces was security and the maintenance of public order, the Volunteers quickly became a political movement allied with the Patriot Party. Volunteer agitation contributed both to the British government's decision in 1779 to yield to the Irish parliament's demand for an end to restrictions on Irish trade with Britain and the colonies and to its 1782 concession of a drastic amendment of Poyning's Law. Although it is easy to overstate the importance of this move to "legislative independence," it was clearly a major victory for the patrons of the rank-and-file Volunteers in the former's contention with the government.

A THEATER STATE?

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz has proposed the term *theater state* to describe polities remote from the modern western state conceived as an entity that commands virtually unanimous consent for a government having a monopoly of coercive force within the national territory (Geertz 1980). It would be hard to find a better example of political theater than the parade of the Dublin Volunteers outside the Parliament House on 4 November 1779, with a cannon bearing a sign which read "Free Trade or this!" The gun was a prop that no one actually expected would be fired in anger. In this exercise—as in all their countless parades, reviews, drills, and mock battles—Volunteers were acting out their understanding of their place in the polity. For the officers, these military performances symbolized the honor-laden right and duty of the Protestant male elite to defend the polity, and the reciprocal duty of the government to grant their political demands.

Ireland's lack of a resident monarch did leave it relatively impoverished in some particular types of ritual performance that have interested students of various other early modern European countries. Moreover, the fact that the religion of the polity was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the population made it difficult for the established church to play the role of sacralizing the polity as effectively as did her counterparts in other theater states in early modern Europe. Nevertheless, the Irish polity managed to affirm itself in various ceremonial ways, ranging from processions by high officials to the exemplary spectacles of capital and corporal punishment. The flamboyant oratorical performances of leading politicians gave the Irish parliament a theatrical character confirmed by the audience of fashionable ladies in the gallery in Francis Wheatley's famous painting of the *The Irish House of Commons* (1780). However, it was the martial spectacles of the Volunteers that in most parts of Ireland most faithfully reflected the patron-client relationship that underpinned the political system. Nevertheless, by taking their act onto the stage of national politics, Volunteer leaders unwittingly placed the boundaries of the polity in question.

While Volunteer performances symbolized essential features of the political system, Volunteer activities in defense of public order, as well as political advocacy by Volunteer gatherings, exposed some of the anomalies and ambiguities of that system. An important ambiguity in the boundaries of the polity was the status of the wealthy Presbyterian elite of Belfast. Although they had not suffered from such severe legal disabilities as had elite Catholics, in practice they were excluded from the governance of their own town by an Anglican landlord who owned the land on which it was situated. The Volunteers in Belfast and its immediate hinterland (as well as those in and around Derry) had been an exception to the general rule that Volunteering embodied and celebrated the patron-client culture. Since Presbyterians had long been welcomed into militia arrays at times of crisis, their enthusiastic volunteering was a way of demonstrating the claim of their lay and clerical leaders to full membership in the polity. A few respectable Catholics, eager to demonstrate their loyalty by taking a stand against French invasion and internal commotion, were welcomed into certain Volunteer units; and after the attainment of legislative independence in 1782 some Volunteer meetings began to pass resolutions in favor of restoring civil and political rights to Catholics.

Did willingness to defend the polity call for admission to its membership? The question was perhaps less urgent with respect to elite Catholics and Presbyterians than to rank-and-file Protestant Volunteers, who might

already have had the right to vote but lacked political influence because the system of representation ensured that a majority of seats in the House of Commons were controlled by a small number of wealthy Protestant landowners. Volunteer meetings began to pass resolutions in favor of parliamentary reforms that would mainly have benefited neither the Ascendancy nor their disenfranchised Catholic gentry rivals, but rather their clients—nonelite Protestants. Accordingly, in 1784 Ascendancy leaders took steps to put a stop to political advocacy by the Volunteers.

Even this suppression of Volunteer meetings, however, did not resolve all problems over the social boundaries of the polity. During the mid-1780s in the County Armagh linen country, young Protestant males, most of whom were probably too poor to have been considered fit material for the Volunteers, began attacking Catholic homes. Angered by reports of Catholics being admitted to Volunteer units, they implicitly claimed membership in the polity by asserting that they were enforcing the penal laws against possession of arms by Catholics. Catholic "Defenders" responded to the sectarian aggression of these "Peep o' Day Boys," and in counties south and west of Armagh growing sectarian threats prompted the spread of a network of Defender cells on the model of agrarian secret societies.

Other types of politically charged ritual existed alongside the "patriotic" performance of the Volunteers. The Whiteboys and other agrarian combinations practiced "communitarian" rituals whose purposes were to enforce communal solidarity upon fellow peasants in a given locality and to remind the elite of their duties of reciprocity toward their dependents. So long as the moral economy was intact, communitarian ritual tacitly supported the patron-client political culture. Two other species of ritual, however, challenged that culture. Freemasonry, whose lodges were multiplying in the last third of the century, practiced "enlightenment" rituals that anticipated the replacement of birth by merit and tradition by reason in political culture; its adherents envisaged something like modern civil society as an alternative to the patron-client culture. A fourth variety of political ritual was associated with the rapidly growing conservative Presbyterian sects in rural Ulster that harked back to the theocratic political order advocated by the Scottish Covenanters. In revisions and renewals of seventeenth-century covenants and in open-air festal communions, "theocratic" ritual celebrated an alternative system of governance by neither the well-born nor the enlightened, but by the godly. They shared with Freemasonry a suspicion of the existing political order, but while the former looked to the past for an alternative, the latter looked forward.

Thus by the late 1780s the theatrical character of the Irish state was abundantly manifest. It was members of the polity who, by sponsoring patriotic ritual on a grand scale, had initiated an era of performance politics on the national level. Those excluded from the polity, however, had rich repertoires of ritual to contribute to the spectacle that was the theater state.

WHY THE IRISH POLITY FAILED

The French Revolution, which began in 1789, would profoundly change the situation. Northern Presbyterians, who had sympathized with the American rebels (many of them their own kinsmen) a decade earlier, tended to welcome the news from France. By 1791 the local Volunteer units were being revived, and celebrations of anniversaries of the fall of the Bastille were initiated. In that same year a group of Belfast radicals organized the Society of United Irishmen, in conscious imitation of the Masonic lodges, to advocate reform of the system of representation and equality of rights for members of all religious persuasions.

The government was increasingly alarmed at the course of the revolution and in 1793 joined other European powers in a war against France. In this situation the government was especially concerned both with placating Catholics in Ireland, whose leaders were vigorously lobbying for concessions, and with maximizing the Irish contribution to defense. Under government pressure, in 1793 the Irish parliament granted Catholics the right to vote and established a new militia that would conscript by lot from all religions. These measures stopped short of full admission of Catholics to the polity: Catholics were still prohibited from sitting in Parliament. However, the grant of both the franchise and the right to bear arms certainly blurred the sharp line that had hitherto excluded them. Perhaps surprisingly, there was widespread violent resistance by Catholic peasants, often within the organizational framework of the Defenders, to conscription for the militia. It has been powerfully argued (Bartlett 1983) that these disturbances marked a decisive end to the moral economy that had tempered earlier peasant disturbances but that had been under stress in recent decades as landlords increasingly privileged market forces over paternalistic considerations.

The end of the moral economy facilitated a profound reconfiguration of ritual systems. Communitarian ritual in its current manifestation—Defenderism—no longer supported the patron-client culture. Older histories represent the politically sophisticated United Irishmen as manipulating the backwoods Defenders, but recent students have seen the latter as much more

politicized and proactive. In any event, the enlightenment repertoire of United Irish ritual and the communitarian repertoire of Defender performance tended to merge during the mid-1790s. Efforts in Belfast to revive the Volunteers for a radical agenda, plus the manifest lack of enthusiasm on the part of Catholics for the role of defending the polity in the new militia, prompted some Ascendancy leaders to sponsor new institutions as bearers of the patriotic ritual tradition. Reaffirmation of the patron-client culture and defense of the polity were entrusted to the Loyal Orange Order (established in 1795) and a yeomanry force of cavalry (set up in 1796) completely separate from the new militia. These developments reflected Ascendancy recognition that their reliable clientage now extended no further than the non-radical subset of nonelite Protestants—essentially Anglican tenants.

In the mounting excitement from 1795 to 1798 the principal form of political ritual was oath-taking. Solemn oaths of secrecy and obedience were central to both the United Irish and the Defender projects, and the government's principal legal weapon against them was a provision of the Insurrection Act of 1796 making the administration of such oaths a capital felony. Conversely, magistrates often offered suspects the opportunity to clear their names by taking the official oath of allegiance, which radicals might scruple to take on the grounds that it constituted acceptance of recent repressive legislation. As performance politics, swearing had an improvisational character. Local United Irish societies might devise variations upon the oath prescribed by their national convention, and local magistrates might recast official oaths either to create snares for tender consciences or to remove them, as suited the occasion. This orgy of reliance upon and fascination with oaths was symptomatic of the rupture of whatever social bonds had earlier existed; the prospect of divine retribution had to be invoked where human trust was lacking.

These changes in the structure and content of ritual performance were portents of the end of the Irish theater state. Whatever social cohesion had been generated by the patron-client political culture (beyond cohesion among Anglicans) had now been shattered. Performance politics had called into question all the social assumptions upon which rested such authority as the polity enjoyed, and it was reduced to its final resource: naked coercion. In the spring following the December 1796 attempt of the French fleet to land an expeditionary force in Bantry Bay (thwarted only by weather), government and Ascendancy forces carried out a systematic campaign to disarm the countryside of Ulster, which was perceived to be the most disaffected province. Routinely employing public torture, this campaign was

typical of the terroristic methods to which weak regimes resort when they know they have lost all popular claim to authority.

Despite disappointment of their hopes for another French expedition and penetration of their organization by government spies, United Irish leaders initiated a rebellion in May 1798. Hostilities were concentrated mainly in three theaters. In the southeast, especially County Wexford, rebels enjoyed the able leadership of a number of liberal Protestant and Catholic gentry, who were, however, unable to prevent some sectarian atrocities against Protestant loyalists. It was in this region that the rebels made their most impressive stand against the Crown forces. In the northeast, rebels had a few minor victories before being soundly defeated. Their cause no doubt suffered from the effects of the terror campaign of the previous years, from hardheaded calculation on the part of the Belfast elite that the cause was now hopeless, and from the reports of atrocities from Wexford. On the other hand, rebel numbers were probably augmented somewhat by the tendency of some rural Presbyterians to rely more on millenarian hopes than on hardheaded calculation. Finally, after both the southeastern and northeastern rebellions had been suppressed, the French landed forces near Killala, County Mayo. Together with forces raised locally, the French conducted a two-week campaign before the Crown forces engaged and defeated them at Ballinamuck in early September.

Although policymakers in London no doubt breathed a sigh of relief at the defeat of the rebels, they gave scant credit to the Ascendancy. The Irish polity had manifestly failed, and the government decided that it should be replaced by a different polity. In particular, it proposed an Act of Union providing for a single parliament for the entire British Isles in which Irish Protestant landlords—or Irishmen of any description—would never constitute a majority. The idea was attractive to prominent Catholics, who were quietly promised that once the union was implemented, Catholic Emancipation (i.e., legislation to allow Catholics to sit in the new parliament) would be introduced. Many members of the Ascendancy, however, were bitterly hostile to the union, and they mobilized their sole remaining reliable clients, the Orangemen, in opposition to it—a special irony from the perspective of later generations, when the Orange Order was the union's staunchest defender.

Two separate parliamentary sessions—1799 and 1800—were required to secure passage of the act by the Irish parliament. The government succeeded only through a massive distribution of patronage to Protestant politicians. On 1 January 1801 a new polity—the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—came

into existence. One immediate result was a measure of parliamentary reform comparable to that sought by the United Irishmen, for many of the least democratic boroughs represented in the Irish House of Commons were not given seats in the united parliament. The other principal demand of the United Irishmen did not fare so well; early in 1801 George III, who had not been apprised of the plan to introduce Catholic Emancipation, angrily refused to assent to such legislation. Prime Minister Pitt resigned, and the issue remained unresolved for nearly three decades, a delay that contributed significantly to the eventual failure of the new polity.

SEE ALSO Act of Union; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Government from 1690 to 1800; Penal Laws; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; **Primary Documents:** An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1704); The Declaratory Act (1720); The Catholic Relief Act (1778); The Catholic Relief Act (1782); Yelverton's Act (1782); The Renunciation Act (1783); The Catholic Relief Act (1793)

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David W. Miller

1800 TO 1921—CHALLENGES TO THE UNION

The Act of Union of 1800 was not a wholly new beginning for Ireland. The political manifestations of the late eighteenth century—Protestant nationalism, Catholic political advances, Presbyterian radicalism, Irish republicanism, and the sharpening of sectarian tension—all were carried forward into the new United Kingdom. Protestant enthusiasm, initially limited, soon blossomed as the union was seen as a bulwark against Catholic power. Catholic belief that the union would provide justice was weakened by the British failure to carry Catholic Emancipation in 1800. The British government hoped that the new system would provide stable political arrangements and bring prosperity to Ireland. But Ireland in the 1820s and 1830s saw a renewal of agrarian violence and a revival of the agitation for Catholic Emancipation that boded ill for the British connection.

DANIEL O'CONNELL'S OLD IRELAND

The Catholic Emancipation campaign shaped challenges to the union for decades to come. Its leader, Daniel O'Connell, denounced what most European states would have regarded as a reasonable settlement of the issue, the right of the British government to exercise a veto on episcopal appointments. He gathered the sup-

port of the Catholic Church for his stand and used its considerable influence in his victory in the County Clare by-election in 1828 against a liberal Protestant, William Vesey Fitzgerald. Yet O'Connell was also a political pragmatist who saw the advantage of working with British political parties if they could deliver reforms to assuage Catholic grievances regarding the payment of tithes to the Church of Ireland; municipal corporations in need of restructuring; and unjust Protestant and Orange influence at Dublin Castle. This might make Irishmen (by which he meant Catholics) "West Britons" again; but it would definitely shift some power in Ireland from Protestants to Catholics. O'Connell's tactics did not divert him from the greater goal of repeal of the union, which he believed was compatible with loyalty to the Crown, but which would hasten the process by which Protestants would (to use his own word) "melt" into the nation.

This prospect occasioned another challenge to the union, though one mounted to reserve a safe place for Ireland's Protestant minority (as it was fast becoming in political terms). The Young Ireland movement was deeply influenced by European (especially German) Romanticism, with its emphasis on language and culture as defining the nation. Thomas Davis, its most influential figure, hoped to stop English domination of Ireland, but he also believed that the Irish Protestants (of whom he was one) could provide cultural leadership and stave off a Catholic ascendancy. He and his colleagues clashed with O'Connell's "Old Ireland" and came off worse. Most Protestants feared that repeal of the union would mean their destruction anyway. But this struggle set the scene for future conflicts between Protestants and Catholics, with the British government, of whatever political complexion, calculating how each conflict could best be managed in the interest of the British state.

EFFECTS OF THE GREAT FAMINE

O'Connell's cause was soon lost in the Great Famine that struck Ireland between 1845 and 1851, which had a lasting impact on the character and aims of Irish nationalism. It closed the chapter that had begun as far back as the 1760s, when the Catholic middle class started to challenge its total exclusion from political power. It revealed the need for a political party and movement to be founded on a more secure electoral base. It also inspired a hopeless (but by later generations, revered) rebellion by the Young Irelanders in 1848. And it provoked some nationalists to criticize the British for their alleged callous indifference to the suffering of the people: Despite the reality of a limited but by no means unimportant official response to the famine, the British belief that it was the visitation of God that would shove

Ireland into modernization was a brutal response to a human tragedy. There is no reason to assume that Ireland was destined for a revival of nationalism after the famine; on the contrary, the 1850s saw a Conservative revival (among Protestant landlords), and the attempt by the Tenant League, which had been founded in 1850, to unite Catholic and Protestant farmers in a common cause.

But the famine had two significant influences on the recovery of Irish nationalism. The Fenian Brotherhood, which aimed at establishing an Irish republic by force of arms, was founded in 1858. Its failure to organize and to maintain secrecy, and the opposition of the Catholic hierarchy, all contributed to its failure. The suppression of sporadic violence in Great Britain and a failed uprising in Ireland in 1867 suggested that there was little future in this kind of attack upon the union. But Fenianism provided an inspiration for later would-be revolutionaries, and it produced a group of activists whose dedication surpassed their numbers. A silent revolution was of more immediate importance. The Great Famine resulted in major changes in the pattern of landholding in Ireland, with the consolidation of land in fewer hands and the rise of an important tenant-farming class—or rather classes, for the tenant farmers were not a uniform entity. There were large farmers in some areas, small farmers in others. But social change gave rural Ireland a chance to assert itself, and nationalist leaders had to take account of their fears and hopes. Rural Ireland was soon to demonstrate its power in the 1870s, as the Irish land question became at times *the* Irish Question, and it was always on the political agenda until the beginning of the twentieth century.

This was shown by the placing of land ownership on the agenda by even such a moderate challenger to the union as Isaac Butt, founder of the Home Government Association in 1870. Butt was a Protestant Conservative who had bitterly opposed Daniel O'Connell in the 1840s, but who had become disillusioned with the British government's response to the Great Famine. He was also looking for a new direction to his political career, but he had defended Fenian prisoners in the 1860s and there is no reason to doubt his sincere desire to reform the government of Ireland. He did not seek an independent Ireland, and his federal scheme for the United Kingdom envisaged an Irish parliament based on the existing restricted franchise, with an upper house to represent Irish property. His leadership has been contrasted unfavorably with that of his famous successor, Charles Stewart Parnell, but Butt was leading a party in the British parliament eulogized by Walter Bagehot, with its loose and shifting party ties. He did overestimate the power of rational argument in that parliament, but he

was aware of the kind of issue that might help to broaden the popular base of his party. The land question was one such issue, and Butt referred to it frequently. Tenant right was now moving into the political debate, and William Ewart Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 showed a recognition that some reform of the relations between landlord and tenant was necessary.

THE LAND LEAGUE, PARNELL, AND HOME RULE

The land question burst dramatically upon the British and Irish political scene in the late 1870s and retained its centrality for decades. In 1878 agrarian life in Ireland was threatened with recession, and even, some thought, with a recurrence of famine. The worldwide agrarian depression that began in 1878 had a particular impact upon the west of Ireland, and it was here that local agitators and organizers went to work to create one of the most remarkable resistance movements not only in Irish but in European history. The Land League, founded in 1879, was a genuine locally inspired movement, well organized, popular, and able to impose its will on large parts of the countryside. It called for lower rents and other concessions while the crisis lasted, but the agitation tapped into one of the core beliefs that motivated challenges to the union—that of dispossession. It was easy to turn a demand for reform into an attack upon the alien landlord class. This was not merely the result of the admittedly skillful Land League propaganda; it derived its strength from the genuine belief that the older, Catholic landlords had the real title to the land. But the Land League had no intention of seeking out and transferring the land to these lost leaders. The cry, "the land for the people," meant the tenant farmers. The result was a struggle between the Land League and the British government that was taken advantage of by the rising star of the Home Rule Party, the Protestant landlord Charles Stewart Parnell.

Parnell took the risky step of allying himself with the Land League and its aims. Although he was a landlord, he was prepared to defy the unionist politics of the vast majority of his class. Yet he was anxious to include them in a self-governing Ireland, which could be done all the better by removing the land problem that stood between them and their tenants like a sword. Parnell was prepared to place himself in direct confrontation not only with the British government, but with most of his own party members, who feared where his extremism was leading him—and them. Parnell was prepared to take that risk, and he had already caught the eye of Fenians through his obstructive behavior in the British House of Commons and his willingness to give public approval to the Fenian martyrs who had been

hanged for the murder of a policeman in Manchester. In 1879 he gained the support of Fenian leaders in the New Departure, which he may not have formally accepted but which united Fenianism and the constitutional movement behind a “national parliament,” peasant proprietorship, and Home Rule MPs forming an absolutely independent party. His support of the Land League brought the agrarian agitation under his leadership as well. Yet there was a real risk that the Land League agitation would spin out of control, and especially that it would alienate the important bulwark that Daniel O’Connell had fashioned, the support of the Catholic hierarchy.

Parnell was skillful enough to keep this potentially fragile alliance together, at least for a time. He used the land agitation to help his bid for the leadership of the Home Rule Party, which he gained in May 1880. He then used the party to subsume the Land League into the broader nationalist movement, and thus reinforced, he presented the British government with a dilemma: It could use coercive legislation to keep Parnell in check, but British liberal sentiment was unlikely to regard coercion as a long-term solution to the Irish problem. Gladstone, for his part, saw no reason to let anarchy prevail, but he came to believe that there must be an alternative to coercion, and he hoped that that would be to support the Conservative Party (which had dallied with the idea of a reconciliation with nationalist Ireland) in bringing in a Home Rule measure for Ireland. His hand was forced through the premature disclosure of his intentions, and in 1886 Gladstone introduced his Irish Home Rule bill in the House of Commons.

In 1869, when he disestablished the Church of Ireland, Gladstone had claimed that he based his policy on the government of Ireland by Irish ideas. He did not easily arrive at his Home Rule policy, however, and he hoped that it would end the challenge to the union by giving Ireland a settled constitution in which the Irish Protestant gentry would play their rightful part. Parnell responded by talking about a union of hearts—a final settlement of the Irish Question. It is hard to establish how likely this outcome might have been. Irish Catholics who would have received the benefits of Gladstone’s Home Rule bill might not have been prepared to draw a line under a modest measure of self-government. But there was in any event the resistance of Irish Protestants to be taken into account. Gladstone had a great affection for the Irish gentry, who might be won back to public life under Home Rule, but he rejected any claims by Ulster unionists that they should be given special treatment under his Home Rule scheme, claiming that they were no more different from the Irish nation than Scottish Highlanders were from the rest of the Scottish na-

tion. The problem was compounded by the democratization of Irish politics in the 1880s, which gave public voice and electoral power to the deeply divided people of Ulster. Sectarian divisions were becoming more deeply rooted in the north, not only in politics but in many walks of life, including the great industrial factories and shipbuilding works of Belfast. The urban working classes were most divided of all. Thus the challenge to the union represented by Parnell and his party was met by a formidable counterchallenge. The inevitable clash was postponed by Parnell’s fall from grace in 1889 to 1891 because of his association with Mrs. Katharine O’Shea, his mistress and the wife of a member of his own party. Gladstone’s second Home Rule bill of 1893 was defeated in the House of Lords, and the danger subsided. But Home Rule was still part of the political agenda of British Liberals, however much of an encumbrance it might be. And even while Home Rulers themselves split and split again, nationalist Ireland was tightening its grip on local government (reformed on a wholly elected basis in 1898), and on the land, through a series of land acts in the 1880s and 1890s. Nationalists found it hard to sustain the former enthusiasm for Home Rule. But they did not use the lacuna after 1893 to ponder what the Irish nation was; instead, they contented themselves with regarding unionist opposition as a kind of false consciousness, or as the artificial product of British Conservative resistance to Irish self-government.

THE GAELIC REVIVAL AND SINN FÉIN

Challenges to the union were not confined to the political sphere. In 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association was founded to recover and popularize Ireland’s national games and pastimes, thus encouraging the youth of Ireland to eschew foreign games like soccer, rugby, and above all, cricket. Its exclusion of policemen and soldiers from its ranks and its ban on members watching foreign games provided a remarkable form of social control in rural areas, where native sports were most popular. In 1893 the Gaelic League was established to revive the Irish language and to save Ireland from anglicization and the swamping of its culture by cheap and nasty English newspapers, magazines and books, with their emphasis on sex, crime, and sensationalism. In a strict sense—but in that sense only—these were nonpolitical organizations, but they provided a clarion call for a new kind of nationalism that would not go begging to the “Saxon” Parliament, and would not equate the nation with a mere parliament, but that would regenerate Ireland from within and prevent its degeneration from without. The new nationalism of the 1890s and early 1900s sought to persuade the younger generation that

Old Ireland had failed it and would fail it again unless the Irish people took their destiny into their own hands. The political aspect of this mood was the Sinn Féin movement, which aimed at saving Ireland by its own exertions. The Sinn Féin leader Arthur Griffith exhorted the Irish to look to themselves for salvation, and he appealed to Protestants to follow the example of their illustrious forebears Jonathan Swift, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Robert Emmet, and join hands with their Catholic fellow-countrymen in the national cause. This movement, these ideas, amounted to very little at the time, but they signified new points of resistance to what were now regarded as the all-too-enveloping grasp of the union and the destruction of all that made Ireland a nation.

But for the moment the Home Rule Party, reunited under John Redmond's leadership in 1900, could claim that it had won many battles, and would one day win the last battle—for self-government for Ireland. It could even be said that Home Rulers were no longer challenging the union but seeking to give it a new lease on life. The Liberal alliance might yet deliver Home Rule, so Redmond strove to convince the British public that he could be a loyal imperial statesman in the mode of the Canadian, Australian, and New Zealander prime ministers. The nationalist political elite was ready to complete a century of concessions to Ireland by taking control of an Irish executive and parliament, and by 1911 that promised land seemed well within its grasp. The Home Rule Party supported H. H. Asquith's government in its attack upon the Conservative-dominated House of Lords, thus demonstrating that it was no longer challenging the union, but using its power in the British Parliament to exploit the union in order to get Home Rule.

THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE AND THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS

But for Irish unionists the challenge was still real. They declared that the Home Rulers, whatever the professed moderation of their aims, were separatists at heart, and that they would use their powers to establish a priest-ridden, England- (and Protestant-) hating ascendancy. The 1911 Parliament Act, by destroying the Lords' veto, would open the way to this dire consequence. Now came a different kind of challenge to the union, one which the British government was awkwardly positioned to oppose. The Ulster unionists formed the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) to deny Home Rule to Ireland (they claimed that they were doing so to defend the union and their loyalty to the Crown). They did not deny the legitimacy of the United Kingdom, but they refused to accept the authority of the Liberal government. Nationalists held that the United Kingdom itself was, as

far as Ireland was concerned, not a legitimate entity; it had, after all, been carried by bribery and corruption in 1799 and 1800. Now they argued, as Parnell had argued from 1886 to 1889, that a "union of hearts" would found the government of Ireland on a true constitutional base.

The result was a paradox: The union now faced two challenges from two groups, both of whom claimed that they were acting in its defense, for the UVF was followed in 1913 by the Irish Volunteers, founded by nationalists to defend the Home Rule settlement. It was a measure of the mistrust of the British government by both sides in Ireland that matters had come to this head. The danger of civil war was revealed when a gun-running enterprise by the UVF in April 1914 was emulated by the Irish Volunteers in July, only this time nationalist blood was spilt in a clash with British troops.

The outbreak of the Great War in August 1914 seemed to offer a way out of the crisis, for both Ulster and Irish Volunteers, after some initial hesitation, were placed at the disposal of the British army. The minority that split from the Irish Volunteers seemed isolated, but it was this minority, together with James Connolly's Citizen Army, that formed the nucleus of the Easter Rising of April 1916. The three leading figures in the Rising—Tom Clarke, James Connolly, and Patrick Pearse—all had different motives for seeking to break the union. Clarke was from Fenian stock, dedicated to securing the Irish republic; Connolly wanted to use republicanism to create a socialist state in Ireland; Pearse wanted an Ireland not merely free but Gaelic as well. This curious amalgam of eighteenth-century French Enlightenment, twentieth-century revolutionary socialism, and nineteenth-century romantic nationalism proved to be a more dynamic force than might have been supposed. It set the scene for Irish republicanism after the Rising, and although it failed to ignite the country in 1916, its brave sacrifice, followed by the British government's failure to intervene to stop the military executions of the leaders of the Rising, gave republicanism a promising start. The clumsy attempt to impose conscription on Ireland in 1918 gave the reconstituted Sinn Féin party the chance to exploit the predicament and win a victory in the general election of December 1918.

THE IRA, THE "TROUBLES," AND THE END OF UNION

The last phase of the union was marked by serious violence and disorder. The Irish Volunteers, now calling themselves the Irish Republican Army (IRA), were under no political control, and they gave their allegiance to a state that was not yet established, and almost certainly

could not be established—a united Irish republic. Their character was no doubt influenced by the numbers of young men (many, ex-soldiers) with little to do but fall into troublesome ways, but the vast majority thought that they were fighting to free Ireland after centuries of repression—nationalist rhetoric had done its job only too well. The British response was two-fold: to pass a Government of Ireland Act establishing two new states, Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland, each with a Home Rule Parliament; and to wage war against the IRA. But the war was self-defeating: Nothing could be more condemnatory of the union than the British expedient of raising a force of ex-soldiers and letting them use whatever means might be thought necessary to defeat the guerrilla and terrorist campaign. Equally, it would be hard to find a more futile role for republicans than seeking to coerce Ulster unionists into a united Ireland. The result was the “Troubles,” a euphemistic, but in its own way accurate, term to describe this mixture of state violence and civil war.

The British government eventually acknowledged that it had to negotiate with Sinn Féin, and between October and December 1921 Lloyd George and his team engaged in hard bargaining with Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, and other Sinn Féin representatives. But by now the debate on the union had moved to a wider plane, for statesmen from the British empire, such as General Smuts of South Africa, urged the British to follow the instinct and the constitutional practice that had led to the dominions of the empire becoming equal partners with the mother country. This imperialization of the union question led the British to offer, under threat, dominion status to Ireland. On 6 December the Irish plenipotentiaries accepted what they had known all along—that the British offer could not be rejected without renewal of war, and that it was final; yet not so final, for dominion status on the Canadian model gave Ireland the “freedom to achieve freedom.” It was on this still evolving stage that the last great Irish nationalist challenge to the union ended.

The end of the union can be seen in two ways: as the result of contingency, of the British lack of “feel” for Ireland, exemplified in the events of 1914 to 1921; or in a more deterministic way, as the outcome of an Irish nationalist quest for freedom that would change, but never go away. The truth lies somewhere in between. The most useful test is to consider the way in which Irish Catholics switched their political allegiance from Liberalism (which, after Gladstone’s disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869, seemed likely to hold both Catholic and Presbyterian loyalties) to the Home Rule movement, which Catholics believed would best serve their interests, and which Presbyterians firmly

held would not serve theirs. A self-conscious political community, told from O’Connell’s time that it was the rightful master of Ireland and the majority that must and would have its way, was likely to challenge a constitution that excluded it or otherwise used it badly. The form of challenge varied, and no one could have foreseen the 1921 end of the affair. Paradoxically, it was Protestant attempts to divert or control the march of the Catholic nation that helped to create cultural nationalism, and indeed before that, Irish republicanism, the two greatest, and in the end triumphant, challenges to the union.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Catholic Emancipation Campaign; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic Athletic Association; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Independent Irish Party; Irish Republican Army (IRA); O’Connell, Daniel; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Repeal Movement; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Unionism from 1885 to 1922; Veto Controversy; Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation; **Primary Documents:** Speech from the Dock (19 September 1803); Origin of the “Catholic Rent” (18 February 1824); The Catholic Relief Act (1829); Letter Advocating Federalism as an Alternative to Repeal (November 1844); Two Fenian Oaths (1858, 1859); “God Save Ireland” (1867); Resolutions Adopted at the Home Rule Conference (18–21 November 1873); On Home Rule and the Land Question at Cork (21 January 1885); On Home Rule at Wicklow (5 October 1885); On the Home Rule Bill of 1886 (8 April 1886); Address at the First Annual Convention of the National Council of Sinn Féin (28 November 1905); Resolutions Adopted at the Public Meeting Following the First Annual Convention of the National Council of Sinn Féin (28 November 1905); Declaration against Home Rule (10 October 1911); “Solemn League and Covenant” Signed at the “Ulster Day” Ceremony in Belfast (28 September 1912); Address on the Ulster Question in the House of Commons (11 February 1914); O’Donovan Rossa Graveside Panegyric (1 August 1915); “What Is Our Programme?” (22 January 1916); The Proclamation of the Irish Republic (24 April 1916); Declaration of Irish Independence (21 January 1919); The “Democratic Programme” of the Dáil Éireann (21 January 1919); Government of Ire-

land Act (23 December 1920); "Time Will Tell" (19 December 1921); Speech in Favor of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921 (7 January 1922); Proclamation Issued by IRA Leaders at the Beginning of the Civil War (29 June 1922)

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D. George Boyce

INDEPENDENT IRELAND SINCE 1922

The cease-fire of July 1921 between the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the British government and the subsequent negotiation and signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty on 6 December by delegates from the British and Irish governments brought an end to the Irish war of independence begun in 1919. The bitter and divisive debates that followed the signing of the treaty commenced on 14 December 1921 and ended in January 1922 when the Dáil Éireann ratified the treaty by 64 votes to 57, after which the country slid into a civil war that began formally in June 1922 and ended in a cease-fire in May 1923, with the antitreaty republicans decisively beaten by the new Free State army. The years between 1918 and 1923 were thus five of the most extraordinary in the development of modern Ireland. That Ireland had been partitioned by the implementation of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 was a point scarcely alluded to during the treaty debates. Rather, what hopelessly divided Irish republicans was the constitutional status of the new southern Free State and in particular the oath of allegiance to the British Crown that had formed part of the treaty agreement.

ANGLO-IRISH TREATY

Modern scholarship has done much to challenge some of the myths associated with these years, in particular the idea that the only issues retarding the development of a modern, prosperous, and egalitarian independent Ireland were the contradictions, inconsistencies, and undemocratic approach of British government policy on Ireland. Although it is difficult to refute the charge of British misgovernment, it is also the case that early-twentieth-century Irish republicanism had its own fair share of contradictions and inconsistencies, perhaps the inevitable product of war and revolution.

It is perhaps unsurprising that many historians have been more sympathetic to the protreaty side, depicting them as defenders of democracy against a school of idealistic republicans who summoned up the memory of blood shed by different generations of Irish patriots in order to gain support for their antitreaty position. Many such republicans disregarded the Irish electorate's firm backing of the protreaty Sinn Féin, winning 58 seats in the general election of June 1922. The Labour Party, Ireland's oldest political party, and Independent and Farmer candidates received 17 and 10 seats respectively, leaving the antitreaty party with just 36 seats.





CIVIL WAR

The Irish Civil War was a conflict that the republicans had neither the resources, nor the soldiers, nor the popular support to win. For the first three decades of independence these differences over the treaty shaped party politics, by becoming the prism through which elections were fought and political opponents abused. In the 1920s the dominant protreaty establishment was represented by a new party, Cumann na nGaedheal, which needed to secure popular legitimacy as it attempted to rescue an economy on the verge of bankruptcy. The party's political balance sheet contained a fair share of successes and failures, but perhaps the ultimate testament of its achievement was the relative marginalization of extreme republicanism, the assertion of the primacy of the Irish parliament and the Free State army, and the creation of an unarmed Irish police force, the Garda Síochana.

After the killing of Michael Collins and the death of Arthur Griffith during the Civil War (the two leaders between them embodied the generational compromise within Irish nationalism), governments in the 1920s were led by William T. Cosgrave, a politician who under enormous pressures presided over administrations that had to deal with the continual problem of security and defense, a bloated army, and the blurring of the lines between military and civilian power as violence had not ceased with the end of the Civil War, but continued into the 1920s. Fiscal policies in the main were conservative, with those who argued for protection sidelined by the advocates of free trade and policies attractive to those with a stake in dairy farming. This situation led to the belief that the governments of the 1920s favored the more prosperous sections of the Irish agricultural economy. Whereas the Labour Party gained seats in the Irish parliament in the general election of 1922, it was unable to build on it. The left in Ireland remained weak and frequently divided, and it was 1992 before the Labour Party won more than 30 seats in a Dáil Éireann of 166 members.

FIANNA FÁIL PARTY

Eamon de Valera's antitreaty Fianna Fáil Party, which was formed in 1926 and entered Dáil Éireann in 1927, came to power after the vitriolic and tense general election of 1932. Its success was built on demeaning Cumann na nGaedheal Party for failing to use the treaty to further Irish independence, on promises to accommodate the needs of small farmers and the working classes, and on a commitment to end the partition of Ireland, which had been further cemented by the leaked report of the Boundary Commission of 1925. This body, es-

tablished by Article 12 of the treaty, and expected by republicans to recommend a revision of the border favoring the Free State, made it clear that there would be little alteration of the border. The report was subsequently abandoned, with both the British and Irish governments agreeing to leave the border untouched. Opponents of Fianna Fáil attempted to depict them as communist sympathizers.

Although many republican prisoners were released, de Valera, eager in the 1930s to place distance between himself and the IRA, was quick to use the same emergency legislation that had been used in the 1920s. By the time of Irish neutrality during World War II he was prepared to see IRA men die on hunger strikes rather than tolerate threats to the security of the state. This strategy confirmed democracy's hold in Ireland; further proof was the effective resistance offered to the Blueshirts, a proto-fascist group of disgruntled Cumann na nGaedheal supporters, who were the main victims of de Valera's "economic war" with Britain over the refusal to continue paying land annuities to the British government.

The Eucharistic Congress in Dublin in 1932 seemed to confirm that whatever divided Irish people politically, they were firmly united when it came to their Catholic faith, with a million devotees in attendance. The dominant themes proclaimed on this occasion were the unswerving devotion and institutional loyalty of Irish Catholics amid centuries of suffering and their eventual triumph. Fianna Fáil also built on the legislation that had emerged in the 1920s to safeguard Irish Catholic morality through censorship, discouraging the importation of foreign literature and culture as well as banning the importation and sale of contraceptives. The church, through its largest lay organization, the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, succeeded in getting many Irish Catholics to abstain from alcohol, but alcoholism remained a huge problem throughout the century.

Fianna Fáil's economic policies did not succeed in achieving self-sufficiency in the agricultural and industrial sectors owing to Ireland's reliance on imports for industrial raw materials and dependence on Britain to take its agricultural produce. The economic war was eventually settled in 1938 with the Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement, which safeguarded and regularized the export trade between the two countries. Aside from de Valera's other initiatives in Anglo-Irish relations and his dismantling of the treaty—most notably the abolition of the oath of allegiance and the External Relations Act of 1936, which removed the role of the Crown from Irish affairs—he was also capable of pursuing independent lines in foreign policy. The government supported

sanctions against Italy in 1935 following the invasion of Abyssinia, and urged nonintervention in the Spanish Civil War, indicating that de Valera was not going to allow foreign policy to be dictated by the Catholic bishops.

The Irish constitution of 1937 was another significant legacy of de Valera's tenure in government. Although de Valera consulted widely in preparing the constitution, it was too liberal for some of the more extremist clerics in Ireland, who wanted Catholicism to be recognized as "the one true church," rather than having the "special position" afforded it by de Valera. The constitution attempted to combine the essence of a liberal secular democracy with an emphasis on family values and a sense of community. It created a largely ceremonial office of president and a new senate, and contained controversial articles stipulating the importance of a woman's place in the home. In Articles 2 and 3, the constitution maintained that the *de jure* government of Ireland was a 32-county one, not just the 26 counties of the Free State, while conceding that the *de facto* government extended only to 26 counties. These latter articles, which infuriated Ulster unionists, were not deleted until the electorate voted overwhelmingly in 1998 in favor of the Good Friday Agreement (which also created a power-sharing executive and assembly and cross-border bodies). The Irish constitution was a document that endured partly because it contained scope for review through referendum and a commitment to human rights, though its repeated use of the word *sovereignty* would lead to much future debate.

In terms of a wider foreign policy the governments of the 1920s and 1930s used the League of Nations (which the Free State had joined in 1923) to define its international standing; the Free State was a member of the League Council from 1930 to 1933. Ireland's concerns were largely centered on league policy, commonwealth policy, as well as Anglo-Irish affairs, indicating that Ireland's foreign policy during this period did not only concern Anglo-Irish relations. De Valera's support of the League was a sign that Ireland would use it as a forum for international groupings of small and weaker states. Foreign policy was more eurocentric in the 1930s, though the failure of economic sanctions against Italy after the invasion of Abyssinia illustrated its limitations, and neutrality became more significant than the belief in the primacy of collective security under the League's covenant.

De Valera showed himself more adept than any other party leader of his era in knowing when to draw a line between church and state. Although he cultivated close relations with the most powerful man in independent Ireland's Catholic Church, John Charles McQuaid,

archbishop of Dublin from 1940 to 1972, he also viewed with distaste the idea that Ireland needed to "reconstruct" itself as a Catholic power, given that by 1946, 94 percent of the population was Catholic. Though the Irish state became extremely confessional, it was not a clerical state or theocracy.

Members of the Fianna Fáil Party, in tandem with many Catholic social theorists, indulged in much rhetoric concerning the idea of a rural and self-sufficient utopia, but despite some success in creating indigenous employment, the notion was dramatically falsified by the continued depopulation of rural Ireland through emigration. Fianna Fáil also maintained the relentless crusade to centralize state power, begun by Cumann na nGaedheal, and it continued to strip away the powers of local government.

Although de Valera's steadfast course of neutrality for Ireland during World War II earned him huge respect at home, as did his verbal battles with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (one indication of his considerable media skills), his concept of neutrality was conveniently ambiguous enough to allow a great deal of cooperation with Britain. At times Irish neutrality greatly annoyed the U.S. government, particularly after de Valera offered his sympathies to the German ambassador in Dublin following the death of Hitler—a move that he was almost forced to make in view of his principles. Nor did Ireland show itself to be generous on the issue of taking in Jewish refugees; the friendship between de Valera and the Jewish community was overshadowed by the paranoia and parsimony of the Department of Justice. But the end of de Valera's first phase of power was ultimately decided by economic issues and by the continuing poverty of much of the country, and it was significant that the new party that challenged Fianna Fáil's record in 1948 and won ten seats, Clann na Poblachta, tended to mirror Fianna Fáil's election promises from the early 1930s. Its success enabled the formation of the first interparty government.

That government lasted until 1951 and helped to reaffirm support for Fine Gael (the new name for Cumann na nGaedheal after 1934) and the Labour Party as well as the continuing relevance to the Irish political scene of Independent and Farmers' Party candidates. A government once seen as a shaky hybrid administration whose importance lay only in its breaking Fianna Fáil's dominance is now recognized by historians as having been significant for developing important fiscal policy. The coalition, under the leadership of John A. Costello of Fine Gael, comprised five different parties, not to mention independents, but it was ultimately undermined by the absence of collective responsibility.

THE IRISH REPUBLIC

While the circumstances surrounding the declaration of the Irish republic in 1949 remain unclear, particularly the issue as to whether or not it had been agreed by the Irish cabinet, it was a move which Fianna Fáil representatives did not oppose, despite suggestions that the reason they had not done it when in office was that they feared that it would prevent the ending of partition.

The absence of collective cabinet harmony was also a factor in the defeat of Health Minister Noël Browne's Mother and Child scheme, an effort to introduce free medical health care. The scheme was defeated by the determination of the Irish Medical Association to safeguard their members' private income and their ability to gain Catholic Church's support. What has often been presented as a church-state clash was in fact a much more stratified conflict that had strong class undertones, and there was concerted opposition in Ireland to the concept of the welfare state from many quarters. In any case, disagreements over the price of milk brought this government down—an indication that Irish elections were no longer being fought on issues of sovereignty or Anglo-Irish relations.

Economic depression, emigration, and unemployment dominated the records of the other governments of the 1950s. The Fianna Fáil government returned to power in 1951 and again in 1957, and the coalition government was again in power from 1954 to 1957. Some cultural historians have rightly criticized the view of Ireland in the 1950s as a cultural wasteland and have pointed to the achievements in the arts, creative writing, and the critical questioning of Irish nationalism. This is a significant revision in that it suggests that the prosperity of the 1960s was propelled by not only questioning and frustration but also by an enlightenment that belongs to the 1950s and not just the 1960s.

Still, the 1950s was the decade in which emigration devastated the national psyche and the rural hinterland and made a mockery of much of the rhetoric concerning the ideal rural life and the merits of self-sufficiency. In the postwar period down to 1981 over 500,000 people emigrated from the Irish Republic. In 1958 alone almost 60,000 left the country. During the 1950s the power of the Catholic Church peaked in terms of the influence of individual bishops, and the force of collective institutional adherence—though it was also the case that an unquestioning acceptance of clerical domination was under some strain—as the unifying thread that it had provided after the political divisions of the earlier part of the twentieth century became less relevant. Ireland was also increasingly exposed to outside influence, and the adoption of the Programmes for Economic Expansion (1958–1963) finally ended any lingering attach-

ment to the virtues of economic and cultural isolationism.

The prosperity that accrued in the 1960s, marked by the decline in unemployment and the development of a robust export trade, indicated the merits of a more open economy. With de Valera's retirement in 1959, his successor as taoiseach, Seán Lemass, began to implement change that was long overdue, and Ireland successfully caught up with many of the economies of western Europe that had boomed under postwar reconstruction plans. The introduction of free secondary education in 1966 demonstrated a commitment to change Ireland's exceptionally narrow and class-based educational system that had been dominated by an unsuccessful mission to restore the Irish language.

Prosperity in turn exposed many of the class divisions and gaps in income that continued to operate in Irish life. Particularly disturbing was the practice of church and state in showing scant regard for Ireland's most vulnerable populations, particularly in its sometimes savage treatment of children in institutions such as the industrial schools, in which over 150,000 children were housed from their foundation in 1868 to their closure in the early 1970s. Memoirs of Irish childhood became something of a publishing phenomenon in the 1990s and exposed the poverty, hardship, and ill-treatment that many endured, though these accounts were balanced by other memoirs of childhood marked by relative security and comfort.

Lemass, by meeting the Northern Irish prime minister Terence O'Neill in January 1965, also began to recognize the reality of the Northern Irish State. One of the reasons that Ireland had refused to join NATO in 1949 was because of fears that it would prevent the eventual reunification of Ireland, but Ireland became a full participant in the United Nations in 1955. Ireland's participation in the UN was inspired by national interests but it also influenced foreign policy, developing from an initial pro-Western, pro-Christian, anticommunist stance to a more independent line in the context of reducing internal tensions, opposing apartheid, and mediating international disputes. There was an eventual return to a pro-Western bias in an effort to harmonize relations between Ireland and the United States and European Economic Community (EEC) members, mostly for economic reasons. Nonetheless, given its small size, Ireland's proposals could be successful only if they managed to secure the support of the great powers. Largely as a result of the initiative of Frank Aiken, minister for external affairs, Ireland was an important contributor to what became the nuclear nonproliferation treaty in 1968. This was the same period that saw the emergence of Ireland's contribution to peacekeeping,

and there was a recognition that Ireland's economic and political future also rested in the emerging power of the EEC, particularly after Britain's decision to apply for membership in 1961.

Domestically, the 1960s also witnessed the emergence of a small group of politicians who began to abuse politics to create personal wealth, though most of their endeavors and unhealthy links with prominent business people were exposed only at the very end of the twentieth century by various tribunals of inquiry, which focused on corruption and the links between politicians, businessmen, and land speculators.

Whereas the Civil War divisions in Irish politics and Irish life were becoming less relevant by the 1960s, and Ireland was approaching both Northern Ireland and the rest of the world with greater maturity, many Irish were still ready to indulge in unbridled triumphalism about the bloody birth of the state, as witnessed by the fiftieth-anniversary commemorations of the 1916 Rising. These were sentiments that the outbreak of the modern "Troubles" in Northern Ireland tempered, as did the crisis in the Fianna Fáil Party and questions about the essential security of the state as revealed in the arms trial of 1970, when senior Fianna Fáil ministers were accused (and acquitted) of assisting in the importation of arms to aid northern republicans. The impact of the northern crisis was also reflected in draconian emergency legislation passed by the Dáil Éireann during the 1970s, increased monitoring of paramilitaries, and accusations of the operation of a "heavy gang" in the police force that ignored the due process of law. The increased level of violence impinged more directly on the south, particularly in May 1974 when loyalist bombs caused carnage on the streets of Dublin and Monaghan, killing thirty-one people and helping to swing public opinion against violence. Despite limited electoral success in the south at the time of the IRA hunger strikes in the Maze prison, extreme republicans did not fare well in southern elections, and there were increasing divisions between Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael on the issue, particularly after Garret FitzGerald took over leadership of Fine Gael in 1977 and advocated a more conciliatory approach to northern unionists.

The beginnings of the peace process can be traced to the after-effects of the Hunger Strikes of 1981 and the winning of seats by Sinn Féin in the south that deprived Fianna Fáil of a majority in the same year. Whereas Fianna Fáil under Charles Haughey attempted to adopt a more pro-republican stance in relation to the north, the report of the New Ireland Forum in 1984, established under pressure from John Hume and the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), sought to give credence to the legitimacy of unionist identity and ac-

knowledged the necessity of a new agreed constitution in the event of Irish unity. Unionists emphatically rejected the report, as they did the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 that sought to give the Republic a say in the affairs of Northern Ireland through an intergovernmental conference. But many of the most important government moves in relation to the North, particularly in terms of engaging with republicans in an attempt to end the IRA campaign, were done in secret. Albert Reynolds, who succeeded Haughey as leader of Fianna Fáil in 1992, sought to pursue the issue more energetically and was less concerned with the ideology of Irish unity than with the pressing need for an IRA cease-fire and a guarantee that both the Irish and British governments would respond positively. The reality was that most of the Republic's electorate by the end of the twentieth century had little practical interest in a united Ireland. By the time of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, they were ready to vote overwhelmingly to delete Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution.

AN AGE OF COALITIONS

Although comparatively little has been written by historians on Ireland in the post-1970 period, partly because under Ireland's National Archives Act of 1986 state files can be released only under a thirty-year rule, certain themes are discernible. Fine Gael and Labour managed to oust Fianna Fáil from power in 1973, and despite Fianna Fáil winning a huge majority under the populist Jack Lynch in 1977 coalitions were to be the hallmark of the last twenty-five years of the twentieth century and included those of Fine Gael and Labour (1982–1987) and Fianna Fáil and Labour (1992–1995). A small new party, the Progressive Democrats, composed of Fianna Fáil dissidents who were unhappy with the leadership of Haughey and were committed to liberal economic and social policies, was established in 1985. The party was able to take advantage of Fianna Fáil's failure to form a single-party government and to present itself as an important and modernizing coalition partner. Fine Gael's move to the left and support for greater social liberalization under Garret FitzGerald from 1977 onwards expanded its appeal to the urban middle classes, while by the early 1990s, the Labour Party under the leadership of Dick Spring moved toward the center, presenting itself as a modernizing party of government rather than a force of social opposition. These general moves toward the center ground in Irish politics prevented Fianna Fáil from achieving an overall majority in successive elections, though it continued to command the allegiance of at least 40 percent of the electorate. The absence of serious ideological divisions in Irish politics also facilitated the formation of the

first Fianna Fáil/Labour coalition in 1992 and allowed a broad consensus on economic policy to emerge.

JOINING THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY/EUROPEAN UNION

The economic fortunes of the country had continued to fluctuate after Ireland joined the EEC in 1972 with a vote of 83 percent in favor, and it was significant that debates about politics were not to figure largely in discussions about the European Union (EU) in Ireland. Most Irish people continued to believe that the most important aspect of the EEC/EU was not political but economic, particularly access to assistance for farmers and to the social and regional funds, which at least partly justified the image of Ireland in Europe as the country with the begging bowl. Issues of sovereignty were not widely debated until the very end of the century, though governments were forced to develop policies on international issues that they had not done prior to joining the EEC. Membership had serious and positive consequences for the status of women in Irish society in the area of equal rights, with the adoption of an equal-pay directive adopted in 1975 and the passage of the Employment Equality Act of 1977.

The decade of the 1980s was disastrous for the economy, with huge unemployment (close to 300,000 by the early 1990s) and mass emigration, as Ireland felt the effects of the global oil crisis and the failure of traditional industry to retain competitiveness. The national debt rose inexorably as governments in the pursuit of electoral victory resorted to borrowing for current expenditure and to disastrous give-away economic manifestoes that paid scant regard to long-term planning. The huge increase in the size of the public sector and spiraling wage inflation also contributed to the problem, as did the increase in the number of young job seekers who were entering a shrinking labor market. There were three general elections between 1981 and 1982 that were fought primarily on the basis of the economic crisis and the need to keep government spending and borrowing under control.

LIBERALIZATION OF IRISH SOCIETY

By the late 1980s, however, very little divided the main political parties when it came to economic and social policy, and the election of Mary Robinson as president in 1990 was regarded as a huge breakthrough for the left in Ireland and part of a wider liberalization in Irish society. The visit of the pope in 1979 had on the surface illustrated the continued appeal of the Catholic Church in Ireland, but it masked a steep fall in religious vocations and a decline in Marian devotion; the church's

ability to dictate the moral and sexual lives of the population was slowly dissipating. While the church helped to secure an ultimately disastrous prolife amendment to the constitution in 1983 and successfully resisted the introduction of divorce in 1986, by the end of the twentieth century contraceptives, divorce, and homosexuality had been decriminalized, thus fulfilling what was termed the "liberal agenda," though both legislators and voters failed to solve the abortion issue, seeking instead to export this problem rather than solve it in a domestic context.

The end of the twentieth century was also marked by accusations of clerical child abuse, regular sex scandals in the church, and the exposing of political corruption, particularly in relation to one of the most divisive but talented of twentieth-century leaders, Fianna Fáil's Charles Haughey, who amassed a fortune through his links with business leaders. The twentieth century ended with Ireland enjoying the phenomenal success of what was dubbed its "Celtic Tiger" economy. In stark contrast to its general record since independence, Ireland became one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. Yet the extent to which it succeeded in combating poverty and the class inequities in Irish society is seriously open to the question, as tax cuts favored the already wealthy, and despite a fall in unemployment from 16 to 4 percent and rises in real wages after 1993, Ireland's healthcare, childcare, housing, and transport problems were not solved.

From 1987 until the end of the century economic growth (GNP) averaged over 5 percent annually, while in some years growth was over 10 percent. In a dozen years the growth in employment amounted to almost 60 percent. The boom was a result of a switch to a directed approach to economic policy on the part of government, extremely low corporation taxes, and a series of social-partnership agreements between governments and trade unions. By 1997 nearly half of all manufacturing jobs were in foreign-owned companies, illustrating the importance of an export-oriented approach (helped by EU funding), investments by multinational corporations, and the revolution in communications and the information technology sector. Monopolies faced competition through commercialization rather than privatization. The impact of EU competition and state aids was also important, as were decisions to invest in education and to encourage foreign investment and a healthy demographic structure, though there was little radicalism in undertaking redistributive taxation or in tackling long-term unemployment.

While the conflict in the north had a notable impact on the writing of Irish history in the form of a growing revisionism that critically questioned the merits of the

violent tradition of Irish republicanism, or else chose to ignore it, this thinking had rectified itself by the end of the twentieth century. Scholars showed themselves capable of depicting both the noble and uglier sides of the Irish struggle for independence, as well as the neglected aspects of social history, and the experiences of women and minorities. They sought to cultivate a more detached perspective on Ireland's full range of snobberies, hypocrisies, and class divisions as well as the nobility and dignity of aspiration that had colored both politics and society in the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Boundary Commission; Civil War; Clarke, Kathleen; Constitution; Cosgrave, W. T.; Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act; de Valera, Eamon; Eucharistic Congress; European Union; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Jewish Community; Kennedy, John F., Visit of; Lemass, Seán; McQuaid, John Charles; Mother and Child Crisis; Neutrality; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Impact of the Northern Ireland Crisis on Southern Politics; Presidency; Proportional Representation; Robinson, Mary; United Nations; **Primary Documents:** Speech in Favor of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921 (7 January 1922); Provisional Government Proclamation at the Beginning of the Civil War (29 June 1922); Speech at the Opening of the Free State Parliament (11 September 1922); Constitution of the Irish Free State (5 December 1922); Republican Cease-Fire Order (28 April 1923); Speech on Ireland's Admission to the League of Nations (10 September 1923); "Aims of Fianna Fáil in Office" (17 March 1932); "Failure of the League of Nations" (18 June 1936); "German Attack on Neutral States" (12 May 1940); From the 1937 Constitution; On the Republic of Ireland Bill (24 November 1948); Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951); Speech to Ministers of the Governments of the Member States of the European Economic Community (18 January 1962)

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Diarmaid Ferriter

NATIONALIST POLITICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

From 1900 until the 1916 Easter Rising, Ulster Catholics, in common with their coreligionists in the rest of Ireland, gave their allegiance to the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) and its goal of a united, self-governing Ireland. In the north the party was controlled by the West Belfast MP Joseph Devlin (1872–1934). A captivating orator and superb organizer, Devlin's iron grip on Ulster Catholics was closely associated with his revival in 1904 of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), a sectarian fraternal society formed to counteract Orangeism.

Northern nationalist hopes of inclusion in a Home Rule Ireland were dashed by unionist resistance after

1912 and by the IPP's acceptance of British prime minister Lloyd George's scheme for the exclusion of the six Ulster counties of Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Fermanagh, and Tyrone in June 1916. This split northern nationalism along east–west lines and paved the way for the rise of Sinn Féin in the nationalist-majority counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh and in Derry city. Only in Devlin's power base of east Ulster did the IPP retain a substantial following.

PARTITION

Northern nationalists saw partition, rather than “Home Rule versus Republic,” as the critical issue between 1918 and 1921, and fears of unionist domination resulted in a Sinn Féin–IPP pact in Ulster in the 1918 election. Despite the Sinn Féin landslide, Devlin's invincibility in the northern constituency of the Belfast Falls enabled him to defeat the Sinn Féin leader Eamon de Valera. Rejecting the First Dáil, the native parliament established by the victorious Sinn Féin MPs in January 1919, Devlin attended the British parliament in London, opposing partition and demanding minority safeguards in the new Northern Irish (N.I.) state created in 1921. Catholic hostility to partition was intensified by vicious sectarian violence in northeast Ulster between 1920 and 1922 and by the aggressively sectarian Ulster Special Constabulary (1920), though the IRA enjoyed only limited support in the north.

Because of an electoral pact Devlin's party and Sinn Féin each won six seats in the first N.I. elections of May 1921 on a platform of abstaining from attending the new Northern Ireland parliament. Northern nationalists looked to Sinn Féin to undo partition, but the 1921 treaty (which ended the Anglo-Irish War) contained only an ambiguous Boundary Commission to redraw the 1920 border. This merely deepened internal nationalist divisions, with the border section—mainly supporters of Sinn Féin—campaigning for the transfer of large areas to the Irish Free State and the East Ulster nationalists who feared permanent minority status. During 1922 the nationalist position was further eroded by the treaty split between a protreaty majority led by Michael Collins and a Republican faction identified with de Valera, and Michael Collins's confusing blend of “nonrecognition” diplomacy and IRA violence toward Northern Ireland. His two pacts with Craig dissolved in violence, but the abortive March Agreement was the only serious attempt between 1922 and 1968 to involve the minority in the workings of the state.

The Irish Civil War (1922–1923), Collins's death, and Craig's use of internment shattered nationalist mo-

rale, while the Cosgrave government abandoned Collins's aggressive policy in favor of accelerating the Boundary Commission. Meanwhile, the minority's boycott of the N.I. parliament during 1922 to 1925 ensured that the basic framework of the state was laid without any constructive nationalist input. The abolition of proportional representation (PR) for local elections in 1922, which had the effect of consolidating unionist domination, together with the 1923 Education Act (which penalized voluntary/Catholic schools), underlined the indifference of the unionist administration to minority interests. Under pressure from the Catholic hierarchy Devlin took his seat in April 1925.

The Boundary Commission's collapse in November 1925, leaving the border unaltered, dealt a major blow to the border nationalists, and, by 1928 their MPs, led by the Sinn Féin leader Cahir Healy of County Fermanagh, had joined Devlin in a new united party, the National League, dedicated to Irish unity by constitutional means. Devlin now led a party of ten in the regional parliament, but his appeals for redress were repeatedly rejected by the unionist majority, and his hopes of a new political alignment along class lines were destroyed by the total abolition of PR in 1929. Devlin's death in 1934 marked the effective end of the National League, as absenteeism again set in and nationalists enlisted de Valera's aid, most dramatically to prevent the extension of conscription with the advent of World War II to Northern Ireland in 1939.

Despite its overriding responsibility for Northern Ireland, the British government rebuffed nationalist appeals to intervene, and by the 1930s the minority had formed a “state within a state,” equipped with its own social and political infrastructure. During World War II only the two Belfast nationalist MPs attended Stormont (the seat of the N.I. parliament near Belfast) which regarded the minority as “a fifth column,” in Northern Ireland Prime Minister Lord Brookeborough's phrase.

In 1945 the return of a British Labour government signaled a major upsurge of antipartitionist activity as the nationalists launched a new mass movement, the Anti-Partition League (APL), adopting a policy of active opposition at Stormont and Westminster, and coordinating a worldwide campaign against partition. However, its single focus on the constitutional issue, rather than on well-founded grievances, alienated the British Labour government of Clement Atlee, while the Irish government rejected its demand for representation in the Dáil. The subsequent Ireland Act (1949), reinforcing partition, undermined the APL, which rapidly declined, challenged as it was by a revived IRA.

THE OPPOSITION

The postwar years saw “change without change” in Northern Ireland despite the introduction of the British welfare state after 1945. By the 1950s the Nationalist Party had lost its former Belfast base to the socialist-inclined Republican Labour Party under Harry Diamond and Gerry Fitt, who seemed more attuned to the needs of urban Catholics. The Nationalist Party remained a loose, rural “association of local notables,” lacking even a formal party organization.

Mounting nationalist frustration was reflected in 1955 when Sinn Féin—the political wing of the IRA—secured 152,000 votes, though the IRA’s subsequent border campaign (1956–1962) lacked sizable Catholic support. By the early 1960s, nationalist politics were being transformed by the more liberal policies of the new unionist prime minister, Terence O’Neill (1963–1969), the conciliatory policy toward the Northern Ireland of Séan Lemass (taoiseach, 1959–1966) and the demand for equality from the growing Catholic middle classes, products of the 1947 N.I. Education Act, some of whom formed the progressive National Democratic Party in 1965.

Following the groundbreaking O’Neill-Lemass meeting of January 1965 (the first north–south summit since 1925) the nationalists under Edward McAteer assumed “official opposition” status for the first time. However, O’Neill’s failure to introduce much-needed reform angered nationalists, whereas the old Nationalist Party’s “rigid immobility” was being assailed by the rising young Derry schoolteacher, John Hume, the Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ), a middle-class pressure group, and radical MPs such as Gerry Fitt. A Republican Labour MP at Westminster from 1966, Fitt effectively raised civil-rights demands with the new Labour government of Harold Wilson.

The Nationalist Party’s belated efforts to modernize its image were soon overtaken in 1967 to 1968 by the mobilization of Catholic protest in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) with its inclusive slogan, “British rights for British subjects.” Worldwide reaction to the batoning of a civil-rights march in Derry on 5 October 1968 ended Westminster’s indifference to N.I. affairs. As the unionist government hurriedly introduced reforms, it seemed that NICRA had achieved more in forty days of agitation than the nationalists had in forty years of constitutionalism. The N.I. general election of February 1969 saw the nationalists’ eclipsed by civil-rights candidates, who included Hume, and which reflected Catholic support for the new style of politics.

The scene was set for the formation of left-of-center Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) under Fitt’s

leadership in August 1970. The new party was wedded to political participation and constructive reform, and as such it helped to negotiate the Sunningdale Agreement (1973) and participated in the short-lived power-sharing executive of 1974. For the next twenty-five years the SDLP would be the voice of moderate nationalist opinion in Northern Ireland.

SEE ALSO Irish Republican Army (IRA); Northern Ireland: Policy of the Dublin Government from 1922 to 1969; Ulster Unionist Party in Office; **Primary Documents:** On Community Relations in Northern Ireland (28 April 1967); Irish Republican Army (IRA) Cease-Fire Statement (31 August 1994); Text of the IRA Cease-Fire Statement (19 July 1997)

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Éamon Phoenix

IMPACT OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND CRISIS ON SOUTHERN POLITICS

When the Northern Ireland “Troubles” began in 1968, the political system of the Republic was unprepared for the consequent challenges to its own system. The call for an end to partition and for the establishment of a united Irish state had been a mainstream nationalist demand since 1922 and had in effect been written into the Republic’s constitution in 1937. They were the defining principles of the state’s official stance, but political elites and parties had given little thought to mechanisms for actually implementing this policy. Northern Ireland intruded little in political debate in the Republic and had virtually no impact on the electoral performance of the parties. In the decades that followed, though, life in the Republic changed in all three of these respects—constitutional, party political, and electoral.

CONSTITUTIONAL REALITIES

The wording of Article 2 of the 1937 constitution, which declared that “the national territory consists of

the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas," combined with Article 3, which confined the jurisdiction of the state's political institutions to the area of the former Irish Free State "pending the reintegration of the national territory," was generally interpreted by constitutional lawyers up to 1990 as a statement of political aspiration. It reflected a widespread domestic view that the Republic had a vested interest in Northern Ireland, an interest that had found expression in periodic demands from Dublin that the British government take steps to bring about Irish unity.

The outbreak of civil unrest in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s resulted initially in a hardening of this position, with the southern Irish government insisting that the roots of the problem lay in the partition of the island and that unity was the obvious solution. In the early 1970s, as the IRA's military campaign for Irish unity intensified, successive administrations distanced themselves from this position to avoid any allegation that they endorsed the IRA's methods. The Sunningdale Agreement (between the Irish and British governments and the moderate Northern Ireland parties) on 9 December 1973 was the first clear indication of this shift. The Irish government "fully accepted and solemnly declared that there could be no change in the status of Northern Ireland until a majority of the people of Northern Ireland desired a change in that status." Subsequent Irish administrations have adhered to this position, with varying degrees of emphasis, while continuing to express a desire for unity in the long term.

On 1 March 1990 the Irish Supreme Court ruled in favor of a more assertive interpretation of the constitution that construed Articles 2 and 3 as amounting to a claim of legal right. Consequently, the explicit recognition of Northern Ireland as a part of the United Kingdom that was written into the Good Friday Agreement of 10 April 1998 made necessary a change in the Irish constitution's articles. This change had considerable value as a symbolic gesture to northern unionists, and it was made part of the peace agreement. In a referendum on 22 May 1998 Irish voters approved the change by a majority of 94 percent; the amendment took effect on 2 December 1999. The "national territory" is no longer defined in the constitution, which now incorporates a guarantee to unionists that "a united Ireland shall be brought about only by peaceful means with the consent of a majority of the people, democratically expressed, in both jurisdictions in the island."

The Good Friday Agreement also brought about further institutional changes, including the creation of a British-Irish Council linking the British and Irish governments; the Scottish, Welsh, and Northern Irish ad-



The killing of thirteen civilians in Derry by British forces on "Bloody Sunday" (30 January 1972) led to mass protests in Dublin, which culminated in the burning of the British Embassy on 2 February 1972. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE IRISH TIMES.

ministrations; and the governments of Man, Jersey, and Guernsey. More significantly, it set up a small network of North-South bodies designed to encourage cooperation in specific areas (such as economics, certain marine matters, and language), under the political control of a North/South Ministerial Council made up of representatives of the Irish government and the Northern Ireland executive.

PARTY POLICIES

These constitutional and institutional changes reflected shifts in the positions of the Republic's main parties. The two largest parties had long advocated Irish unity as a major goal but had differed in emphasis. From its formation in 1926 the first aim of Fianna Fáil, as specified in its constitution, was "to secure the unity and independence of Ireland as a republic," and this objective had

featured from time to time in party rhetoric. A notable shift in direction took place under the leadership of Jack Lynch (1966–1979), who stressed that unity must be brought about only with the consent of Northern Ireland. Later leaders adhered to this policy, notwithstanding the more nationalist tone of Lynch's successor Charles Haughey (1979–1992).

Fine Gael had traditionally supported Irish unity too (the official English version of its name was “the United Ireland party”), but less insistently than Fianna Fáil. Under the leadership of Liam Cosgrave (1965–1977), the party began to deemphasize its nationalist past and stress that unity could come about only by agreement between the two parts of Ireland. The party has since adhered to this position, though other leaders have pushed it in rather different directions: Garret FitzGerald (1977–1987) committed the party to a vision of new constitutional structures for the island of Ireland, and John Bruton (1990–2001), according to his critics, displayed more sensitivity to the unionist case than to the nationalist.

Other parties have undergone similar transitions. The Labour Party had been formally committed to the establishment of an all-Ireland republic, but in the course of the 1970s it increasingly accepted the long-term reality of partition. The official Sinn Féin party (as opposed to provisional Sinn Féin, which broke away from the official party in 1970 and is now known as Sinn Féin *simpliciter*) changed even more radically than Labour, eventually renaming itself the Workers' Party and altogether rejecting the mainstream nationalist position (but eventually becoming entirely politically marginalized). The very birth of the Progressive Democrats in 1985 suggested strains over policy in relation to Northern Ireland—the new party was founded partly to oppose the more aggressively nationalist Fianna Fáil.

These changes indicated (and, to some extent, also influenced) a profound shift in public attitudes. As the economic and political costs of absorbing Northern Ireland have become obvious, popular enthusiasm in the Republic has waned. The cooling of public opinion has been reinforced by revulsion at the IRA's campaign of violence and by the increasing differentiation of northern from southern Irish society, itself a long-term consequence of partition.

ELECTORAL COMPETITION

There is little evidence that the Northern Ireland issue was significant in electoral politics in the south after the 1920s, except possibly in 1948, when a radical nationalist party, Clann na Poblachta (“Party of the Republic”), made a dramatic but ephemeral dent in the support

base of Fianna Fáil. The evidence of more recent elections, opinion polls, and party electoral strategies suggests that the Northern Ireland issue attracts little interest. Indeed, in the November 1982 election Charles Haughey, sensing widespread popular suspicion of any interference with the status quo, used Garret FitzGerald's advocacy of an all-Ireland security force as a weapon against Fine Gael.

Attempts by newer parties to mobilize support for North–South unification have not been notably successful. None of the small radical nationalist parties has won a sizeable bloc of electoral support. Although Sinn Féin won a large share of the nationalist vote in Northern Ireland in the 1980s and 1990s (about 50% by the beginning of the twenty-first century), it has had little impact in the Republic (less than 3% in 1997). Although opinion polls registered an increase in Sinn Féin's popularity in the Republic after the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, it is likely that this owes more to the party's increasing moderation on the issue of partition and its involvement in domestic social issues than to nationalist enthusiasm; by 2002 it built its share of the vote up to 6.5 percent.

SEE ALSO Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; **Primary Documents:** From the 1937 Constitution; Statement by the Taoiseach (13 August 1969); “Towards Changes in the Republic” (1973); Anglo-Irish Agreement (15 November 1985)

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John Coakley



Landlords took advantage of the "Gregory clause" in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 to evict bankrupt tenants *en masse*. Such tenants were disqualified from official relief unless they surrendered their holdings (above a quarter-acre) to their landlords. This 1848 sketch depicts a grieving father standing at the entrance to his roadside hut while a daughter points toward their former dwelling. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 16 DECEMBER 1848.

Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 and the Gregory Clause

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 marked a major shift in British government policy with respect to famine distress in Ireland. Under the new act Irish property owners and tenants would henceforth bear the full burden of fiscal responsibility for relief, which was to be administered solely by the Irish poor-law system.

The main provisions of the act accommodated these changes by allowing the poor-law authorities, for the first time, to extend relief to destitute persons without necessarily obliging them to become inmates of a workhouse. In the case of relief applicants adjudged able-bodied, this outdoor relief was to be made available only under the most stringent conditions, mainly where insufficient accommodation existed within the workhouses. One important qualification of the right to relief, however, was outlined in the Gregory clause of the act, which required that relief applicants surrender all but a quarter acre of their land. Because workhouse accommodation was not remotely sufficient for the huge numbers entitled to relief, and because poor-law administrators refused to sanction outdoor relief on the scale necessary, the act was calamitous for the poor. The workhouse system was engulfed in a tide of destitution, and hunger, disease, and death increased sharply in the hinterland.

In addition to this, the Poor Law Amendment Act itself created new levels of destitution, because fear of incurring a huge new tax liability to fund the amended poor law propelled landlords into a massive campaign of evictions. As things were, the property tax that paid for the poor law, the poor-law rate, was levied on each rented holding, and already fell heavily on the landlord; for the smallest holdings his liability was total. Now faced with a hugely increased tax burden at a time when famine distress was severely affecting rents, many landlords chose to eliminate the rate-bearing holdings altogether by evicting their occupiers and destroying their dwellings. The Gregory clause greatly facilitated these famine clearances; it forced tenants to part with almost all their land in order to obtain relief, but in practice, landlords often refused to accept surrenders unless the entire holding was yielded, together with the dwelling. Commonly, tenants starved to death rather than surrender their land, because entitlement to relief was no guarantee of its availability. Even more frequently, tenants who surrendered all but the required quarter acre had their dwellings razed in their absence, often while they were at the workhouse applying for relief.

Not surprisingly, the evictions that it facilitated and the abuses to which it led lent the Gregory clause a notoriety unique in the history of British legislation for Ireland.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Famine Clearances; Great Famine; Indian Corn or Maize; Land Questions; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings

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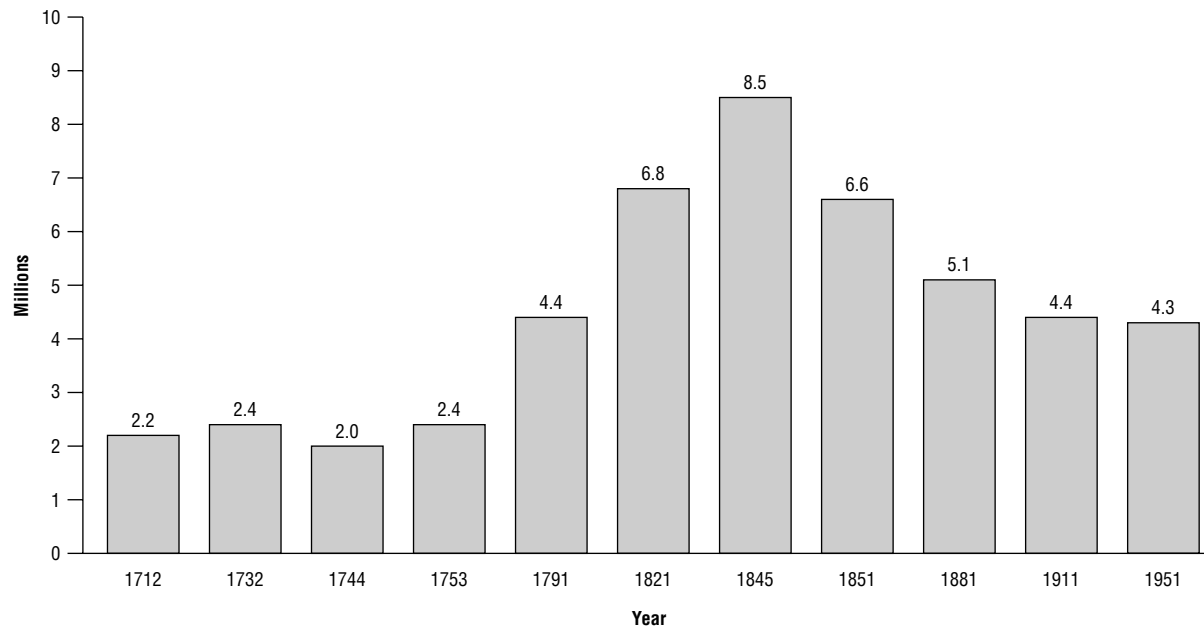
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Ciarán Ó Murchadha

Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950

In the century before the Great Famine of the 1840s Ireland had one of the fastest-growing populations in Europe. In the century after, Ireland was the only European country to decrease in population in every decade. Therein lies the drama of Irish population change. Explaining these great swings in Irish population is no easy task. Interactions between the Irish and international economies are relevant, as are changes within Irish society itself. In the 1740s Ireland was a thinly populated island, in the process of recovering from the devastating famine of 1740 through 1741. The dominant economic sector was agriculture. Ireland's mild, damp climate naturally predisposed its inhabitants toward livestock farming rather than tillage. The former tended to use more land and less labor per unit of output as compared with the production of cereal or root crops, and hence was more consistent with a low population density.

The people numbered perhaps 2 million, or a little more. Then, in one of the most remarkable transforma-

Estimates of the Population of Ireland, 1712–1951

tions in European population history, the inhabitants of the island quadrupled from 2 million to 8.5 million in the space of a century (1745–1845). Concerns with overpopulation rather than the longer-standing observations of underpopulation began to creep into the consciousness and vocabulary of contemporaries. How this explosive multiplication of people came about, and its ultimate consequences, goes to the heart of modern Irish social history.

FERTILITY AND MORTALITY FLUCTUATIONS

The surge in population must have been due either to a rise in fertility (more births) or a fall in mortality (increased life expectancy), or a combination of the two. The only other possibility—a rise in numbers due to an influx of people—can be excluded as there was a net outflow from Ireland during the eighteenth century, particularly from Ulster to North America. Most writers would agree that population change was composed of both changes in fertility and mortality, though there is no settled view on the relative importance of the two. An argument by analogy—drawing on the contemporaneous experience in England where the causal mechanisms of population increase are better understood—would place the main emphasis on rising fertility rather than mortality decline. A fertility-based explanation for Irish population growth is also compatible with some indirect indicators: changes in the market economy and

increasing dependence on potato cultivation in Ireland during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The norm governing household formation in Ireland, as in western Europe more generally, was that before entering marriage the couple should possess the means of an independent livelihood for themselves and any children they might have. For the mass of the people this meant a cottage and access to land (at the very least a potato plot). For others, a livelihood might be derived from trade, crafts or commerce, or some mixture of these and agriculture. By all accounts the condition of the Irish economy during the second half of the eighteenth century favored marriage and the multiplication of households.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ECONOMY AND EXPANDING EXPORT MARKETS

Many population changes were market driven, reflecting the deepening commercialization of Irish society in the eighteenth century. Between the 1740s and the end of the French Wars in 1815 the Irish economy experienced a long wave of expansion. This was powered initially by demand for Irish foodstuffs—beef, butter, and pork—in the British colonies of North America and in Britain itself. As Britain was at war during much of this period, wartime conditions gave rise to additional demands for Irish produce. The result was a secular rise in prices, employment, and Irish national income, though the fruits of this expan-

sion were unevenly divided as between different social groups. From the later eighteenth century, demand also shifted in favor of Irish tillage products, cereals in particular, in response to the food needs of a rapidly growing British population, and, to a lesser extent, those of a growing nonfarming population in Ireland. Labor-intensive tillage production amplified the demand for labor, creating additional incomes and thereby enhancing the prospects of marriage and household formation.

The agricultural sector was not the only one stimulated by buoyant external and internal demand. Incomes and employment in industry—as yet largely organized on a handicraft basis—also experienced growth. The eighteenth-century linen industry was a spectacular example of export-led growth, with flax cultivation, spinning, weaving, and bleaching generating extensive demand for labor in the cottages and small farms of the northern counties. The traditional woolen industry, located in many of the towns of the south of Ireland and geared predominantly to the domestic market, underwent fluctuating fortunes but was also a source of significant employment. Other industries included food processing, brewing, and distilling. These benefited from expanding markets at home and abroad. Overall, therefore, growing opportunities to make a livelihood facilitated marriage, possibly (though there is little direct evidence on this) at earlier ages than had been customary prior to 1750.

CULTIVATION OF THE POTATO A further factor, less directly connected to market processes, was the diffusion of the potato, which changed radically the domestic economy and ecology of the countryside. From being a supplement to the people's diet, potatoes had become by the end of the century the dominant element in the food of the rural poor (the small farmers, cottiers, and laborers). The likelihood is that it increased fertility within marriage and, by virtue of improving the food supply, also reduced mortality.

But the cheap, nutritious potato was not only the manna of the Irish masses, it was also a new technology. Its cultivation needed less land relative to the acreages required by other food sources. This made the subdivision of holdings more practicable, a movement also facilitated by the swing toward labor-intensive tillage from the 1760s onwards. Thus new household formation and the subdivision of holdings went hand in hand, each cause and effect of the other. The potato also aided the creation of new landholdings because of its effectiveness in reclaiming marginal or wasteland. Potato cultivation in effect increased the supply of land and lowered the threshold of viability for landholdings. It added to the land area in a further sense, by abolishing fallow pe-

riods through its incorporation into new crop rotations. A huge increase after 1750 in the ecological niches for making a living was now available to individuals and families. In an odd way, the potato both caused and accommodated population growth.

It would be wrong, however, to give the impression that the whole of the Irish countryside was now being parceled up into dwarf-sized holdings as a result of interactions between the subdivision of holdings, potato cultivation, land reclamation and population growth. This was true of parts of south Ulster, where the symbiosis of linen manufacture and farming resulted in a patchwork of very small farms. It was also true of the poorer lands of the west of Ireland, where communal farming added a further twist to the landholding system. But on the more fertile lowlands where commercial farming, particularly livestock production, was well established, medium-sized and large farms survived intact from generation to generation. On the edges of these lowland areas, and up in the hills, an increasingly potato-dependent cottier and laboring class reproduced energetically. Thus in the Golden Vale region of south Tipperary, for instance, there coexisted substantial farms and, on their fringes, dense settlements of the rural poor who supplied the labor needs of a commercializing agriculture.

It seems, therefore, that there were at least three demographic regimes in the later eighteenth century. In the northern counties of Ireland the opportunities afforded by the rapidly expanding linen industry and the partial adoption of a potato diet relaxed the constraints on land division and family formation. It is no coincidence that the most rapid growth of population in the period between 1753 and 1791—the formative phase of the population explosion—was to be found in Ulster, the rate of increase being in the region of 2 percent per annum. This was well above the national average, estimated at somewhere between 1.4 and 1.9 percent. Along the Atlantic seaboard population increase was also rapid, whereas in the more urbanized and commercialized east of Ireland population gain was relatively moderate. The differences were not purely regional, however: the rural poor seem to have engaged in less restrained reproduction by comparison with the commercial farming class, where dowry payments and carefully calculated marriage alliances were more in evidence.

EFFECT ON SOCIETY

Rapid population increase gave rise to social tensions, often centering on access to land—the renting of potato plots in particular—but extending also to the pay and condition of laborers, tithe payments, and disputes be-

tween neighbors and kinfolk. A more crowded countryside intensified competition for material and symbolic resources, resulting in collective as well as personal conflicts. The first major outbreak of agrarian violence, for instance, that of the Whiteboys in south Tipperary in 1761, involved confrontations between landowners and land-poor cottiers and laborers. The immediate provocation was the enclosure of common land, a traditional resource of the poor and all the more valuable under conditions of population increase. In the northern counties religious affiliation and its associated trappings were much more likely to be the bone of contention. But competition for land and other resources, itself linked to population growth, was never far beneath the surface. The Ulster county of Armagh had the highest density of rural population of any of the Irish counties in 1841. Armagh was also notorious for intense and sustained sectarian violence. The two were connected.

SLOW DOWN IN POPULATION BEFORE THE FAMINE

Population levels continued to rise in the decades before the Great Famine, but there is clear evidence that the demographic escalator was slowing down. By the 1830s the rate of population increase had dipped below 1 percent per annum, and was now in line with the mainstream European experience. Emigration was the major source of this adjustment. Between 1815 and 1845 1.5 million people sought their fortunes in Britain or North America. Rapid population growth had been accompanied by the immiseration of the poorer strata of Irish society, now almost wholly dependent on a potato diet. Decline in the handicraft textile industries stripped away other sources of income, as handicraft production came under intense competition from factory-produced goods. To take the primary example, while huge, power-driven spinning mills emerged in Belfast and along the Lagan Valley from the close of the 1820s, cottage-based hand spinning ceased in tens of thousands of cabins in the Ulster countryside.

Ireland in 1841, on the eve of the Great Famine, was a country of contrasts. Much economic and technological progress had been made in the preceding decades. Modern banking institutions had emerged, communications by land and waterway were much improved, the country was on the eve of the railway age, modern industrialization had taken hold in east Ulster, literacy levels were rising, a poor-law system ensured against the more cruel vagaries of life, and a centralized police force had come into being. Landlords, commercial farmers, the new industrialists, and the professional classes were growing in economic strength. But signs of progress should not be allowed to obscure the more perva-

sive reality of uneven social development and mass poverty. Perhaps as many as four million individuals lived impoverished lives, close to the edge of subsistence, using primitive spade cultivation and dependent for survival on a slender lifeline: the potato.

In the eyes of many contemporary commentators this immense population of potato eaters had arisen because the Irish poor had entered recklessly into early and fertile marriage: seizing the pleasure of the moment out of despair for the future. The census of 1841 offers a more sober assessment. Age at marriage averaged twenty-eight years for men and twenty-five to twenty-six years for women, much the same as elsewhere in western Europe. There is no sign here of early and profligate marriage. Still, it is earlier periods that matter most, and evidence is limited. There is a strong presumption that marriage ages had been lower in the late eighteenth century and had then risen in the decades before the famine. Moreover, marriage was available to virtually all in Irish society: Among the older age groups in 1841 only 10 percent of men and 12 percent of women were still unmarried and there is no reason to believe marriage had been any less universal in earlier decades. It is noticeable, though, that in some of the southeastern counties the proportions of single individuals were considerably higher on the eve of the debacle, prefiguring a drift toward permanent celibacy that was to be such a feature of postfamine society. (Permanent celibacy is conventionally and somewhat arbitrarily defined as the proportion of single individuals in the age group forty-five to fifty-four years, which is the measure used here.) Further reinforcing the image of a society with formidable reproductive powers, calculations made in the 1990s confirm the opinions of contemporaries that Irish couples were remarkably fertile. Conversely, births outside marriage were low by the standards of other societies, a position that was to be maintained in the century after the famine. The oft-proclaimed chastity of the Irish, and the sometimes brutal treatment of single mothers which was its accompaniment, probably owed more to the fragility of the peasant household economy and a dearth of opportunities for making an independent living than to deep moral or religious values.

PHYTOPHTHORA INFESTANS Malthusian tendencies, or an increasing tension between population increase and living standards, were evident in prefamine society. A narrowing diet and rising emigration suggest as much. Yet, paradoxically, the Great Famine was not itself a case of a Malthusian crisis. Population had not outrun the capacity of the Irish economy to sustain these numbers. It partook more of the character of an



There were serious potato shortages in some years before the Great Famine. A large deficiency caused great suffering because about half of the population depended heavily on the potato for food. The shortages of 1839–1841 led to food riots, including the attack on a potato store in Galway town portrayed in this engraving of June 1842. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 25 JUNE 1842.

ecological disaster. The then mysterious potato blight, caused by *Phytophthora infestans*, struck suddenly and without warning in the summer of 1845. There was a partial failure of the potato crop, but revealingly, Irish society was capable of absorbing this severe challenge without any noticeable loss of life. The return of the blight in more virulent form in the following season opened the floodgates to mass destitution, malnutrition, famine, and famine-related diseases. In “Black ’47,” although blight was absent, the potato crop was severely deficient. Blight returned in 1848 and again in some areas in 1849. Cruelly, Irish society had been visited, not by one famine, but by repeated famines within the space of five years. This was unprecedented in modern European experience, as was the severity of the food loss. By the end of the famine, which in some districts occurred

as late as 1850, sections of Irish society lay devastated. In excess of one million women, men, and children had died of starvation or starvation-related diseases, the great bulk of these belonging to the poorer strata of society. Another one million had fled the country. This great stream of economic refugees flowed to Britain and, in even greater numbers, to the United States.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BRITISH The source of the massive failure of the food supply lay in the world of botany and plant disease. But responsibility for the mass mortality is altogether more controversial. After all, these deaths took place in the environs of the world’s most industrially advanced society, and Ireland, under the Act of Union of 1800, was an integral part of that nation state. The charge, therefore, is not that the Brit-



Many poor Irish smallholders, such as those depicted in this illustration of 1881, had long traveled to England for harvest work. The wages earned there permitted them to eke out a bare subsistence on marginal land in Ireland. Mayo and Donegal provided the great bulk of migrant workers. Their numbers declined substantially after the 1860s. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 28 MAY 1881.

ish sent the blight but that they failed to offer humanitarian aid on a scale sufficient to contain the crisis.

The problem is that once the famine-related diseases of typhus, typhoid, and dysentery had secured a grip, massive mortality was inevitable. Still, there is no doubt that more could have been done. The public-works programs were seriously misguided for undernourished and famished laborers. More constructive initiatives, such as the provision of soup kitchens, which at their peak in the summer of 1847 fed some three million souls, were withdrawn when they could have helped to prolong life. It is clear, therefore, that the Parliament at Westminster could have acted more humanely in relation to the tragedy (though the allegation that the state was engaged in some form of genocide has a reality only in the fevered imagination of political ideologues). It is also the case that many in the propertied strata of Irish society—the landlords, strong farmers, merchants, and ecclesiastics—could have done more to help their starving compatriots of the lower orders. Then, as now, human sympathies trickled only slowly across bounda-

ries of family, social class, ethnicity, religion, and region.

Unlike earlier famines (where population bounced back soon afterwards), the Great Famine inaugurated a century of population decline. From a population of 6.6 million in 1851, in the immediate aftermath of the famine, the numbers had fallen to 4.4 million by 1911, and were marginally lower at 4.3 million in 1951. The last is about half the prefamine level. Some of the more melodramatic writers in the 1950s went so far as to warn against “race suicide” on the part of the Irish. Taking the longer view, however, we can see that major population decline belonged to the nineteenth century. The large loss of population, when millions were uprooted from their tiny holdings, was concentrated in the two decades after 1845, as if a long-evolving imbalance between population and resources was being corrected with indecent haste. The wave of population decline gradually subsided thereafter, and had largely leveled off by 1911. (The politically and economically troubled decade of the 1880s interrupted but did not reverse the decelerating pace of population loss.)

Falling population was wholly due to emigration. Birth rates still comfortably exceeded death rates. In 1880, for instance, the number of births per thousand of the population was twenty-five, while the corresponding death rate was twenty, yielding a natural increase of five per thousand, or a net addition of 25,180 in that year. In a typical year, therefore, emigration topped off the natural increase and more. The source of most of this emigration was rural Ireland, reflecting the large gap between the earnings of servants, agricultural laborers, and small farmers at home and the alternatives available to able-bodied men and women in Britain and more especially in North America. The famine exodus smoothed the pathways of subsequent Irish emigration, particularly from western Ireland where barriers of culture and poverty had previously inhibited migration to America. The prospect of life outside Ireland became increasingly part of the psyche of the Irish family. Thus between 1841 and 1921 more than six million Irish settled abroad, mainly in the United States but also in Britain, Canada, Australasia, and elsewhere around the globe. No other country experienced such a massive exodus of its people. Remarkably also, women were equally represented with men, which is quite at variance with the male-dominated emigration streams from other European societies. Some writers have interpreted this rough equality of movement as indicative of the lowly status of women in Irish society; an alternative reading might be to suggest the relatively fewer restrictions on Irish women.

MALTHUS AND POPULATION CHANGE The volume of emigration might well have been greater still. But in a posthumous and no doubt unconscious tribute to the father of modern population studies, the Irish settled enthusiastically on some of the preventive checks favored by the Reverend Thomas Malthus. Age at marriage edged upwards in the decades after the Great Famine, as parents and children calculated more carefully the costs and benefits of the marriage bed. The more widespread adoption of dowries and the diffusion of the match, or arranged marriage, were indicative of growing social controls over erotic energies. By 1911 the average age at marriage for women was twenty-nine (as compared with twenty-five to twenty-six on the eve of the Great Famine), and this mature age was still the norm as late as the mid-twentieth century, when the Irish Republic topped the late-marrying league for European women. The lengthening of the male age at marriage was even more marked, though from the viewpoint of reproduction is less significant.

THE INCREASE IN CELIBACY It was not, however, delayed marriage so much as a wholesale retreat from

marriage that marked Ireland off from the other countries of Europe. By 1911 a quarter of Irish women were destined never to marry; the proportion of permanently celibate men was higher still at 27 percent. Or to take an extreme example, in the fertile farming county of Meath permanent celibacy among men was at the extraordinary level of 41 percent. This remarkable pattern of behavior placed Ireland at the extreme of the European marriage system. These outcomes were little changed by 1951 when rates of permanent celibacy in Ireland were double, or more, those to be found in countries such as England, France, Italy, or the United States. Some wondered—neglecting the deeper economic and social forces at play—if there might not be a peculiar Irish aversion to marriage, rooted perhaps in Gaelic asceticism or puritanical forms of Catholicism.

A TRANSFORMED DEMOGRAPHY

In the century after the Great Famine, Irish society was transformed demographically. That is, in all but one respect: fertility. The ready availability of emigration for economically surplus sons and daughters absolved Irish parents of the need either to curtail family size or to accept steep reductions in living standards. It is true that some middle-class families, particularly Protestant families, practiced family limitation from around 1900, but Irish society as a whole was a slow and unenthusiastic participant in the European fertility transition.

These new demographic patterns were heavily conditioned by changes in Irish economy and society. These in turn reflected powerful impulses generated by labor, capital, commodity, and information flows in the international economy, during what some see as the first phase of globalization (1840s–1914). The Irish rural economy needed less labor as relative prices, dictated by international food markets, moved in favor of livestock production. Falling transport costs for passengers helped to integrate British, Irish, and North American labor markets, easing the flow of workers out of the Irish economy. The feedback of information on wages and living conditions abroad fueled expectations regarding acceptable living standards at home. While incomes, on average, rose sharply in the second half of the nineteenth century, faster than in industrializing Britain in the same period, material expectations may have risen faster still. Early and fruitful marriage threatened these gains, particularly on the family-run farms. Not infrequently, notions of postponed marriage drifted on into the lonely reality of permanent celibacy. Little wonder that the poet Patrick Kavanagh, describing social life in Ireland between the two world wars, was moved to speak of another Great Hunger, that of sexual frustration. In the 1930s the countryside of his native county

of Monaghan teemed with bachelors and spinsters, with little promise of marriage, its intimacies, or its responsibilities.

The pace of demographic change did vary regionally. Most exceptional were the remote western districts of Ireland, where pre-famine patterns of early and frequent marriage survived the onslaught of modernization until at least the 1880s. Even in the decades after 1880 western Ireland merged only slowly with the national mainstream. An economically peripheral status, limited social stratification, and a degree of cultural autonomy (based on Gaelic speaking) help to explain the resilience of traditional practices.

The north east of Ireland constituted a very different kind of region. Ulster was the most ethnically diverse of the Irish provinces, with a large Protestant population. Unusually in the Irish context it experienced the twin processes of industrialization and urbanization, which might also suggest the basis for a different demography. The early phase of the industrial revolution (1780s–1830) had touched the Lagan Valley, but the effects were largely confined to the new, factory-based cotton industry. In the second half of the nineteenth century industrialization proceeded on a much wider front. Heavy industry in the form of shipbuilding and engineering, in addition to the traditional but now technologically transformed linen textiles, flourished. Was there, as a result, a distinctive Ulster demography? Differences between north and south were evident by the eve of the World War I, but only in some areas of behavior. Thus in Belfast, permanent celibacy among women was almost as high as in the rest of Ireland generally in the census year of 1911. In the case of men, however, there was a marked contrast. The incidence of permanent celibacy or non-marriage was very low: at 13 percent it was only half the national level. The crowded workplaces of the female-dominated linen industry and its feisty “millies” improved the chaps’ chances of a match, or so it would seem. In the northern metropolis age at marriage was also lower than elsewhere. For women it was some two years below the national average; for men the difference, at almost four years, was even more pronounced. Differences in fertility, as already noted, were beginning to open up, as between north and south, and within Ulster as between Catholic and Protestant couples. The industrialization of the north, and the livelihoods it created, also succeeded in reducing the rate of emigration from the northern counties. This was especially true of Ulster Protestants, who by the turn of the twentieth century had consolidated their position economically, demographically, and politically in the northeast of the island. Protestant demographic strength underpinned the

political resolve of Ulster unionists to resist Home Rule for Ireland, or the breakup of the United Kingdom as they viewed it.

PATTERNS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The course of Irish population change following World War I and the partition of the island in 1921 consisted to a large extent of the working out of trends, which had been apparent since the 1850s. Despite the political convulsions, the century after the famine can, with some change of detail, be viewed as a unified period in demographic terms. Indeed, at mid-twentieth century, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic looked rather old-fashioned by comparison with other western societies. While the number of children born to the typical Irish family had undergone some decline since 1900, the fall was minor compared with that experienced by neighboring societies. Similarly, while the incidence of marriage had risen from its nadir during the Great Depression of 1929 through 1932, the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland still featured at the bottom of the European marriage stakes. Birth and death rates were, admittedly, closer to the European norm, though the former were the product of two abnormal forces: a low marriage rate but a high incidence of fertility within marriage. Emigration, that great constant in modern Irish population history, remained high in both jurisdictions. The situation was to get worse before it got better. During the 1950s the Irish Republic witnessed the greatest mass exodus since the 1880s, with an average of 40,000 people taking the emigrant boat each year. The term the *vanishing Irish* came into vogue, as some sympathetic outsiders worried that the Irish—by which they meant the Catholic Irish—were set to disappear from the face of the earth. But such is the mystery and the magic of population growth dynamics that this dark episode can be seen in hindsight as the hour before dawn: the threshold of a new era in Irish population history.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; American Wakes; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Indian Corn or Maize; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Migration: Seasonal Migration; Population Explosion; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century; **Primary Documents:** On Irish Rural Society and Poverty (1780); On Irish Society be-

fore the Famine (1841–1843); *On Rural Society on the Eve of the Great Famine (1844–1845)*; *From Narrative of a Recent Journey (1847)*

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Population Explosion

In the seventeenth century, Ireland was one of the more thinly populated regions of western Europe. Population growth was typically slow and subject to reversals owing to war, harvest failure, famine, and disease. Modest population growth was apparent during the first four decades of the eighteenth century but there was a savage setback between 1740 and 1741 as a result of crop failure, bitterly cold weather, hunger, and famine diseases. By the end of that catastrophe the number of people on the island approximated only two million, much the same level as a half century earlier. But that picture of slow change in the numbers of families, households, and individuals inhabiting the island was to change dramatically and unexpectedly.

In the century between the 1740s and the 1840s Ireland experienced an explosive growth of population. In fact, the expansion was the fastest in Europe, with the possible exception of Finland (another thinly populated country with large reserves of wasteland). In 1750, in round figures, there were two million inhabitants. By 1800 this total had swollen to five million. The mighty wave of population increase continued into the nineteenth century, reaching its highest level in 1845. By then the island was peopled by 8.5 million beings, a remarkable figure never achieved before or since.

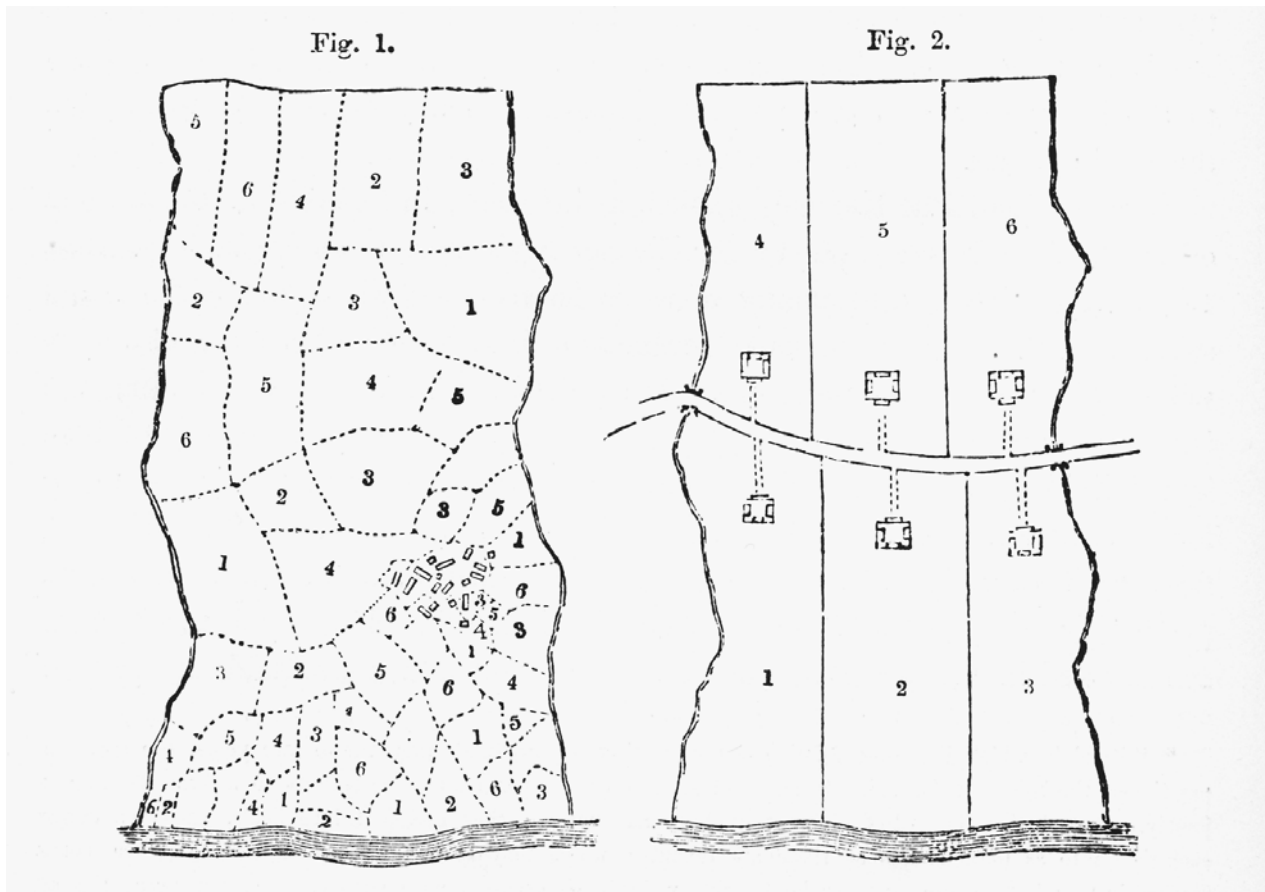
An alternative way of expressing this headlong surge of population is to capture it in terms of proportional change on an annual basis. Before looking at the Irish figures, it is worth bearing in mind that a sustained population increase of more than 1 percent per annum is rapid by the standards of preindustrial societies. The most authoritative estimates for Ireland suggest an annual growth rate of 1.5 percent or more for the period 1753 to 1791, and 1.4 percent (possibly 1.6%) for the years from 1791 to 1821. In the poorest, most westerly province of Connacht reproduction was at its most exuberant, with the population increasing by close on 2 percent each year, on average, up to 1821.

So, why this astonishing turnaround in demographic fortunes? It certainly had nothing to do with an influx of people, as in the case of other immigration-prone societies. There was a small but significant outflow of people from Ireland, and Ulster in particular, during the eighteenth century. Between 1815 and 1845 perhaps a further 1.5 million Irish emigrated to Britain or North America. In view of this movement of population, the problem to be explained is all the greater.

INCREASED FERTILITY AS A CAUSE

Logically, there are only two remaining possible sources of population increase: a rise in births or a fall in mortality over time. The two are not of course mutually exclusive. Historians have tended to place the primary emphasis on increased births (or fertility). Change might have come about because of a variety of shifts in the economic and ecological systems of Irish society. First, there was the increasing use of the miracle food—the potato. The famous spud was not only nutritious: In the production of a given level of calories it was at least twice as economical in its use of land as other food sources such as oats or wheat (not to mention dairy or beef farming, which used land extravagantly). In effect, under a regime of potato cultivation much higher population densities became possible. Subdivision of holdings among two or more children also became feasible without threatening, at least for a generation or two, the viability of the farm holding. In addition, potatoes proved to be well adapted to the poorer soils, allowing reclamation of bog lands and mountainsides. This in turn allowed population to spill out onto the wastelands in a process of internal colonization of the countryside.

It is possible, as the pioneering work of Kenneth H. Connell suggested, that potato cultivation lowered the age at which men and, more importantly, women married in the second half of the eighteenth century. The argument is that the potato crop lowered the barriers to marriage by assuring young couples of at least a mini-



Agricultural reformers wanted to make Irish farming more efficient by eliminating such traditional practices as rundale. This illustration shows diagrams of land held in rundale (scattered pieces) by six tenants, and of the same land held in compact farms by the same tenants. Rundale was declining in some places before 1845, but the Great Famine accelerated the process enormously. FROM MR. AND MRS. SAMUEL CARTER HALL, *IRELAND: ITS SCENERY, CHARACTER, ETC.* (1841–1843).

mum subsistence, even when access to a patch of land was all that was available. In a noncontraceptive society early female marriage would have led inevitably to larger families. There is a small number of local studies that indicate that this is indeed what happened in the later eighteenth century but there is no comprehensive evidence as yet on age at marriage and how this may have changed over time. In addition to possible changes in the age at marriage, it is also possible that the proportions of the population that married increased over time as potato cultivation relaxed the restraints on the formation of households. Even more speculatively, a baby food of mashed potatoes and milk may have allowed children to be weaned at an earlier age. The effect on mothers would have been to shorten the sterile period after birth and thus boost fertility.

The potato also acted on mortality by helping prolong the lives of children and adults. It reduced mortality not only by virtue of its high nutritional content but also because it added a cheap and apparently reliable

food to the people's diet. In time, of course, with a descent into monoculture, dependence on the potato would prove a source of vulnerability. But for at least the two generations after 1750, when it was used in conjunction with oatmeal, milk, or other foodstuffs, it must have added to the reliability of the food supply. Further influences favoring a decline in mortality in the century before the Great Famine of the 1840s may have included medical advances in the fight against infectious diseases, with smallpox perhaps as the only significant candidate for consideration. It is also possible that the virulence of infectious diseases naturally waned over time; if so, the reasons belong to the natural rather than to the social world.

SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT

But the social world was fundamental. The prerequisite to an ever-increasing population was an expanding economic base, as the early classical economists Adam

Smith and the Reverend Thomas Malthus reminded their readers. The Irish economy experienced a long wave of expansion between the 1740s and 1815. Potato cultivation played its variety of roles. A rising demand for Irish agricultural produce on the British and overseas markets, in particular for labor-intensive products such as oats, wheat, butter, and pork, created livings for more and more people. Handicraft industry also expanded, most notably in Ulster, where the linen industry achieved spectacular gains. Manufacturing and subsistence farming coexisted side by side, multiplying the possibilities of making a living.

Ulster also illustrates the point that there was more to Irish population history than the potato. In this northerly province the potato never achieved the dominance that it attained in the south and west of the island. Oatmeal was used extensively in the people's diet, yet during the early decades of population growth it was Ulster that experienced the most rapid increase in numbers of any of the four provinces. Similarly, it may be noted that population growth was common to other European societies at the time, where cereals were the stable food. Clearly, then, pan-European rather than purely Irish forces were at play. Still, in explaining Ireland's place at the top of the European growth league, it is tempting to conclude that it was the potato that made the difference.

A DOWNWARD TREND

Irish population lurched forward in the century before the Great Famine, in a manner that had no precedent in Irish history. But it is also clear that at least three decades before that awful event, the rate of population growth was slackening and adjusting downward. The tragedy is that potato failure and famine struck at an inflated population before it had time to complete the adjustment to a new equilibrium between population and food resources.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Land Questions; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century

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Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*)

The potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) originated in the South American Andes and from there it was brought to Europe by Spanish traders about the year 1570. Sir Walter Raleigh has been credited with introducing the potato to Ireland, but it appears more likely that it was imported from Spain sometime between 1586 and 1600. The potato proved highly adaptable to the Irish soil and Ireland's cool, damp climate. In its first hundred years or so of cultivation, until about 1700, the potato was used as a supplementary food and as a bulwark against famine during years of poor corn yields. During the next fifty years, it became the staple food of the poorer classes during the winter months from October to March. The years between 1750 and 1810 saw dramatic growth in potato tillage and consumption, as the potato supported a rapidly growing population that increasingly depended on its sustenance for the greater part of the year. By 1845 some three million people had come to rely primarily on the potato as their staple food.

From about 1810 to 1845 a growing gap between food supply and demand led to increasing distress among the poorer classes, with ever more marginal land being pressed into service, little or no use of manures, and the increasing cultivation of the bulky but inferior quality "lumper" potato variety. The "lumper" had become the dominant variety in much of the country by 1845, and it was to prove highly susceptible to potato blight.

Potato blight is caused by the fungus *phytophthora infestans*, which attacks and rots the leaves and tubers of affected plants. Mild, humid, and wet weather conditions, common in Ireland, are particularly favorable to the spread of the disease. The blight that was to devastate Ireland was first seen in the United States in 1843 and in Belgium in June 1845. From there it spread rap-



Enough potatoes were grown in Ireland on the eve of the famine to supply about 60 percent of national food needs. The deadly fungus *Phytophthora infestans* reduced potato production after 1845 to only a fraction of its former level. This 1849 sketch shows people scratching desperately for potatoes in a stubble field in hopes of staying alive. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 22 DECEMBER 1849.

idly across northwestern Europe, appearing in Ireland in August 1845. Its late arrival in Ireland reduced the impact on the 1845 harvest, but the yield was still about one-third below that required to feed the population. The following two years produced only about one-tenth of the prefamine harvest. With the ending of the blight after 1849 the potato supply slowly recovered, but it never again achieved its prefamine dominance in the Irish diet.

The decimation of the staple food source of at least three million people had inevitable and appalling consequences. About one million people died in the Great Famine; two million more left the country forever in the years between 1845 and 1855, many emigrating to the

United States, Canada, and Australia, and others to Britain.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Famine Clearances; Great Famine; Indian Corn or Maize; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 and the Gregory Clause; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Population Explosion; Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921; Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century; **Primary Documents:** On Irish Rural Society and Poverty (1780); On Rural Society on the Eve of the Great Famine (1844–1845)

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Matthew Lynch

Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland

In about 7000 B.C.E. small Stone Age Mesolithic communities in Ireland hunted wild pig, deer, and wood grouse in the forests with composite harpoons and spears (armed with tiny flints similar to those found in Britain and northern Europe) and fished the rivers near their settlements for the abundant salmon and eel in season. Three millennia later, the descendants of these first colonists were joined by much larger Neolithic communities of farmers who cleared the forests with polished stone axeheads. They set up farmsteads on the newly established grasslands to rear imported cattle and sheep, making field systems enclosed by double-faced stone walls, many of which were preserved under later blanket peat in the west of Ireland. They grew imported wheat and oats, which they ground into meal in saddle-querns and cooked in pottery vessels to make porridge.

MEGALITHIC TOMBS

COURT TOMBS The tombs of the Neolithic period are spaced apart over the cleared landscape. Built of very large stones and thus termed “megalithic,” they required communal effort and were places for communal burial. Called “court tombs” after the distinctive open enclosed-courts in front of the burial chambers, they were built with orthostats and aligned east and west. Court and burial-chambers were integrated within a long trapezoid cairn between 15 and 55 meters long. More than 400 of these court tombs now exist on the coastal plains and on the uplands north of a line drawn from Clifden in Galway to Dundalk in Louth.

PASSAGE TOMBS More than forty excavated tombs have yielded both cremated and inhumed burials of people of all ages and both sexes. There is no distinction in type between the material deposited with these burials and that found in the habitations: shouldered pottery vessels and characteristic flint lozenge arrowheads and tools. Bones of cattle, sheep, and red deer found with the burials document funeral feasts.

Under the court tomb at Ballyglass, near the shore of Bunatrahair Bay in north Mayo, the foundations of a rectangular timber building 13 meters by 6 meters were discovered. The entrance was through a porch in the northwest façade into a partitioned hallway, above which were the sleeping-quarters. Within was a large open area 6 meters by 5.5 meters, with a fireplace close to the wall at its southeast end and with a high A-roof above. The pottery and stone implements found were of the same types as those from court tombs. Similar houses were excavated at Ballynagilly in Tyrone and Tankardstown in Limerick. These rectangular dwellings, the largest of the whole Irish prehistoric period, appear to have housed substantial social units like extended families, possibly headed by matriarchs.

More than 300 “passage tombs” are grouped in large cemeteries on hilltops, mainly in the north and east of the country. The chambers are simple or complex in shape, enclosed within round cairns girdled by megalithic kerbs. The finest architectural achievements of their builders are found in such monuments as Newgrange in the Boyne Valley, erected about 3000 B.C.E.; other major cemeteries are known on the Loughcrew Hills in north Meath and at Carrowkeel and Knocknarea-Carrowmore in Sligo. The lopsided cruciform chamber of Newgrange, over 6 meters wide, is approached by a passage 19 meters long; both are lined with tall orthostats. A great hexagonal corbelled vault built of large ice-boulders rises 6 meters above the floor of the chamber. This is covered by a pear-shaped mound

of layered earth and stones 85 meters in diameter and averaging 12 meters in height, standing on a low knoll and containing a quarter of a million tons of material.

In Ireland, as on the Atlantic façade of Europe from Iberia north, these tombs are distinguished by a set of art motifs engraved on the orthostats, lintels, and roof-slabs of the tomb and on the kerbstones set around the mound in an early public display of art. The simplest canon merely represents these devices on the stones; another, more ambitious, combines elements to enhance the architectural effect, as on the lintel stones at Newgrange and Fourknocks; a later canon blends complex designs with the undulations of the stone to achieve a sophisticated plastic effect, as on orthostats and kerbstones at Newgrange and Knowth nearby. Many of these complex designs on tombs in Ireland and Anglesey and around the Gulf of Morbihan in Brittany are abstractions of the human face or figure; some are frankly female, representing a goddess of death and regeneration stationed at the threshold of the otherworld.

A rectangular fanlight or roof-box with a decorated upper lintel specially constructed over the doorway of Newgrange directs the rising sun at midwinter into the chamber, dramatically embodying the principle of regeneration in marking the death of the old year and the coming of the new.

The people buried in these tombs were generally cremated—as many as 200 persons of all ages and both sexes have been found in a single tomb at Tara—and the remains were interred with their ornaments, pendants, and beads carved of semiprecious stones and strung in necklaces. Their pottery, known as Carrowkeel ware, was a hemispherical bowl, ornamented all over the surface with chevrons and nested arcs. The most significant feature of their burial ritual in Ireland is the complete absence of stone tools and weapons from their burial chambers, contrasting with the burial deposits of all other megalithic tombs in west and north Europe. This suggests that these mundane items were prohibited from the sacred burial places, being allowed only in the habitations. The size and number of these tombs in the Boyne Valley suggests a workforce of several hundred people living in agglomerated settlements. They betray their ancestry in Atlantic Europe, particularly in Brittany, in their unique fondness for shellfish—periwinkle, mussel, oyster, and pecten—which constitute the remains of funeral meals found at sites far inland.

LATER NEOLITHIC COMMUNITIES, HILLTOP DEFENDED SETTLEMENTS, AND CONTACTS WITH CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE CAUCASUS

A later Neolithic tradition, dramatically different in its origin in the Caucasus via central Europe and Scandina-

via, was a new burial rite—the individual burial of a man deposited in the central closed cist (a small stone box roofed with a flat slab roof, designed to take a single crouched burial) of an earthen mound up to thirty-six meters in diameter. The departure from communal burial indicates a radical change in society: Now each sept had a single male leader or ruler at its head. The burial was normally accompanied by a highly decorated pottery vessel that could have belonged to one of four newly introduced classes.

The followers of this new group occupied the coastal islands of the Clyde area of Scotland and the river valleys of the lands on both sides of the Irish Sea and were strongly represented in south Leinster. Their arrival in Ireland can be dated to early in the third millennium B.C.E.; their cultural contacts with central Europe were thriving as late as 1800 B.C.E., when bone-barbell pins of Únětice type were imported directly from central Europe to Dublin, Kilkenny, and Limerick. These people introduced the horse into Ireland, ultimately from the Caucasus. Their portal tombs—200 single-chambered megalithic tombs in long cairns derived from court tombs—follow similar patterns on both sides of the Irish Sea.

The new arrivals lived in defended settlements built on moderately high hills in the northeast, such as Lyles Hill north of Belfast, where a broad palisaded earthen bank enclosed a pear-shaped area of six hectares, within which stood a cairn probably containing a classic individual burial. The naturally defended promontory of Knockadoon extending into Lough Gur in Limerick was also chosen for settlement, along with artificial lakewellings in Tyrone, Derry, and Meath. The salmon fisheries of the River Bann and the coastal sites in the sandhills in Derry, Antrim, and Down, and on the offshore islands of Rathlin, Bute, Man, Lambay, and Dalkey, also attracted them. This new group's Scandinavian, central European, and Caucasian background, their introduction of the horse, and the timing of their arrival in Ireland (from the third millennium into the second), all suggest a close relationship with speakers of a proto-Indo-European language spreading from their homeland in the Caucasus via Scandinavia to the far west.

THE BRONZE AGE

With the Early Bronze Age came the art of transforming new materials in a radically innovative way into personal ornaments, weapons, and tools. Copper mined in Leinster as well as in Waterford, Cork, and Kerry, was smelted and cast in open molds into knives, daggers, and flat axeheads from about 2000 B.C.E.; copper was

later alloyed with tin to make a harder metal, bronze. Gold was hammered into flat sheets to make earrings, *lunulae* (neck ornaments shaped like the crescent moon), and breast ornaments. Settlements were established near the sources of these metals; as a result, west Munster became prominent for the first time.

Beaker metalworkers, named for their distinctive bell-shaped redware vessels, settled on the European continent at three great nodes rich in metal ores: near Lisbon, in central Europe along the Danube north of the Alps, and in Ireland and Britain. Their dead were buried alone in cists or pits with a single beaker, a conical V-perforated button, and a wrist-bracer, which was a flat plate of stone perforated at the ends to protect an archer's wrist from the bowstring. With these classic accoutrements of the archer-warrior went flint barbed-and-tanged arrowheads. These people wore gold basket-shaped earrings and pairs of sun-discs, along with tanged knife-daggers cast in open stone molds. Only a few classic beakers have been found in Ireland, the finest of them at Moytirra near Sligo town.

Whereas in Britain and on the Continent single males were buried in cists, in Bronze Age Ireland and Brittany the dead were buried in late megalithic tombs, *allées couvertes* (gallery graves) and "wedge tombs." Irish wedge tombs number more than 500 and are found mainly in the west, with a great concentration in the metal-rich areas of Cork and Kerry. One hundred have been found on the limestone uplands of the Burren in County Clare, where winter grazing is widely available. Wedge tombs were economically designed, with long burial galleries opening to the west, low orthostats that converge and slope downward toward the east end, and roofs with flat lintels.

Archeologists have discovered more than 1,300 single burials deposited in pit graves and cists, mainly in Leinster and in east and central Ulster—the obverse of the wedge tomb distribution. The pottery normally found at these sites are food vessels and urns—provincial and hybrid derivatives of beakers, with contributions from some Late Neolithic types. Sometimes the cists have been found grouped together in cemetery cairns and in flat cemeteries.

About forty round cairns housing several cists have been discovered. They probably developed from using Neolithic passage tombs to take secondary cist burials, as at the "Mound of the Hostages" at Tara. Here, secondary burials with food-vessel and urn pottery extended from the end of the Neolithic period to about 1500 B.C.E., when the remains of a prince aged fourteen wearing a necklace of bronze tubular beads were inserted into the mound. A royal scepter of five cylinders of animal bone with toothed edges was found with a cre-

mated burial in the multiple-cist cairn of Knockast in County Westmeath.

Cinerary urns (large, coarse vessels designed to contain and protect the cremated remains of a single individual, frequently inverted over them) became the standard funerary pottery of the early Irish Bronze Age, displacing to an extent the earlier food vessel. Predominantly associated with such urns from about 1500 B.C.E. are bronze razors with ovoid blades sharpened to a keen edge, apparently designed for the removal of facial or cranial hair. Of forty-four Irish razors discovered, thirty-one were found with burials, apparently of males—possibly barber-surgeons or medicine men.

Between about 1250 and 1000 B.C.E., while dramatic changes in the eastern Mediterranean marked the disintegration of civilizations and empires, the scene was set for the magnificence of the Final Bronze Bishopsland phase in Ireland. Among the treasures from this phase are palstaves—implements developed from the flat axe-head, with flanges at the edges terminating in a stop-ridge halfway between butt and blade. Finely made new tools of bronze for metalworking and woodworking—the hammer, anvil, vice, punch, graver, and chisel—also made their debut; they are the first such tools to be found in Ireland. More than twenty hoards of this period, found mainly in the north and east, consist of new types of gold ornaments including delicate finger-rings and feminine gold earrings, which were molded or twisted, copying east Mediterranean techniques. Heavy gold torcs were also developed in Ireland from bronze prototypes of Baltic origin. The dramatic increase in the availability of gold bullion suggests the discovery of a mother lode, possibly in Wicklow.

Excavations at Haughey's Fort, located on a hilltop three kilometers west of Emain Macha in Armagh and covering an area of about twenty acres, yielded evidence of a bank faced by a palisade inside the innermost ditch, dating from about 1100 B.C.E. Storage pits on the site yielded carbonized barley. Animal remains indicate that cattle, pigs, and a small number of sheep or goats had been eaten there, as well as leftovers of an apple. The great size of two circular post-built houses, each over twenty-five meters in diameter, suggests that this was the seat of a potentate.

THE FINAL BRONZE AGE

After 1000 B.C.E. the metal industries of Ireland burgeoned, flourishing under the influence of the late European Urnfield phase (from 900 B.C.E.), so called after the great bronze hoard of Dowris found near Birr in County Offaly. The large number of individual tool and weapon types and the quantities of metal found in the posses-

sion of individual craftsmen attest to a society that controlled mining and distribution, satisfied a demanding market, and supported the rise of important smiths, merchants, and potentates. A hundred hoards provide convincing evidence of great personal riches. The Great Clare Gold Find of 1854 consisted of at least 150 ornaments weighing 5.5 kilograms—the largest find of prehistoric gold objects in northern or western Europe. Claymolds, which were used exclusively by 1000 B.C.E., made possible the manufacture of new socketed axe-heads, socketed knives, and chisels in great numbers.

A brilliant new school of artists who worked in gold devised a far more extensive range of personal ornaments than had been available before—gorgets, dress-fasteners, cuff links and pins, bracelets, and a variety of new hair ornaments, some of which seem to have been invented to satisfy a discriminating home market. The delicacy of the gold ornaments contrasts with the rude weaponry, spears, and slashing swords of the military heroes. Braying martial horns were part of the new military panoply, and horse-trappings and rattle-pendants denote a society given to parades. Large sheet-metal cauldrons and cast flesh-forks attest to princely hospitality. A northern province yielding cauldrons, buckets, horns, and gold sleeve-fasteners contrasts with a southwestern province (extending up to Banagher on the Shannon) in which horns decorated with conical pseudo-rivets, gold lock-rings, gorgets, and repoussé bowls are distinctive types. Ireland's contacts with the Urnfield area of Central Europe were at this time through northern and southern Britain, and also via the Atlantic with the Mediterranean.

Great stone fortresses like those on the Aran Islands, some surrounded by defensive zones of multiple walls or *chevaux-de-frise* (protective areas made of stone spikes set at an angle in the ground), appeared seemingly overnight in the southwest and west of Ireland at this time, probably from Galicia in northwest Spain. Promontory forts on the coast provided well-garrisoned lookout posts. Suddenly, society assumed a new military character; the times were troubled. Lake-dwellings became common, some of them with bronze workshops. Bronze crotals, metal objects resembling bull's testicles, may be evidence of a bull fertility cult at this time. A tall, wooden god preserved in the bog at Ralaghan in County Cavan foreshadowed the iconic gods and the La Tène aniconic (nonrepresentational) fertility stones that appeared at the end of this last millennium B.C.E. Important dwellings and temples emerged on sites such as Emain Macha—structures that in the early centuries C.E. were recognized as sacred royal centers.

HALLSTATT AND LA TÈNE TRADITIONS

In Ireland and Britain there are few Iron Age artifacts of the Hallstatt tradition (750 to 450 B.C.E.), when immensely rich leaders lived in princely strongholds such as the defended hilltop of the Heuneberg overlooking the Danube in southern Germany. During the fifth century B.C.E. the late Iron Age La Tène culture developed out of the Hallstatt tradition in the Champagne area of France and the middle Rhine valley and Bohemia. The princely dead were buried with splendid weapons and ornaments on two-wheeled chariots under huge mounds. The people of this culture congregated in impressive hillforts and in enormous proto-urban *oppida* (towns) such as the Heuneberg in southern Germany and Alesia in eastern France. Their new art style was disseminated widely from Asia Minor to Britain and Ireland. In this style, Greek palmettes and tendrils were subtly distorted into elegant and sophisticated abstract shapes presented on curved surfaces with a charming ambiguity.

In about 300 B.C.E. this heroic tradition arrived in Ireland and established itself in a northern province over the broad territory of Ulster, Connacht, and north Leinster. Ironworking was then fully established in Ireland, though gold and bronze were still used in making luxury objects. Examples of the distinctive La Tène neck-torc and brazen horn representing the “Dying Gaul” have been found in Broighter in Derry and Ardbrin in Down. Warriors were equipped with leaf-shaped spearheads, at that point made of iron and mounted on wooden shafts up to 2.4 meters long, and with swords, scabbards, and shields. Only a very small number of cauldrons and bronze bowls have been recovered, along with a single stave-built 1.4-liter tankard from Carrickfergus. Bronze *fibulae* (safety pin ornaments with tightly coiled springs, decorated with relief ornament to the bow) along with beads of colored glass appeared as new kinds of personal ornament.

The great royal sites of the period are located in the northern La Tène province: Tara and Tailtiu in Meath, Emain Macha near Armagh, Uisneach in Westmeath, and Cruachain west of the Shannon in Roscommon. The history of Tara and Cruachain begins with the burial monuments and the found objects dating from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age; in the late prehistoric period ring-barrows appeared in great numbers and in a range of shapes and sizes. An excellent example of a ring-barrow is found at the royal site at Tara, where a large oval enclosure, 210 by 175 meters across, was formed from a double row of stout posts on the northern slope of the ridge, surrounding the “Rath of the Synods” and the “Mound of the Hostages.” Ring-barrows are also found at Tailtiu, on the hilltop of Emain Macha, within the hilltop enclosure at Clogher in Tyrone, and

at Uisneach. Thus these royal sites were in part conceived of as cemeteries, sanctified by the bones of ancestors. The other characteristic monument is a great mound, the *forradh*, as at Tara, on which the king sat to exercise his judicial functions at the periodic assembly, or *oenach*. Massive composite monuments—Ráith Airthir at Donaghpatrick in the Tailtiu complex, the Mote of Downpatrick, and the monument at Granard in Longford—all relate to this *forradh*.

It appears that while the Iron Age La Tène tradition developed in the north, the Final Bronze Age tradition lived on in Munster and south Leinster. The greatest impact of the Irish La Tène tradition may have been on the landscape around royal sites and in massive defensive earthworks of the last two centuries B.C.E., such as the Dorsey in County Armagh and the Black Pig’s Dyke running from south Armagh through Monaghan as far as north Leitrim. Despite its relative paucity, La Tène art continued in Ireland and Britain after the Romans, finding ultimate expression in the hands of early Christian artists.

LA TÈNE GODS AND RELIGION

Practices related to Celtic rituals have survived through the Christian period and up to the present day. Midsummer and midwinter rituals began in time immemorial. The quarter-days—the first days of February, May, August, and November (respectively, *Imbolc*, *Bealtaine*, *Lughnasa*, and *Samhain*)—each had their own rituals. High hilltops were visited at Lughnasa, a practice surviving to the present in the pilgrimage to the summit of Croagh Patrick in Mayo. The element *dair*, meaning oak, which appears in many place-names (as in Brigit’s *Cill Dara*, the modern Kildare) may commemorate druidic sanctuaries sited at oak groves.

Representations in stone of godlike figures are known: The three-faced Corleck granite head from Cavan may have been part of a composite icon; the horned Tanderagee idol, from the cathedral site at Armagh, has mask-like features, a great open mouth, thick-lipped and screaming, and stylized arms. At that site there are also representations of a sun god, a bearded head, and a family of three benign bears, the largest with a wolf-head between its fore and hind legs. On Boa Island in Fermanagh a pair of belted warrior-gods, described by Françoise Henry as “terrifying in their inhumanity,” stand back-to-back, staring severely out from the otherworld with large almond eyes.

Three aniconic carvings decorated with the characteristic abstract swirling curves, spirals, and trumpets of the Irish La Tène style celebrate male potency at Killycluggin in the territory of the legendary Crom Cruach

at Mágh Sleacht in north Cavan, at Castlestrange in Roscommon, and at Turoe in Galway. Plain phallic pillars are more numerous: They are found on the Hill of Tara and beside Dún Dealgan as well as at Kilkieran in Kilkenny, Killadeas in Fermanagh, and Clear Island in Cork, where they were later purposely incorporated in early Christian sites.

ROMAN IRON AGE AND CHRISTIANITY

Roman material borne by visitors from Wales and Scotland appeared in Ireland from the first century C.E. onwards, and have been found between the Liffey and the Boyne as well as along the northeastern and northern coasts. A hoard of 500 valuable silver coins of the first and second centuries from Feigh Mountain in Antrim was found in a leather bag concealed under a flagstone. No Roman roads, towns, temples, or military camps were built in Ireland. After a marked hiatus in the third century, Roman material again found its way into the country. Evidence of visitors to Newgrange in this later period has been documented by coins of Theodosius, Constantine I, and Valentinian I, dating from about the year 400, together with a number of disc-brooches and the inscribed terminal of a Bishopsland bar-torc. Roman silver found at Balline in Limerick and Ballinrees in Derry was brought back to Ireland by Irish pirates from the crumbling periphery of the Roman empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. Numerous shards of Samian ware document visits by native Irish to the Roman world.

Christianity, already tolerated in Roman Britain and Gaul from the time of Constantine after 312 C.E., was present in Ireland by about 400. Ogham writing based on the Roman alphabet also appeared about this time. With Christianity came the Bible and a certain degree of literacy. It was about this time that the young (Saint) Patrick, son of a Roman decurion, was seized by Irish pirates in Britain and enslaved by Milchú, who put him to herding sheep on Slemish Mountain in Antrim. It was this Patrick, author of our earliest texts, who returned in the second half of the fifth century with a mission to organize and extend the already growing Irish church.

SEE ALSO Bronze Age Culture; Celtic Migrations; Cruachain; Cú Chulainn; Dún Ailinne; Emain Macha (Navan Fort); Myth and Saga; Stone Age Settlement; *Táin Bó Cúailnge*; Tara

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Michael Herity

Presbyterianism

Irish Presbyterianism is largely the result of a movement of population from Scotland to Ireland in the seventeenth century. The defeat of the Ulster Gaelic chieftains after a long struggle against English rule and the inexorable process of anglicization in Ireland had left the northern Irish province devastated and depopulated, ripe for colonization. James VI of Scotland had succeeded Elizabeth I on the English throne. This enabled Scots to settle in Ulster, and some Presbyterian ministers followed them, taking parishes in the state Church of Ireland, which was extending its structures into Ulster. James VI had restored episcopacy in Scotland, some of the Church of Ireland bishops in Ulster were Scots, and in a fluid ecclesiastical situation it was not too difficult for Scottish Presbyterian ministers to become

parish ministers in the Irish church. Inevitably, this was a temporary situation, and when the Church of Ireland, under government pressure, began to enforce Anglican discipline, the Presbyterian ministers were expelled from their parishes. This followed a remarkable revival of religion among the settlers, anticipating similar revivals in colonial America a century later.

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF AN IRISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

There might never have been a Presbyterian Church in Ireland had not the Catholic Irish risen in rebellion in 1641. It was the chaplains of the Scots army that arrived in Ulster in 1642 to save the colony who formed the first presbytery on Irish soil and began the formal history of Irish Presbyterianism. During the Cromwellian interregnum Presbyterian congregations multiplied, and five presbyteries, or meetings of what had become the Ulster presbytery, emerged. Also during this period a number of congregations were formed in Dublin and in the south and west of Ireland, some of them originally Independent or Baptist, which later became Presbyterian. Their background was often English, rather than Scottish, Presbyterian. The restoration of monarchy and the established Episcopal Church of Ireland in 1660 brought eviction from their parishes and outlawry for some seventy Presbyterian ministers, but the colonial government in Ireland could not afford to alienate what was the majority Protestant denomination in Ulster, and Presbyterianism was allowed a precarious and restricted existence as Dissent with a small state subvention, the *regium donum* (royal bounty), for their ministers. They in turn supported William III against James II in the crisis for the British colony in 1689 to 1690 and were rewarded with an increased royal bounty and some small improvement in their position as Dissenters. Their five presbyteries formed a Synod of Ulster and its records are available from 1691.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the eighteenth century Presbyterians experienced continuing disabilities as Dissenters, and many of them suffered economic hardship as tenant farmers, with rising rents and tithes to pay to the established Church of Ireland. Large numbers emigrated to colonial America, where they were known as the Scotch-Irish, and some of them played significant parts in the colonists' fight for independence from Britain. Inspired by events in America, some Ulster Presbyterians became leaders in the United Irish movement for reform in Ireland and independence from Britain, culminating in the disastrous rebellion of 1798. Also in the eighteenth century Irish

Presbyterians were divided by tensions between conservative Calvinists, known as Old Lights, and theological liberals, or New Lights, often centering on the issue of subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith by ordinands (ministers on ordination), the Synod having followed the Church of Scotland in adopting the Confession as its official statement of faith. The advance of the New Lights was resisted by conservative church members, who welcomed more conservative Scottish Presbyterian dissenters, Seceders, and Covenanters, who formed congregations and presbyteries in Ulster.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Old Light versus New Light controversy entered a new phase in the nineteenth century when evangelicalism breathed new life into the Old Light party, and some of the New Light, nonsubscribing ministers declared themselves Arians, querying the divinity of Christ. After a bitter conflict in the Synod in the 1820s the small minority of Arians and nonsubscribers withdrew to form a separate synod, which later united with other nonsubscribing Presbyterians as the Non-Subscribing Irish Presbyterian Church. The Old Light victory in the Synod of Ulster led in 1840 to a union with the Secession Synod in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. The new united church displayed great creative energy in outreach at home and abroad, forming new congregations, evangelizing in the south and west of Ireland, initiating a foreign mission, and founding two theological colleges and new institutions of social service such as the Kinghan Mission to the Deaf and Dumb. Evangelicalism, which had contributed so much to these developments, reached a climax of influence in the Ulster revival of 1859, recalling the revival of the early seventeenth century. In politics Irish Presbyterians maintained their essential liberalism, supporting education and land reforms and advancing democracy and social justice. Yet they were also unwavering in their commitment to the parliamentary union with Britain that had followed the 1798 rebellion, opposing the nationalist campaign for Irish Home Rule.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

That opposition to Home Rule led to the partition of Ireland in 1921, with Presbyterians as the majority Protestant population in Northern Ireland. The estimated 650,000 Irish Presbyterians in 1840 have now been reduced by at least half, and numbers in what is now the Republic of Ireland have fallen from 50,000 to 15,000 since partition, though that decline seems recently to have been reversed. Most Presbyterians in the Republic of Ireland regard themselves as Irish, not British, while

most Presbyterians in Northern Ireland see no contradiction between their Irishness and Britishness, of which they are equally proud. Within the existing political context the Presbyterian Church, which remains undivided in Ireland, endeavors to promote peace, justice, and reconciliation between the two communities in both parts of the island. Relations between different churches in Ireland are better today than in previous centuries, although the theologically conservative Irish Presbyterians remain wary of relationships that they believe would compromise their distinctive Reformed witness.

SEE ALSO Abernethy, John; Cooke, Henry; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Education: University Education; Evangelicalism and Revivals; Overseas Missions; Paisley, Ian; Religion: Since 1690; Second Reformation from 1822 to 1869; Temperance Movements

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Finlay Holmes



Presidency

Articles 12 to 14 of Eamon de Valera's constitution of 1937 detail the powers of the office of president and stipulate that the president be directly elected for a seven-year term in a national vote, or, if the political parties so choose, nomination procedures can be used to

agree on a candidate and avoid a vote. Although the articles allow for outgoing presidents to nominate themselves for a second term, other potential candidates need to be proposed either by twenty members of the Oireachtas (TDs or senators), or the councils of four counties or county boroughs. Given that these local authorities are composed on party lines, this route was rarely feasible and was not used until 1997.

On five occasions—1938, 1952, 1974, 1976, and 1983—only one candidate was nominated, while there have been six contested elections in 1945, 1959, 1966, 1973, 1990, and 1997. Although the constitution prevents the president from participating in party politics or the day-to-day running of the government, there are six discretionary powers for use in specific circumstances; three give the president an adjudicatory role in disputes between Dáil and Senate (which have never arisen), and a fourth gives the president power to convene a meeting of either or both of the houses of the Oireachtas.

The president can also refer a bill passed by the Oireachtas to the Supreme Court to judge its constitutionality, before which the president must consult but is not bound by the Council of State, an advisory body containing past and present senior politicians and seven people appointed by the president. In 1976 President Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh referred the Emergency Powers Bill on this basis and resigned after vicious criticism by the minister for defense.

The sixth power relates to the dissolution of the Dáil, and does not require consultation, although Article 13.2.2 states most ambiguously that the president "may in his absolute discretion refuse to dissolve Dáil Éireann on the advice of a Taoiseach who has ceased to retain the support of a majority in Dáil Éireann." No president has ever exercised this power, though pressure in 1981 was brought to bear on Patrick Hillery to do so.

The office of president has been likened to that of a relatively powerless constitutional monarch and in the earlier years was frequently used as a retirement post for distinguished male senior politicians, most notably de Valera, who was aged 76 when elected president. In 1990 Mary Robinson, aged 46, and a candidate nominated by the Labour Party, shattered this convention following an electrifying campaign, making Ireland only the second country in Europe after Iceland to have a woman as elected head of state. Hoping to expand the role of the office, she certainly gave it an increased profile and championed the plight of minorities and the status of women in Irish society, though ultimately she had to accept the limitations of the office and abstain

from interfering in matters that were the prerogative of the government.

SEE ALSO Constitution; de Valera, Eamon; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Robinson, Mary

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Diarmaid Ferriter



Proportional Representation

Proportional representation (PR) is an electoral mechanism designed to ensure that the distribution of votes between various interests in an election to a collective body is reflected proportionally in the distribution of seats on that body. In its typical form, in continental Europe “list” systems, it ensures that the share of votes cast for party lists in elections is fairly accurately translated into share of seats.

Under the less common “single transferable vote” (STV) system of PR, voters rank candidates (in practice, party is the most important consideration, but other criteria such as region or gender may also count). These preference votes are then converted into seats on the basis of an electoral quota; “surplus” votes of candidates reaching this quota are redistributed according to lower preferences, and less popular candidates are progressively eliminated and their lower preferences are redistributed until all vacancies have been filled.

The STV form of PR has been the “normal” one in English-speaking countries. First implemented in Tasmania in 1896, it was introduced for local elections in Ireland in 1919 and for elections to the parliaments of Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland in 1920. Election of the Dáil by PR has been a constitutional requirement since 1922 (the 1937 constitution specifies that the STV system be used). Notwithstanding efforts to replace it with the U.K.- and U.S.-style plurality system in 1959 and 1968, this system has survived in the Republic of Ireland. It is also used in elections to the senate, in local elections, and in Irish elections to the European parliament.

In Northern Ireland, PR was abolished for local elections in 1922 and for domestic parliamentary elections in 1929. The reinstated plurality system helped to preserve unionist hegemony, and when Northern Ireland’s institutions were reformed following the outbreak of civil unrest, PR was brought back in 1973 for elections to local authorities and to the Northern Ireland assembly and its successors (apart from the Forum elected in 1996, when a modified “list” system was used).

The primary reason for the introduction of PR in Ireland was to ensure minority representation. One alleged side effect of the STV form is that it promotes intraparty divisions and, by placing a premium on electoral competition *within* rather than *between* parties, encourages clientelist politics, with candidates offering to do favors for constituents rather than engaging with issues of national policy; evidence on this issue is inconclusive. A second criticism of PR is that it inhibits strong government by promoting a multiparty system; but its defenders argue that non-PR systems violate basic principles of electoral justice. Since the political stakes are high, this debate is likely to continue.

SEE ALSO Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

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John Coakley



Protestant Ascendancy

1690 TO 1800

JAMES KELLY

DECLINE, 1800 TO 1930

JACQUELINE HILL

1690 TO 1800

The anglophone landed elite, whose command of the political, economic, and social structures of Ireland was

at its most complete in the period between the defeat in 1690 to 1691 of the Jacobite armies and the enactment of an Anglo-Irish union in 1800, is familiarly known as the Protestant Ascendancy. Significantly, this term was neither coined nor popularized until the late eighteenth century, when conservative elements within the elite, perceiving that it was at risk, rallied to defend the "Protestant constitution" in the face of external threat. As it was famously defined by Dublin Corporation in 1792, Protestant Ascendancy encompassed "a Protestant king of Ireland—a Protestant parliament—a Protestant hierarchy—Protestant electors and government—the bench of justice—the army and the revenue—through all their branches and details Protestant." Though ostensibly just a list of those elements of church and state that Protestant ideologues were determined to preserve unaltered, it reflected the actuality of the command that Protestants enjoyed of the levers of power from the mid-seventeenth century.

The emerging Protestant elite was well placed to consolidate its dominant position in the kingdom of Ireland when, following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, Charles II confirmed them in possession of three-quarters of the land and acknowledged the Church of Ireland as the established church. Yet the fact that they chose to describe themselves variously as the "Protestant interest" or "the English interest" provides a reliable pointer to their imperfectly developed sense of identity. They were, for a ruling elite, also surprisingly lacking in confidence, arising out of the conviction, annually reinforced by ceremonies recalling the "massacres" perpetrated during the early phases of the 1641 Rebellion, that the Catholic population was committed to their extirpation. Their unease was heightened during the late 1680s when, in the course of James II's unsuccessful attempt to use Ireland as a base from which to regain the throne, it seemed not just that the Catholic Church would be elevated to a position above that of the Church of Ireland but that Irish Protestants would be obliged to forfeit the lands that they currently occupied. As a result, they determined, having overcome this challenge, to take the measures necessary to protect themselves in the future. To this end they oversaw the introduction of a body of anti-Catholic legislation commonly known as the penal laws. Parallel with this, the command that the Protestant elite already possessed over the wealth of the country was increased as a result of the Williamite land settlement, which ensured the transfer of a further 14 percent of the land from Catholic to Protestant ownership.

In an environment where Irish Protestants were genuinely fearful of the Jacobitism and Catholicism of the population at large, the maintenance of a secure

connection with England was of obvious importance. At the same time, Irish Protestants remained convinced that as the "English in Ireland" they were entitled to the same rights and privileges as Englishmen. To this end they repeatedly asserted the right of the Irish parliament to possess greater powers than the government in London was willing to concede. Despite this refusal to admit the Irish Protestants' constitutional claims, the centrality of the ascendancy to the effective rule of Ireland was confirmed by the English government's growing reliance on certain Irish Protestant leaders ("undertakers") to manage the Irish parliament.

The confidence that Irish Protestants vested in their legislature was augmented from the 1720s by the reinforcement of the culture of improvement already established among the elite. This was given institutional expression by the foundation of the Dublin Society in 1731. The mid-eighteenth century witnessed a striking acceleration in the range and variety of schemes and initiatives that were pursued both to increase the generation of wealth and to model the Irish landscape to reflect a familiar anglicized ideal. The construction of villages and towns, the development of the main cities, and the laying out of elegant demesnes created an appropriate milieu for the scores of Palladian and neoclassical houses that came to occupy the remodeled urban and rural landscape. As all this activity suggests, the Anglo-Irish elite were the arbiters of taste as well as the patrons of the architects, artists, book binders, silversmiths, map-makers, tailors, and others whose handiwork has proved so influential in shaping the prevailing positive impression of the Georgian era. In practice, most of what was achieved was provincial in scale as well as standard, but this must not obscure the fact that the Anglo-Irish elite constituted Ireland's equivalent of an *ancien régime* aristocracy. The enthusiasm that they showed for dueling, that emblem of aristocratic exceptionalism throughout Europe, is merely the most obvious manifestation, but it is also exemplified in the general embrace of the ideals of civic virtue and, in the political sphere, of patriotism.

The Patriots' belief in the virtue of self-government climaxed during the late 1770s and early 1780s, when the Irish parliament secured the right to free trade within the empire (1780) and the right to make law untrammelled by restriction (1782). The late-eighteenth-century Irish parliament was legislatively active, but the atavistic incapacity of a majority of the Irish Protestant elite to perceive how they could possibly broaden the parameters of their constitution to admit Catholics caused many of their number to seek security in the rhetoric of Protestant Ascendancy from the mid-1780s. The popularity of this ideology, misleadingly attributed

Castletown House, Co. Kildare, the most splendid of the great houses of the Protestant Ascendancy. Built (1722–1732) for William Connolly, Speaker of the House of Commons, it was designed by Alessandro Galilei and Sir Edward Pearce. © DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT, HERITAGE & LOCAL GOVERNMENT PHOTO UNIT. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

to mercantile and urban interests by William J. McCormack, extended across the Protestant elite. It was tangibly increased in the 1790s by the admission of Catholics to the franchise as well as by the emergence of republican separatism with the United Irishmen. Faced with the implications of redefining their constitution and identity to accommodate Catholics and with the threat of separation from Great Britain, many Irish Protestants found the rhetoric of continued Protestant Ascendancy more compelling. They found it more acceptable indeed to accede to the abolition of the Irish parliament, even though this body had been critical to their capacity to express their vision for Ireland when their influence was at its greatest during the mid-eighteenth century. The enactment of an Anglo-Irish union whereby, from 1 January 1801, Ireland sent one hundred MPs to the newly formed imperial parliament at Westminster paradoxically represented a milestone in the decline of the Protestant Ascendancy as a historical phenomenon.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Penal Laws; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Religion: Since 1690

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James Kelly

DECLINE, 1800 TO 1930

During the course of the nineteenth century the term *ascendancy*—whether *Protestant* or *Anglo-Irish*—gradually shed its earlier connotations of a political condition reflecting Protestant hegemony and came to be applied almost exclusively to the Protestant landed class, ignoring those in other walks of life. The landed class (comprising up to ten thousand families in the mid-nineteenth century) was itself far from homogeneous; the estates of most landlords could be measured in hundreds rather than thousands of acres, but a few hundred landlords owned over ten thousand acres each. Recent scholarship has tended to qualify the stereotypical nationalist depiction of the rack-renting landlord, and casts doubt on the view that Catholic landlords, whose numbers were increasing in the postfamine era, were in general more sympathetic toward their tenants.

The Act of Union of 1800 weakened the Ascendancy by removing a parliament that they had been able to monopolize, and which had served to enhance their Irish credentials. A further blow came with the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, which allowed Catholics to sit in Parliament, but until the 1880s the very limited franchise meant that the bulk of Irish seats were still filled by propertied Protestants. Of greater immediate consequence for the Protestant community was the passing of the Irish Municipal Corporations Act of 1840, which abolished the bulk of the urban corporations—town governments created by the Crown. Despite being legally open to Catholics since 1793, their composition had remained almost exclusively Protestant. A uniform £10 household vote was introduced for the remainder. The act facilitated the transfer of control of the surviving corporations (except in Ulster) from Protestants to Catholics. Together with the legacy of the 1798 rebellion and a postwar agricultural slump, it prompted emigration among middle-class and poorer Protestants. It has been estimated that up to half a million Protestants left Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century. In Ulster, Protestant numbers were sufficiently high to enable such losses to be absorbed

without much effect on the social structure. Elsewhere, the middle-class hemorrhage left the landed class dangerously exposed. Overall, the Protestant proportion of the population dropped from well over one-quarter in the eighteenth century to little over one-fifth by 1861, and in the three southern provinces the proportion was only about 10 percent (Vaughan and Fitzpatrick 1978).

In 1869 the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland removed a serious grievance of Catholics and (some) Presbyterians, but after the initial shock, it had an invigorating effect. Church members took advantage of the financial arrangements for compensation to secure the church's future, and it was to remain an important and influential institution, particularly for southern Protestants, four-fifths of whom were members. At this time Protestant landlords still enjoyed dominance in rural local government through the grand-jury system and boards of poor-law guardians. However, the advent of competitive examinations for the civil service in the 1850s, together with the establishment of the Queen's Colleges, gradually improved the prospects of Catholics for state employment.

The cause of land reform first made significant headway in the aftermath of the Great Famine, which had highlighted the lack of security of tenure for tenants. A limited land act was passed in 1870. Subsequently, a run of poor harvests created serious hardship for small tenant farmers in the west of Ireland and led to the formation in 1879 of the Irish National Land League, which pledged to resist rack rents and landlordism, an institution portrayed as anti-Irish. The ensuing land-reform agitation, which continued intermittently until the 1920s, witnessed rent strikes and other tactics designed to weaken landlord control, and prompted a series of measures from government (in 1881, 1885, 1891, 1903, and 1909) that facilitated the purchase by tenants of their holdings, a process that was still not fully complete by 1921. The Local Government Act of 1898, substituting elected county councils for Protestant-controlled grand juries and extending the vote in local government elections, further marginalized the Ascendancy.

The land issue helped to drive the Ascendancy toward the Conservative Party, and this was reinforced when the advent of an effective Irish Nationalist Party at Westminster in the 1880s prompted successive Liberal governments to back Home Rule. Protestants in the three southern provinces were the first to mobilize in defense of the Union, but the extension of the vote in 1884 to all male householders enabled Nationalists, with the backing of many of the Catholic clergy, to win 85 percent of the Irish seats in Parliament. Only in Ulster could Unionists win significant electoral support. Their sup-



Douglas Hyde (1860–1949), son of a Protestant clergyman, collector and translator of folklore and poetry in the Irish language, one of the founders of the Gaelic League, and president of Ireland from 1937 to 1945. Shown here with his daughter Mrs. Sealy and children. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

port for the Union, predicated on the assumption that “Home Rule was Rome Rule,” was reinforced by economic considerations, especially trade with Britain and the empire; the industrialization of linen manufacture and the rise of the shipyards had contributed to the spectacular growth of Belfast’s population from about 25,000 in 1800 to 350,000 in 1901, of whom three-quarters were Protestants (Vaughn and Fitzpatrick 1978). With a Home Rule measure due to come into effect after World War I, the decision of Ulster Unionists to accept partition for six of the nine counties in the historic province (embodied in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 and the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921) had the effect of leaving Protestants in the twenty-six counties resentful and largely leaderless.

Although the territorial and political powers of the Ascendancy had been greatly reduced even before the

revolutionary period (1919–1923), Protestants were not exempt from the troubles of those years. Many suffered intimidation and even murder; their houses often were raided for arms, and some were burned. Some Protestant businesses were boycotted. The Gaelic and Catholic ethos of the Irish Free State was uncongenial to most Protestants, and all this tended to deter them from participating fully in public life, though the Senate afforded some opportunities for Protestant representation in the *Oireachtas* (legislature). The transition to independence in the south led to a marked exodus of Protestant residents (not only British army personnel), some of whom moved to Northern Ireland, increasing the concentration of Protestants there. The Protestant population of the Free State dropped from 10 percent in 1911 to 7 percent in 1926, with the greatest losses occurring in areas where their numbers had been fewest (Vaughn

and Fitzpatrick 1978). However, their small numbers, generally comfortable circumstances, and the partial earlier transfer of land ownership to tenants helped somewhat to protect southern Protestants in the new state, and for some time to come they were regarded by the Catholic majority with a mixture of deference, resentment, and envy.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Catholic Emancipation Campaign; Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Famine Clearances; Great Famine; Great War; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Hyde, Douglas; Irish Tithe Act of 1838; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land Purchase Acts of 1903 and 1909; Land Questions; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Local Government since 1800; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Plan of Campaign; Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; Protestant Community in Southern Ireland since 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Tenant Right, or Ulster Custom; Tithe War (1830–1838); Unionism from 1885 to 1922; United Irish League Campaigns; **Primary Documents:** Irish Act of Union (1 August 1800)

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Jacqueline Hill

Protestant Community in Southern Ireland since 1922

The Irish Free State was born in a period of great political and community turbulence, but when it had been legally constituted in 1922, Archbishop Gregg of Dublin urged his church to obey the laws of the new state and to work for its peace and prosperity. Some Protestants with a conspicuous unionist record, or closely identified with the British armed services and other agencies of the Crown, suffered violence to their persons and property, and many felt themselves to be in a vulnerable position as members of the former landed ascendancy class. While physical violence against Protestants was not endemic, many felt pain in adjusting to the new regime in which their cultural heritage was to be relegated to second place in favor of a Gaelic Ireland, and society regulated according to Vatican precepts. Many of those who could do so emigrated to Britain or migrated to Northern Ireland, thus accelerating the decline in the Protestant population that had affected in particular the western and southern counties long before partition. The withdrawal from Ireland of military personnel, many of whom had been Protestant, together with casualties in World War I, contributed to the demographic decline. The "mixed marriage" regulations of the Roman Catholic Church, whereby the partners promised that all children of the marriage would be brought up in the Catholic tradition, also had an impact. Eventually Protestants constituted less than 5 percent of the population. Consequently the Protestant community endeavored to provide separate educational and recreational opportunities for its youth that would minimize social contact with Catholics; this policy, when seen in the context of a popular view that Protestants belonged to an ascendancy class, caused them sometimes to be regarded as aloof and disdainful of the Catholic community, which indeed some of them were.

Southern Irish Protestants, while law-abiding citizens of the new state, found much that was alien to them in the early decades of independence. The unique status given to Irish in the educational system was uncongenial to many—if not most—Protestants, who felt little sympathy with the compulsion used to restore the language. Social legislation, particularly in the areas of divorce, family planning, and censorship of publications, reflected Vatican teaching, and claims by unionist leaders in Northern Ireland that they had a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people were matched by public statements by some southern politicians equating Irish Catholics with the Irish people.

However, Protestants did not readily surrender their claim to Irish identity, conscious that the leaders of Irish political and cultural nationalism included Protestant names such as Theobald Wolfe Tone, Thomas Russell, Robert Emmet, the Sheares brothers, Napper Tandy, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Charles Stewart Parnell, Lady Gregory, J. M. Synge, Sean O'Casey, and W.B. Yeats. The view that to be truly Irish one also must be Catholic was impossible to sustain in the case of President Douglas Hyde, son of a Church of Ireland rector and a cofounder of the Gaelic League, which was dedicated to the revival of the Irish language. Protestants could therefore have confidence in their Irish credentials. This sense of confidence was enhanced by a secure position in Irish intellectual, professional, and commercial life, and by an awareness that despite evidence that there was a confessional character to much public policy, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century, their contribution to Irish life was valued.

The late twentieth century saw radical changes in both Protestant attitudes and attitudes toward Protestants. They welcomed liberalizing changes in public policy, largely supported by public opinion. Protestants claimed to have played some part in achieving these changes, not least through the opening up of political and social discourse by such erstwhile Protestant and unionist fastnesses as Trinity College, Dublin, and the *Irish Times*. An increasingly independent broadcasting environment played its part: television audiences were thrilled by public discussion of issues, moral and theological, previously regarded as the exclusive preserve of the ecclesiastical authorities, while both television and radio conveyed the excitement of Vatican II to the people of the Republic (as the Free State had become in 1949) at a time of greatly improved economic development and enhanced educational opportunity. Vatican II, which created unease in some conservative circles north and south, was a major catalyst in the emergence of a society in which Protestants have felt increasingly comfortable.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Ecumenism and Interchurch Relations; Eucharistic Congress; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Jewish Community; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Religion: Since 1690

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Kenneth Milne

Protestant Immigrants

Among the groups of continental Protestants who migrated to Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Huguenots from France were the single largest group. This article focuses on their settlement and also discusses another major immigrant group, the Palatines from Germany.

In 1685 Louis XIV of France issued the Edict of Fontainebleau, thereby finally ending a nearly hundred-year period of religious coexistence between Protestants and Catholics in his realm. The edict had been preceded by harsh government measures to force the Huguenots into conformity with the Catholic Church, among them the so-called *dragonnades*. As a consequence, there was a mass exodus of Huguenots, who settled in Europe from east to west—in Protestant territories of the Holy Roman Empire, such as Brandenburg, as well as in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Britain, and Ireland. Although the number of immigrants to each of these countries can only be estimated, about 7,000 to 10,000 Huguenots settled in Ireland, compared with between 14,000 and 20,000 in Brandenburg-Prussia and about 50,000 to 80,000 in England.

The Huguenot immigration to Ireland occurred in three distinct phases. During the first phase, between 1662 and 1680, the viceroy of Ireland, James Butler, first duke of Ormonde, was the driving force behind the establishment of a Huguenot community. Ormonde hoped for economic stimuli and a bolstering of Protes-

tantism by encouraging Huguenots to settle in Ireland. An "Act for encouraging Protestant strangers and others to inhabit and plant in the kingdom of Ireland" was passed by the Irish parliament in 1662, thus providing a legal basis for immigration. During this first phase only about 180 Huguenots came to Ireland. This community was overwhelmingly mercantile and settled exclusively in Dublin. It dwindled to sixty persons just before the second phase of settlement began in 1680.

The second phase of Huguenot settlement in Ireland, between 1681 and 1691, coincided with the dragonnades and the Edict of Fontainebleau. By 1687 about 400 to 650 Huguenots lived in Dublin. Only the third phase of immigration, after 1692, resulted in the settlement of a substantial Huguenot population in Ireland. In 1692, the Irish parliament passed an "Act for encouragement of Protestant strangers to settle in this kingdom of Ireland." The refugees settled mainly in the harbor towns of Ireland—in Cork, Waterford, Wexford, Dundalk, Belfast, and of course Dublin.

Two settlement projects, one successful and one unsuccessful, stand out in this otherwise scattered migration. Both projects were initiated by the leading Huguenot refugee in Ireland, Henry Massue, marquis de Ruvigny, baron of Portarlinton (from 1691), and earl of Galway (from 1697). The successful one was the settlement of Huguenot veterans from William III's armies in the town of Portarlinton from 1692 onwards. The unsuccessful one intended to transport thousands of Huguenots stranded in Switzerland to Ireland. Entitled "le projet d'Irlande," it was initiated by Ruvigny in 1693, but English and Swiss funds for the project were withdrawn and it came to nothing.

Compared to steps taken in other European countries, notably German territories such as Brandenburg-Prussia where the Huguenots were given extensive special rights, the Irish acts of parliament did not make provision for separating the "Protestant strangers" from the rest of Irish society. The Huguenot refugees in Ireland were not granted their own jurisdiction, but had to avail themselves of the Irish courts of law. Although they were granted some economic privileges, these were far less extensive than those in states such as Brandenburg. All in all, the Irish immigration laws guided Huguenot refugees toward integration into Irish society, not separation from it. Apart from Portarlinton, where French traditions survived into the nineteenth century, Huguenots quickly integrated into Irish Protestant society.

In terms of religion the position of the Huguenots in Irish society was deeply influenced by the complex religious makeup of their host country, where the Anglican established church, the Church of Ireland, was in a

minority position and was confronted with a Catholic majority on the one hand and a substantial Nonconformist presence, mostly Presbyterians in Ulster, on the other. The first act of 1662 required Huguenots to swear the oath of supremacy, thereby accepting the king as head of the Church of Ireland. Viceroy Ormonde was determined to integrate the refugees into the state church. After the example of the conformist "French Church of the Savoy," which had been founded in London some years earlier, he established a conformist Huguenot church in Dublin in 1666. This was called "French Patrick" because it held its services in the Lady-chapel of Saint Patrick's Cathedral. Its pastors were paid by the state church. In return for using a French translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* and accepting the authority of the bishops of the Church of Ireland, "French Patrick" was allowed to hold its services in French and to establish a Presbyterian church order. However, this compromise was not acceptable to many Huguenots, who started to drift away from "French Patrick" to form Nonconformist conventicles elsewhere.

The act of 1692 completely changed the religious conditions for refugees by granting them "the free exercise of their religion in their own several rites used in their own countries, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding" ("An act for encouragement of Protestant strangers to settle in this kingdom of Ireland" [1692]). This led to the establishment of conformist as well as Nonconformist Huguenot churches in Ireland. Despite the granting of religious freedom, the Nonconformist groups came repeatedly under pressure from the established church, notably in Portarlinton.

It is generally difficult to gauge the contribution that refugees make to the cultural and economic development of their adopted country. However, with regard to the Huguenots, there are some areas where their role was palpable, although recent historiography is less certain about it. The large Huguenot contribution of soldiers and officers in William III's armies, including at the Battle of the Boyne, is part of the story. Economically, Huguenot influence was also significant: Besides Huguenot merchants operating successfully in Irish cities, Huguenots rapidly assumed importance in the Irish linen and banking industries. Louis Crommelin successfully established the linen industry in the north of Ireland, and David Dignes La Touche began a highly successful banking business in Dublin. The La Touche family also established the silk- and poplin-weaving industries in Dublin. Moreover, Huguenots were active as silversmiths and goldsmiths as well as in the learned professions. They also contributed to the cultural development of Ireland. One of the more enduring traditions of Portarlinton was the creation of boarding schools,

which had a very high reputation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition, the promotion of gardening is attributed to Huguenot influence.

In contrast to the Huguenots, whose settlement in Ireland can be called a success and who were quickly integrated into Irish Protestant society, the intended settlement of another major group of foreign Protestant immigrants, the Palatines, caused many problems. In 1708 and 1709 about 11,000 to 13,500 people left the Palatinate and other regions in southwestern Germany as a consequence of the invasions of Louis XIV's armies. They made their way to England via the Netherlands with the intention of moving on to the North American colonies of the British Crown. While a substantial number of these so-called Palatines made it to North America, others remained in England and about 3,000 persons were sent to Ireland. Although there had also been Catholics among the original refugees (southwestern Germany was a confessionally mixed area), they had been sent back to Germany by the British government, and only Protestants were allowed to acquire lands under the British Crown.

When the suggestion was first made to settle Palatines in Ireland, the Irish parliament was enthusiastic about the idea, arguing that "they will prove an occasion of strength to the Protestant interest of this nation, especially considering the disproportion between the Protestants and the Papists in this kingdom" (Hick 1989, p. 120). With substantial financial support from the government and private donors in Ireland, 821 families were sent to Dublin in September and October 1709.

It quickly turned out that most of them could not be settled in Ireland successfully. The exact reasons for this are difficult to ascertain, but it seems that the Palatines might have been led to expect very favorable conditions in Ireland (e.g., rent-free lands). In any case, they were so discontented that about 60 percent of them returned to England, and from there, many made their way back to Germany. By November 1711 only 312 Palatine families (1,218 persons) remained in Ireland; the number further decreased to 185 families by 1720. While some stayed in Dublin and others were scattered about the country, most—115 families—were settled on the lands of Sir Thomas Southwell in County Limerick. In spite of continuing financial difficulties and conflicts, they became permanently settled there, growing hemp and flax and conforming to the established church. However, the language barrier between the Palatines and their English and Irish neighbors in Ireland was not overcome for a long time. The Palatines continued to intermarry and formed a distinct community,

retaining their language and cultural traditions at least until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO Economy and Society from 1500 to 1690; Urban Life, Crafts, and Industry from 1500 to 1690

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Ute Lotz-Heumann

Protestant Reformation in the Early Sixteenth Century

The failure of the Protestant Reformation in Ireland was not inevitable. There was a considerable degree of (at least nominal) conformity to the initial stages of the Tudors' reformation, especially among the Old English. It was not until Elizabeth I's reign that a passive antipathy to religious change was galvanized into a general adherence to the Counter-Reformation.

EVE OF REFORMATION

The fortunes of the Irish Church revived from the mid-fifteenth century, particularly in the English lordship. There was considerable investment in parish churches, and many chantries were founded. Contemporary wills reflect a strong piety. In the case of Armagh diocese it has been shown that the church provided pastoral care through a dense network of churches and chapels staffed with resident priests. Diocesan synods (meetings of clergy) were used to raise standards. Episcopal visitations were conducted regularly and the church courts

processed suits to some effect. In the most anglicized parts of Ireland the diocesan church was in relatively good order, and the laity engaged in forms of piety that would have been familiar to Christians elsewhere in Europe.

The foundation of no fewer than ninety new friaries after 1400 is further evidence of the religious revival. Many of the new communities were "observant," committed to a stricter observance of ascetic rules, and observantism won over most of the existing communities in Ireland. In the diocesan church across much of the country the greatest problem was not the prevalence of clerical concubinage or the tendency of clergymen's sons to seek preferment in the church, but rather the poverty of the institution. The practice of subsistence agriculture among the Irish, and the frequency of petty wars and general lawlessness, depressed clerical incomes. Consequently, church buildings were often in a poor state. Few Irish clergymen could afford a university education, which could only be obtained abroad. Yet there were generally resident clergy in place to meet the pastoral needs of the laity, except in districts wasted by war.

THE ADVENT OF REFORMATION

Henry VIII sent a new lord deputy, Sir William Skeffington, to Ireland in June 1534 with instructions to terminate the pope's jurisdiction. That contributed to the outbreak of rebellion. The rebel leader, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, eldest son of the ninth earl of Kildare, was not motivated primarily by religious concerns, but he exploited popular opposition to Henry VIII's assault on the church to maximize his support within Ireland and to attract help from the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. Clergy throughout Ireland roused support for his avowed crusade and its initial success owed something to the popular distaste for religious change. The rebellion failed for want of support from Catholic Europe, yet it demonstrated the widespread hostility toward Henry VIII's innovations. In the immediate aftermath of the suppression of the rebellion there was a large garrison of English troops quartered in Ireland, a guarantee that the English Crown's wishes could not be ignored.

The Irish Reformation Parliament was convened on 1 May 1536, and within a month the lords and Commons had endorsed bills altering the church. The justification offered for the king's supremacy over the Irish Church (replacing that of the pope) was political rather than religious. There was significant lay opposition to the bill for the suppression of monasteries, but the parliamentarians bowed to Henry VIII's determination to dissolve these religious communities.

There was little Protestant preaching in Ireland, apart from the efforts of George Browne, archbishop of Dublin (1536–1554). Browne found that his words fell on deaf ears. He could not persuade his senior clergy to endorse the Henrician reformation, and, indeed, they worked against it behind the scenes. He also encountered considerable hostility from "observant" friars. Nonetheless, Browne conducted a visitation and subsequently issued a set of injunctions early in 1538 that promoted the royal supremacy; otherwise he was fairly conservative. Vicegerent Thomas Cromwell's second set of injunctions were published in October 1538, not only in Dublin but also in much of southeastern Ireland. His injunction against notable images or relics was widely implemented in the Pale, but often evaded elsewhere.

Archbishop Browne's efforts to promote religious change were hampered by Lord Deputy Grey, who treated the unpopular archbishop with open contempt. Grey calculated that the political costs of rigorously enforcing the king's reformation in Ireland were impractically high. His successor, Anthony Saint Leger, lord deputy from July 1540, took advantage of the temporary retreat from Protestant doctrine in the English parliament's Six Articles of 1539 to promote a royal supremacy in Ireland shorn of doctrinal or liturgical innovation. It was a strategy that worked well and won wide acceptance for a schismatic but still very conservative religious settlement.

IMPACT OF THE REFORMATION

All of the Reformation statutes sanctioned by the Irish parliament were enforced with varying degrees of success. Over much of Ireland the English Crown displaced the papacy in terms of taxation and faculties and as the final court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes. The religious houses were dissolved with the cooperation of local juries. This was the most dramatic feature of the Henrician reformation. In terms of pastoral care the suppression of the mendicant orders impoverished the spiritual lives of the people in a direct fashion. Yet the loss was not complete. Some mendicant communities continued to maintain their ministry in the Pale, while others took refuge beyond the Pale, to return in Mary Tudor's reign.

Henry VIII did nothing to reform the diocesan church. The poverty of the benefices and the dismal stipends available to unbeneficed curates made it extremely difficult to promote graduate priests who might have favored the Reformation. The failure to establish a university in Ireland (until 1592), or a training college for the ministers of the Henrician church added to the staffing problems of the reformed church. Throughout the

early Tudor reformation most of the Irish clergy were trained in the late medieval manner, inclining them toward the practice of traditional religion.

The Edwardian reformation got off to a very slow start in Ireland while Saint Leger remained as lord deputy. However, after the deputy's recall in May 1548, Archbishop Browne promoted a "book of Reformation" in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin and introduced the first *Book of Common Prayer* in the following year. Bishop Edward Staples distinguished himself by preaching Protestantism in the diocese of Meath—much to the chagrin of his congregations. The fiery Protestant Bishop John Bale was very active in Kilkenny. The Protestant *Book of Common Prayer* was widely used in churches in Old English areas of Ireland. However, with the connivance of Saint Leger (he returned as deputy in August 1550) Primate George Dowdall of Armagh resisted the Edwardian reformation until the summer of 1551, when Saint Leger's final recall left him exposed to the likelihood of arrest and imprisonment. Dowdall fled and took refuge in the monastery at Centre in the Netherlands. His Protestant successor never reached Armagh, and the diocese may have escaped the imposition of the Edwardian reformation altogether before King Edward VI died in July 1553.

Henry VIII largely succeeded in displacing the papacy's jurisdiction over the church in the Pale and beyond. The first Jesuits in Ireland in 1542 formed a very bleak impression of the prospects for the Catholic Church there. With hindsight it is clear that they were unduly pessimistic: the church in Ireland proved to be open to reinvigoration by the Counter-Reformation. Nonetheless, as long as the senior clergy and secular elites were prepared to acquiesce in the Tudors' royal supremacy over the church, and generally conform to the Edwardian *Book of Common Prayer*, there was a distinct possibility that a Protestant Reformation might eventually succeed, at least in the most English part of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Edwardian Reform; Marian Restoration; Monarchy; Religion: 1500 to 1690

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Henry A. Jefferies



Puritan Sectaries

Protestantism in Ireland was precariously established among a minority of its inhabitants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For the most part it remained the confession of the immigrants from England, Wales, and Scotland, but just as they brought their Protestantism with them, so too they arrived with a variety of forms of worship. In particular, those from Scotland often came with the Presbyterian preferences that marked the national church in Scotland after the Reformation. The resultant diversity in doctrine and ritual among Irish Protestants offended Charles I and his archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. Their agents in Ireland—Lord Deputy Wentworth and John Bramhall, bishop of Derry—attempted to achieve religious uniformity among the Protestants of Ireland. This drive was resisted by Scots Presbyterians in Ulster, who were prosecuted for their nonconformity. Soon, the uprising of 1641 brought Scottish armies into Ulster. The commanders protected Presbyterianism on the Scottish model, so that it survived and then thrived. By 1659 five presbyteries in Antrim, Down, the Route, Laggan, and Tyrone oversaw the separate churches. By 1689, seventy-two separate sessions or congregations attracted perhaps 18,000 worshippers.

Scottish Presbyterianism was merely one component in an increasingly fragmented Protestant community. Separatism had not been a problem elsewhere in Ireland before 1641. However, the presence in the island throughout the 1640s of forces dispatched from England and Wales rapidly introduced a multiplicity of religious practices. In 1647 the Directory of Worship, a religious formulary imposed by the English parliament, replaced the ceremonies and government by bishops enshrined in the now banned *Book of Common Prayer*. In Ireland spontaneous enthusiasm for these changes was limited because Protestants were primarily worried

about containing and defeating the insurgent Catholics. However, the arrival in 1649 of a large army from England brought sectaries as its chaplains and provided them with auditors. As English authority was reintroduced across the island, Protestantism was again actively promoted. Ministers, mainly English but also some Welsh and Scots, were invited to officiate in Ireland. In England the collapse of episcopacy and the proscription of the old Anglican liturgy had produced a confused situation in which Presbyterians, religious Independents (the future Congregationalists), and General and Particular Baptists all flourished. Adherents of each of these sects came to Ireland. Some were formally invited and were given state stipends. The best paid were installed in Dublin, where the most Protestants were concentrated. The favored served as chaplains to the parliamentary commissioners who governed the country, or (after 1653) to the lord deputy and councillors in Dublin. Notable among them was Samuel Winter, minister of the Independent congregation that assembled in the former Christ Church cathedral, and head of Dublin University as provost of Trinity College from 1652 to 1660.

As in England, so too in Ireland, different practices continued, although there were attempts to silence those who professed unorthodox beliefs. Some groups resented the freedom and favor allowed to their rivals and schemed to curtail them. In addition, divergences in confessional affiliation frequently coincided with and sometimes aggravated political differences. The religious Independents and Baptists, for example, were associated with the permissive attitudes of the lord deputy, Charles Fleetwood. Some Presbyterians looked to Fleetwood's rival Henry Cromwell as their particular patron. The Presbyterians, moreover, split between those who favored the Scottish and English schemes of church government. By the 1650s the Scottish Presbyterians in Ireland had reproduced the divisions between Resolutioners and Remonstrants in Scotland. The situation was further complicated when new groups of English origin, such as the Ranters, Fifth Monarchists, and Quakers, appeared in Ireland. Of these, the Quakers made the most headway and became a permanent presence. Like other sectaries, they owed their initial successes to support within the occupying army. But more than most of their rivals, the Quakers prospered by widening their appeal to embrace civilians in towns and countryside.

The longer history of the Quakers as a distinct confession in Protestant Ireland illustrates the problem bequeathed by the interregnum. Efforts to check the most disruptive and unorthodox preachers had had only limited success. After 1660, in Ireland as in England, the restoration of the Stuart monarchy was quickly fol-

lowed by the restoration of the established episcopal church. By 1666 attendance at and conformity with the services of the Church of Ireland were required, and nonconformists (i.e., sectarians) were punished. At moments of panic, known leaders might be rounded up and imprisoned. In addition, those who broke the law by refusing to pay tithes toward the maintenance of the clergy of the established church (notably the Quakers) had goods seized and were sometimes imprisoned.

The need for Protestant solidarity in the face of the danger from the large Catholic majority persuaded some former sectaries to conform to the state church. Among them were two ministers, Henry Jones and Edward Worth, who had accepted salaries from the Cromwellians and then bishoprics from Charles II. In a similar spirit, some bishops, conscious of the need to include as many Protestants as possible, did not enquire too closely into the practices of erstwhile dissenters. Yet, despite these accommodations and concessions, sectarian congregations survived after 1660. The most tenacious were in Ulster, Dublin, and the larger towns.

In Ulster the Scottish Presbyterians built on the foundations established in the 1640s and 1650s. They were assisted by the continuing emigration from Scotland to the north of Ireland, especially in the 1690s. Also, a degree of indulgence was accorded to the group, which technically was outside the law. From 1672 onwards, the Irish state was authorized to supplement the stipends of docile Presbyterian pastors through a grant known as the king's gift (*regium donum*). Strictly defined, the Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster were not sectaries. They believed as firmly as the adherents of the Church of Ireland in a state church—technically, they were an offshoot of the Presbyterian kirk of Scotland, the legally established church of that kingdom, and organized as such through the Synod of Ulster. The Presbyterians in Ireland were subjected to further serious legal inhibitions when in 1704 a Test Act was passed. This confined many important public offices and the full exercise of citizenship to the communicant members of the Church of Ireland. Thereafter, the Presbyterians were treated more like the Irish Catholics than like their conformist Protestant neighbors.

Other Dissenters also felt the effects of the Test Act. Through strategies such as occasional conformity—taking holy communion according to the Church of Ireland's rites at least once a year—and through the forbearance of the authorities in not insisting on certificates of such conformity, it was possible for some Protestant Dissenters to evade the ban. Nevertheless, since 1660 they had faced potential and sometimes actual discrimination. This grievance drew them into political activism, but hopes of the repeal of penalties were

disappointed. A Toleration Act was delayed until 1719 and did not remove the disabilities in the Test Act.

The inability of the Dissenters in Ireland to obtain the favors granted to their compatriots in Scotland and England after 1690 suggested a lack of political influence. Few within the Irish landed elite still adhered to the sectaries by 1700. Their strength came from the renewed influx of Scottish Presbyterians into Ulster and the continuing attractions of English Presbyterianism, religious Independency, and Quakerism for the merchants, craft-workers, and artisans of the towns. Some groups from the 1650s, such as the Baptists, Independents, and English Presbyterians, dwindled into near invisibility. Their fate contrasted with that of the Scottish Presbyterians and Quakers, and—from the 1740s—the newly arrived Methodists. These contrasts owed much to whether or not the sects developed institutions through which they could train and pay ministers and discipline and relieve their adherents. In turn, success in these spheres reflected not only the numbers, commitment, and prosperity of the congregations in Ireland, but also their links with associates in Britain, Holland, and North America.

SEE ALSO Butler, James, Twelfth Earl and First Duke of Ormond; Calvinist Influences in Early Modern Ireland; Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Cromwellian Conquest; Restoration Ireland; Solemn League and Covenant

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Toby Barnard



Raiftearaí (Raftery), Antaine

A native of Mayo, the Irish-language poet Antaine Raiftearaí (anglicized Anthony Raftery, 1779–1835) spent most of his life in east Galway and his home county. Contemporary manuscript copies of his work and later oral tradition suggest that he was well remembered throughout Connacht. He came posthumously to national prominence in the early 1900s as one of the few nineteenth-century Gaelic composers whose output attracted scholarly notice. His first modern editor, Douglas Hyde (1903), heard Raiftearaí's verse recited in County Roscommon during his youth in the 1870s. Hyde assembled written and spoken versions of his poems, rendered them into English, and did much to shape interpretation of their author's career. Subsequent anthologization for school curricula of items like his lament for a boating tragedy in Annaghdown on the southeastern shores of Lough Corrib in 1828, when twenty-eight people were drowned, led to ongoing awareness of Raiftearaí throughout the twentieth century. In 1987 Ciarán Ó Coigligh provided the authoritative up-to-date edition of his poems, complete with critical apparatus and extensive annotation, but without English translations. Some fifty more of Raiftearaí's compositions survive, amounting to about 4,000 lines of verse. Because only one-fifth of them can be dated, editors have grouped the works thematically. The poems and extant folk memories are an impressive record of their creator's culture and community. They furnish the relatively sparse surviving details of his own life.

Raiftearaí apparently lost his sight when he was five years old. He made his living as a wandering musician and poet, traveling extensively throughout a clus-

ter of adjacent Connacht baronies, walking mainly, as references to the appalling state of his footwear indicate. Claims of his having been in various Munster venues are probably literary inventions. His disability would appear to have prevented him from visiting locations like the pilgrimage mountain, Croagh Patrick, where he had been advised to go to atone for his sins. He was often attracted to his destinations by accounts of the hospitality that he might receive there. Minor local gentry like the Taaffes of Killeeden, Co. Mayo, or the Lynches of Lavally, Co. Galway, welcomed him. Praise of their towns, villages and homes, and of the individuals themselves, is a major strand of his work. He mentions the Catholic clergy, but there is less evidence that they supported him. Raiftearaí seems to have received much assistance from successful or prosperous tradesmen whom he extolled. Some of them, such as the Galway carpenter Seán Mac Conraoi, were literate, and they may have begun writing down his output. Certain of his numerous verse portraits of women might also have been commissions. His vagrant lifestyle and evident fondness for taverns and good company may have overtaken him eventually; he already described himself as aged in a composition from 1832. A serious cholera outbreak, which lasted in the west until 1835, was possibly responsible for his demise, although the precise reasons for his death are unknown.

Raiftearaí's poetry is a rich source of information concerning those with whom he came into contact. It outlines the lives of his landowning benefactors, their estates, demesnes, livestock and fauna, houses, furnishings, tableware and other accoutrements, and their feasting and alternative pastimes. Proximity to coastal and lakeland settings is reflected in his patrons' varied marine and freshwater food supplies. The manufacturing processes and output of his tradesmen supporters—tailors, weavers, smiths, and joiners, among others—

are also set out in detail. The inventory of what his carpenter friend Mac Conraoi could produce by way of farm implements, house fittings, and boating equipment amounts to over fifty items. Intellectual as well as material subjects figure in his work. Raftery shows residual familiarity with and sympathy for the revolutionary republican ideology of 1798. By the 1820s he supported Catholic Emancipation, as seen in his endorsement of the “Catholic rent” and his satisfaction at O’Connell’s County Clare by-election victory in 1828. He approved of the antitithe protests in the early 1830s, having earlier been an opponent of Protestant proselytizing societies. Because of their focus on public events, these writings can be dated more accurately than his others.

Whether personal or political, a standard Raiftearaí poem has an easily recognizable configuration. Most of his works are six to eight stanzas, eight lines each, in *ochtfhoclach* meter, based on the stress patterns of contemporary speech. Because detailed description is such a pronounced feature of his style, incremental listing (of the contents of a patron’s home, or details of a tradesman’s craft, for example) is a dominant characteristic. This may have served as a mnemonic device for its unsighted author, and suggests an interaction with oral compositional techniques. In this connection his strategies deserve to be compared with those of another blind nineteenth-century composer, the Listowel-based D. C. Hennessy (de Brún 2001). Raiftearaí’s efforts to secure credit as the originator of a work can be seen in first- or third-person references to his own surname at the beginning or end of many poems, in a pattern similar to a painter’s signature. This device and the recitation of his poems to evocative song (*amhrán*) airs and melodies might have ensured accurate ascription of certain compositions to him in oral memory. His more extensive works deal with religious topics like the imminence of death, or retell the history of Ireland. The historical poems are informed by items from traditional handwritten sources, thus hinting at the presence of manuscript materials in Connacht. They also attest to the methods of assimilation and subsequent recreation of these sources.

Raiftearaí often depicts himself as a skilled composer of verse in Irish and an authoritative spokesperson for his audience (Denvir 2000). He implicitly contrasts his attainments with the artistic shortcomings (not to mention venality) of other Galway-based poets such as the Calnans, whom he criticizes in poems of considerable length and satirical invective. All of these indicators suggest that he was an active participant in a cultural community of considerable vitality, diversity, and self-awareness. Much of its vigor may have derived from

the obviously enduring strength of the Irish language in the poet’s day. Borrowed or adapted English terms do figure in the details of what his tradesmen patrons could produce, but even here an indigenous technical vocabulary remains prominent. Raiftearaí’s own ability to generate acceptable new word formations (for instance, noun compounds) is noteworthy. This linguistic creativity mirrors his own lively intelligence, alertness, and conviviality as well as the enduring resourcefulness of his tradition. Such an image contrasts with the impression which the poem *Mise Raiftearaí* (doubtfully attributed to him) conveys, that of a forlorn and desolate individual. Those characteristics more accurately describe the Ireland which witnessed the collapse of Gaelic civilization in 1845, ten years after his death, rather than the dynamism of the composer’s actual life and times.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Hyde, Douglas; Language and Literacy: Decline of Irish Language; Literacy and Popular Culture

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Neil Buttimer



Raths

With an estimated 45,000 examples, raths (also known as ringforts) represent the most common form of ancient monument in Ireland. Dating to the early Christian period, they are circular earthworks defined by a deep ditch and internal bank, enclosing an area of twenty to forty meters in diameter. Within their interiors the remains of houses and other structures have been discovered. Rathes with two or more sets of banks and ditches are also known, and these are considered the probable homes of the upper echelons of society. Rathes

are often associated with souterrains, artificial caves used for refuge and storage purposes, whereas cashels, the stone equivalents of raths, were constructed in hilly upland areas.

The origins of the rath remain uncertain; only a small number of sites have been investigated by archaeological excavation. Scientific dating suggests that the majority date to between 600 C.E. and 900 C.E., and that they fell out of use by medieval times. Finbar McCormick has proposed that during the early Christian period Ireland underwent an agricultural revolution generated by the advent of dairying. This was a time when wealth was measured in cattle, and the endemic form of warfare was raiding. Rathes may therefore have developed as a means of protecting the farming family and their valuable livestock. Their defensive capacity, however, has been questioned by Jim Mallory and Tom McNeill, but their argument has been countered by Matthew Stout, who considers raths to have been adequate for the everyday security needs of the inhabitants.

A body of folklore grew up around these monuments and they were regarded as the homes of the *sídhe* (fairies), earning them the title “fairy forts.” Until recent decades superstitious fear of retribution from the fairy-folk dissuaded country people from damaging the monuments and, as a consequence, protected many from destruction.

SEE ALSO Clachans; Landscape and Settlement; Rural Settlement and Field Systems

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Eileen M. Murphy

Rebellion of 1641

Both the Old English and the Irish harbored grievances relating to land and religion that reached back to the English conquest of Ireland during the sixteenth century

and the associated policy of plantation. Plantation had injected English and Scottish settlers into various parts of Ireland, but particularly Ulster, to the disadvantage of the former inhabitants. However, a rebellion was not inevitable, and it took most contemporary observers by surprise. In 1628, with the granting of the Graces, it appeared that the king was prepared to address the issues of security of land tenure, and even though the confirmation of these concessions into law was long delayed, in August 1641 bills giving them effect had been forwarded to Ireland. Even on the matter of religion, Catholicism enjoyed a degree of informal toleration. What transformed the situation was the successful Scottish challenge to the Crown from 1637 to 1641. As many Irish leaders remarked, they learned how to use force from the Scots. Moreover, the Scottish crisis diminished the Crown’s authority in both Ireland and England, and in the latter the consequence was the rise in influence of extreme Protestants whose rhetoric aroused fears in Ireland of the intention to extirpate all Catholics.

The plotting of preemptive action by the Irish was complex and is much debated by historians, but it is generally agreed that by October 1641 Sir Phelim O’Neill and other Irish gentry in Ulster had agreed to seize many English-controlled centers in that province. Simultaneously, colonels, who had recently arrived in Dublin to recruit soldiers for Spanish service, were to surprise Dublin Castle with the aid of some other Irish gentry from Ulster. Sir Phelim struck on 22 October, and by the next day such towns as Dungannon, Charlemont, Portadown, and Newry had fallen to the insurgents. Meanwhile, the MacMahons in Monaghan, the Maguires in Fermanagh, and the O’Reillys in Cavan seized centers of power in their counties. Thus, by early November the Irish controlled most of five northern counties. Had Dublin also been taken, English authority in Ireland might have been overwhelmed quickly, but this venture was betrayed to the government at the last moment.

Before he knew that Dublin had not been taken, Sir Phelim indicated that he intended to negotiate with the king from a position of strength, on the Scottish model, while leaving settlers in possession of their estates. But news of the failure in Dublin necessitated a forceful effort to gain as much additional territory as possible. O’Neill, who at first managed to create division between Scottish and English settlers, advanced as far north as Strabane and to Lurgan in the east by December, but as news that Dublin had not fallen reached the north, settler resistance prevented further Irish expansion in Ulster at this stage. To the south, the MacMahons had penetrated Louth by 1 November, and by 21 November they, with the assistance of the O’Reillys, had begun to



Woodcut of atrocities associated with Irish rising of 1641, massacre of Protestants. BY PERMISSION OF THE BRITISH LIBRARY, E. 1175(3).

invest Drogheda. An English relief force was intercepted at Julianstown and routed on 29 November.

Julianstown persuaded the Old English lords of the Pale to join with the northern insurgents at a meeting held on Crofty Hill on 7 December. They had become deeply suspicious that the Dublin government intended to use the crushing of the rebellion as an excuse both to extend plantation at the expense of the Catholic community as a whole and to end the tacit toleration of their religion. Important as these fears were, their action must also have been influenced by the popular support of the rebellion beyond Ulster before they met with the Irish leaders at Crofty. Leitrim, in Connacht, and Longford, in Leinster, had risen almost simultaneously with Ulster, and popular support, as demonstrated by attacks on settlers, was manifest in Louth, Meath, and Westmeath as early as October. By the end of November Catholic elements had begun to move against Protestants and the government's authority in virtually every county in Leinster save County Dublin. In Connacht the situation was more complex. The earl of Clanricarde, though Catholic, remained loyal and delayed rebellion in Galway, but in counties Sligo, Mayo, and Roscommon there was support for the rising before the meeting at Crofty. Only in Munster was there delay in providing support on the popular level, and, significantly, when

the rebellion did break out in the province, it was usually the Catholic proprietors who led it. By May 1642 the Catholic community was sufficiently united that, in conjunction with the church, it was able to create the Confederation of Kilkenny, and in July it received reinforcement in the north with the arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill, the leader of the Irish exiles on the continent and a man of proven military ability.

Reference to the popular dimension of the rebellion raises one of the most contentious issues associated with it, namely, the treatment of Protestant settlers. Economic conditions had already deteriorated when the Scottish crisis interrupted trade, and almost as soon as the rebellion began, the Irish population below the level of the gentry began to rob their Protestant neighbors, to whom they were often in debt. Thus, although Sir Phelim and many other Irish leaders had not intended spoliation, they had in effect unleashed a peasant rising over which they had little control. After about two weeks, there were instances of settlers being killed, particularly when they attempted to resist robbery. There were also reports by settlers of torture being applied to those who would not reveal where they had hidden their wealth. Large numbers of settlers fled after they were attacked, with those in the north often crossing to Scotland, and those leaving the southern counties of Ul-

ster finding refuge in Dublin and then sometimes crossing to England. Some, however, never reached sanctuary because they had been stripped naked and died of exposure in the cold weather. Others died while in captivity at the hands of their captors, although many remained captive for months or even years without being harmed. It is impossible to calculate the number who died during the first months of the rebellion. The number was not insignificant, but some additional points relating to these noncombatant casualties require emphasis. First, Irish leaders generally opposed atrocities, though local commanders sometimes initiated them. Owen Roe O'Neill put an end to them on his arrival. Second, there were relatively few cases of mass murder. Such incidents did occur, usually after an Irish defeat, when some thirty to one hundred colonists were killed at one time. The most notable instances were those at Augher, Portadown, Belturbet, and Monaghan in Ulster, and at Sligo and Shrule in Connacht. Third, some Protestants reported that priests and sometimes laypeople intervened on their behalf, though there were other reports in which priests were described as justifying atrocity or as denouncing Protestant accoutrements, such as Bibles, in a manner that encouraged hostility toward their owners. Fourth, contemporary accounts of the rebellion by Englishmen, such as Sir John Temple's, published in 1646, vastly exaggerated the number of British murdered and claimed that the killings were premeditated. The purpose of these accounts was to encourage a reconquest of Ireland by the English. Fifth, the intensity of the Irish reaction at the popular level toward the settlers (which in some instances extended even to the slaughter of English-type cattle) reflected a level of hostility toward the settlements that is hard to detect in sources predating the rebellion, and that substantially exceeded the animosities harbored towards the British within the Catholic elite. Finally, settler treatment of the Irish in quelling the rebellion equaled the ferocity that had been displayed against them.

SEE ALSO Bedell, William; Confederation of Kilkenny; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); Graces, The; Old English; O'Neill, Owen Roe; Rinuccini, Giovanni Battista; Solemn League and Covenant; Wentworth, Thomas, First Earl of Strafford; **Primary Documents:** Confederation of Kilkenny (1642); Speech to the Speaker of the House of Commons (1642); From *A True and Credible Relation* (1642); From *A Remonstrance . . . Being the Examinations of Many Who Were Eye-Witnesses of the Same, and Justified upon Oath by Many Thousands* (1643); On the Capture of Drogheda (17 September

1649); From *The Interest of England in the Irish Transplantation Stated* (1655)

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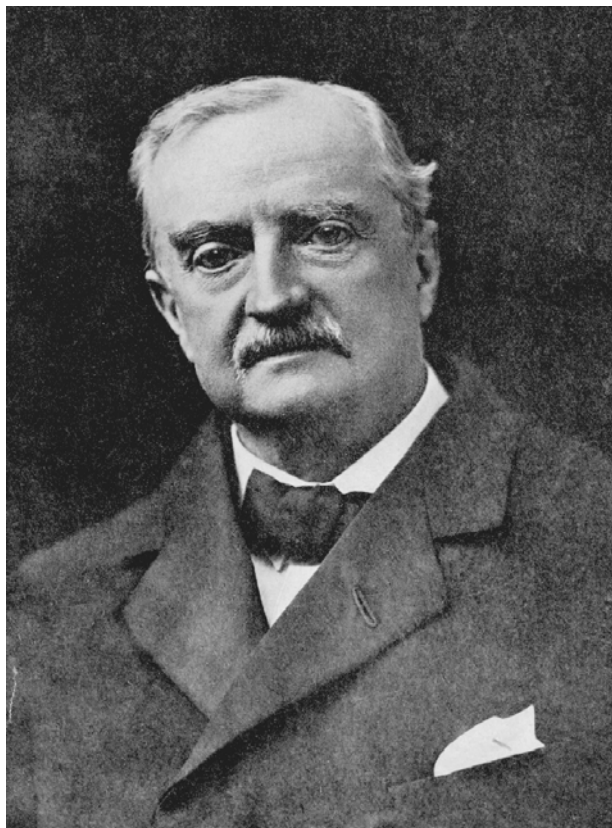
Michael Perceval-Maxwell

Redmond, John

Born in County Wexford, John Redmond (1856–1918) was the leader of Irish constitutional nationalism in the first decades of the twentieth century. An effective parliamentarian throughout his career, Redmond was a loyal follower of Charles Stewart Parnell, becoming one of his chief supporters in Parnell's final years. Because he was never tightly associated with Parnell's divisive legacy, Redmond was able to take on the mantle of leadership of the minority Parnellite faction.

Redmond's political career can be divided into two periods. In the first phase, which lasted from 1900 to 1914, Redmond achieved a number of important successes for Irish nationalists. The first of these occurred in 1900, when Redmond's gentlemanly diplomacy reunited the Irish Parliamentary Party, which had been shattered and ineffectual for the previous decade. Taking advantage of the favorable political conditions provided by the election of 1910 and the Parliament Act of 1911, Redmond was able to force a Liberal Party dependent on nationalist votes to pass the Third Home Rule Bill into law in 1914. Redmond seemingly had won Home Rule for Ireland.

The outbreak of the war in August 1914 put Redmond in a very difficult spot, for the implementation of



John Redmond (1856–1918) led the minority Parnellite wing of the Home Rule party for a decade after the famous split in December 1890. He was generally accepted as leader after the party was reunited in 1900. He was still at the helm when the third Home Rule bill was nominally placed on the statute book in 1914, but already by then the Ulster question made Irish national unity seem unlikely.
COURTESY OF THE GRADUATE LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Home Rule was delayed until after the war ended. The logic of Redmond's position meant that he had to support the British war effort, a difficult balancing act for an Irish nationalist. As the war dragged on, the radicalization of Irish politics increasingly left Redmond behind, particularly after British blundering transformed the leaders of the Easter Rising of 1916 into heroes and martyrs. But Redmond was not simply a victim of circumstance. His public calls of support for the British war effort provided ammunition for his separatist opponents, and his attitude toward partition proved to be an even more serious problem. Desperate to achieve some form of tangible victory, Redmond reluctantly agreed in 1916 to accept Ulster's temporary exclusion from a Home Rule Ireland in exchange for immediate implementation of his cherished legislation. When the deal fell through, Redmond was tarred by his seeming willingness to accept partition. Election results in 1917 and 1918 made clear how far his party had fallen: In

1918 the once proud political machine won only six seats to Sinn Féin's seventy-three. His hopes crushed, Redmond died in March 1918. The war had transformed Irish attitudes, making Redmond's goal of Home Rule increasingly irrelevant as Irish nationalist men and women pressed for something closer to independence.

SEE ALSO Carson, Sir Edward; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Great War; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Unionism from 1885 to 1922; United Irish League Campaigns

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Sean Farrell

Reformation

See Protestant Reformation in the Early Sixteenth Century; Second Reformation from 1822 to 1869.



Religion

THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY	DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN
1500 TO 1690	UTE LOTZ-HEUMANN
SINCE 1690	DAVID W. MILLER
TRADITIONAL POPULAR RELIGION	DIARMUID Ó GIOLLÁIN

THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY

The year 431 marks the date of the official introduction of Christianity to Ireland. That was the year (according

to Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chronicle*) in which Pope Celestine I dispatched the newly ordained Palladius as “first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ” (*primus episcopus ad Scottos in Christum credentes*). Nothing else is known about Palladius or his mission from official Roman sources, but Prosper appears to allude to both in his *Contra Collatorem* (written in the later 430s in defense of Celestine against his detractors) when he refers to the pope’s having made Britain (“the Roman island”) Catholic, whereas he made Ireland (“the barbarous island”) Christian. This was in reference to an earlier episode, in 429, when Celestine dispatched Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, to Britain in order to overthrow those in that island who had espoused the views of the heresiarch Pelagius. That mission (again according to Prosper) had been undertaken at the instigation of the same Palladius, who was at that time still a deacon.

It is generally assumed that the mission to Ireland in 431 followed on from the one to Britain in 429, though there is no definite proof. Nor was anything more known about Palladius himself until a 2000 discovery that casts new light on his youthful years, especially those apparently spent in Rome about 417, following which he made a “conversion” to radical Christianity. There is a general consensus that Palladius did reach Ireland, presumably with a party of helpers (Augustine of Canterbury journeyed to England in 596 or 597 with an entourage of forty), and established his mission probably in the area around the present-day County Meath. The place names Dunshaughlin and Killashee are understood to derive from the Irish *dún* (“fort”) and *cell* (Latin *cella*) and Secundinus and Auxilius, respectively (in their Irish forms Sechnall and Ausille), denoting early foundations by the continental missionaries. No church dedicated to Palladius, however, has survived.

At just this point, however, Palladius disappears entirely from view, his role and that of his followers completely submerged by the legend surrounding Saint Patrick. Native tradition associates the beginnings of Irish Christianity with Patrick, not Palladius, who was written out of history in the seventh century. Patrick, a Briton by birth and upbringing, was captured when aged sixteen by Irish pirates in a raid on his family’s estate (*uillula*), “along with many thousands of others” (as he says himself), and brought to Ireland as a slave. His account of that episode, and of the events that unfolded because of it, has survived in his famous *Confession*, which is a unique testimony to the experiences of a Roman citizen snatched from his home by alien marauders and who lived to tell the tale. The *Confession* and the only other writing of Patrick’s to survive, his letter addressed to the soldiers of Coroticus, offer unique in-

sights into the everyday experiences of a man in the front-line of missionary activity beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire.

Unfortunately, the dates of Patrick’s mission in Ireland are not known. In fact, no dates exist at all for the saint, for the simple reason that he offers none, and no other reliable contemporary source exists that might fill that gap. Irish historians in the seventh century and after maintained that Patrick came in 432 to replace Palladius, who was assumed to have either failed or been killed, or else to have abandoned the missionary effort. Neither scenario seems likely, however, as Prosper appears to indicate that the continental mission was successful, at least in its initial stages. But no document from the Palladian mission survived, whereas Patrick’s two writings became the foundation for a body of legends, which turned the Briton into an all-powerful, conquering Christian hero. In the process, however, the true character of the man was sacrificed for the purpose of creating a mythological figure whose heroic deeds formed the basis for the claims made by his followers in the centuries after him. Next to nothing is known about the progress of Christianity in Ireland in the fifth century, and Patrick emerges into the light of history only in 632, in the famous Paschal letter of Cummian, who refers to the saint (*sanctus Patricius*) as *papa noster* (our father)—the earliest indication that Patrick enjoyed a special status in the Irish Church.

Historians have been troubled, however, that nowhere in Patrick’s writings is there a reference to Palladius or anyone else involved in missionary activity in Ireland, but Patrick constantly reiterates the claim that he has gone where no man has gone before. It is not at all impossible, therefore, that Patrick came to Ireland before Palladius, rather than after him, perhaps in the late fourth century or in the generation before Palladius was dispatched by Pope Celestine to those “Irish believing in Christ.” That would perhaps offer the most satisfactory explanation for Patrick’s otherwise inexplicable silence about the work of others before him on the Christian mission in Ireland, for modern readers of his words are unanimous that his writings reveal an individual of genuine spiritual greatness, one unlikely to be mean-spirited about others. An earlier missionary period for Patrick would also account for the presence in Ireland of Christians before 431, those “Irish believing in Christ” to whom Palladius was sent as first bishop. Certain expressions in Patrick’s writings would seem to add weight to this surmise because he appears to be writing at a time when the Roman presence is still all-pervasive in his native Britain. On the other hand, the more traditional dating of his career (arrival in 432; death in 461 or 493), runs up against the difficulty that the Roman

legions had long since departed what in the 440s was becoming the “Saxon shore” as Britain was prey to Anglo-Saxon invaders. Since Patrick makes no mention of these cataclysmic events, it seems reasonable to infer that his silence on the subject is due to the fact that he had left his native home long before the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Britain, which did not become complete until the sixth century.

Palladius’s mission made nothing like the same impression on the Irish historical mind as Patrick’s did, and yet there are occasional traces of a transitional period during which Christianity was still finding its feet, not yet securely established as the national religion. In fact, that was probably not to be the case until the late sixth or early seventh century. The earlier phase of missionary activity is represented, for example, by a remarkable survival: a list of the days of the week in a mixture of Irish and Latin, a witness to the first faltering attempts by Irish Christians to adapt to the new concepts introduced by the Roman religion. This phase of conversion is evident also in the way that Irish converts simply recycle the terminology of the older native beliefs in their earliest Christian vocabulary. Thus the Irish terms for *God*, *belief*, *faith*, *grace*, and so on, are all words used to express similar concepts in the pre-Christian religion. In time, of course, the newer religion was to replace the earlier one entirely, but not before the latter had left an indelible mark on the Irish Christian mind. How much of the new Irish Christian religion was due to the activities of Palladius and his continental comrades, and how much to Patrick and the efforts of later British clergy, is difficult to judge. The neighboring church (and doubtless also the Irish settlements in the neighboring island from the fourth century on) had a profound impact on the Irish Church in the sixth century, not only in terms of its structures and organization but also on the Irish language and the ways in which that language was first given expression. That the older formal Roman scripts of late antiquity (*capitalis* and *uncial*) never took hold in Ireland strongly suggests that the books brought to Ireland by the continental missionaries failed to find any imitators. The form of writing favored by Irish scribes and stonemasons from about the seventh century on, and even their orthography and pronunciation, both of their own language and of Latin, seem to indicate that the British influence in the longer term was the stronger of the two.

SEE ALSO Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Hagiography; Latin and Old Irish Literacy; Saint Patrick, Problem of; **Primary Documents:** *Confessio* (Declaration) (c. 450); From Muirchú’s *Life of St. Patrick* (c. 680)

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Dáibhí Ó Cróinín

1500 TO 1690

In 1500 there was only one religion in Ireland—medieval Catholicism. By 1690 this situation had changed completely: There were the three major churches, the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Ireland, and the Presbyterian Church, as well as numerous sects like the Baptists and Quakers. The religious makeup of Ireland had been substantially changed through the long-term effects of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, although in terms of winning the majority of the population of Ireland to Protestantism, the Reformation had undoubtedly failed and Catholicism had succeeded.

The chronology of the failure of the Protestant Reformation in Ireland has been much debated in Irish historiography and the discussion has certainly not led to a *consensus* about the exact chronology of the failure of Protestantism and the success of Catholicism among the Irish. Whereas an older, Catholic nationalist historiography saw Ireland as naturally and unchangeably Catholic, scholars since World War II have come to ask why and how the Protestant Reformation failed in Ireland. The suggestions regarding the time frame of this development have varied considerably: from a suggestion that the failure of the Reformation was already determined in the reign of the Protestant Edward VI (1547–1553) (as proposed by Brendan Bradshaw), to the thesis that neither the failure of Protestantism nor the success of Catholicism was decided during the early modern period (1500–1800), but that the die was cast in the nineteenth century (Nicholas Canny). However, these periodizations have not been widely accepted, and in the 1990s a consensus evolved which sees the 1580s and 1590s as a watershed in the religious development of Ireland. The following, therefore, is an interpretive summary of the religious and ecclesiastical development of Ireland between 1500 and 1690 based on this rough consensus chronology.

ETHNIC, CULTURAL, AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

The religious evolution of Ireland between 1500 and 1690 was deeply influenced by the long-standing ethnic

and cultural divisions of the island and by its troubled political development. In consequence of the Anglo-Norman conquest between 1169 and 1170, late medieval Ireland was ethnically and culturally divided between the indigenous Gaelic-Irish population on the one hand and the medieval Anglo-Norman colonizers, the so-called Anglo-Irish, on the other hand. The Anglo-Irish consisted of essentially two groups: the aristocracy, many of whom frequently intermarried with the Gaelic-Irish nobility and who were thus gradually integrated into the social and political structure of Gaelic Ireland; and the gentry and burghers in the English Pale and the Anglo-Irish towns. The Pale, the region around Dublin, and the towns, most of which were situated in the east and southeast of Ireland, were the only areas effectively under English government control in the fifteenth and for most of the sixteenth centuries. The Anglo-Irish gentry and burghers retained a firm separate identity, seeing themselves as upholders of English culture in Ireland.

IRELAND UNDER ENGLAND'S RULE

In the early sixteenth century, Ireland came under "direct rule" from England, that is, government by Anglo-Irish noblemen was replaced by government by English-born lord deputies and other English officials. In 1541 the Irish parliament declared Henry VIII "King of Ireland," thereby superseding the title "lord" granted by Pope Adrian IV in 1155. Subsequent efforts at building a state and commonwealth in Ireland after the model of the English kingdom foundered. English policy toward Ireland was not systematic and consistent, but vacillating. Although the aim of creating a unified "Irish kingdom" remained unchanged, policies varied considerably—from peaceful integration of Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lords to military campaigns to suppress them. When in the sixteenth century Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lords rebelled against English efforts at state formation, the English administration responded by deploying a standing army and by opting for the policy of "plantation," settling "New English" planters on the confiscated lands of defeated lords. This policy was pursued into the seventeenth century, with the plantation of Ulster from 1607 as the largest colonization project to date. In the early seventeenth century Ireland seemed at last to be peaceful, but this changed when the so-called Irish rebellion broke out in 1641. Ireland was then drawn into the British Civil War and was conquered by Cromwell between 1649 and 1650. In the following years Ireland participated in the vicissitudes of the British state. In 1660 Charles II was restored as monarch, and in 1685 he was succeeded by his Catholic brother James II. It was Ireland to which James came when fleeing William

of Orange's invasion of England (the so-called Glorious Revolution). Here were fought the battles in which James was defeated, namely, the Battle of the Boyne.

POLITICAL AND LEGAL REFORMATION (1534–1558)

In constant interaction with these political and cultural developments, the religious makeup of Ireland was changing dramatically. The first phase of change from 1534 to 1558 brought political and legal Reformation through Henry VIII's break with Rome, which was legalized by the Irish parliament in 1536 and the act of 1541 declaring him king of Ireland in 1541. This period was not characterized by religious changes at the popular level. Henry VIII's Reformation was political, dynastic, and legal, and the two subsequent reigns in Ireland, that of Edward VI (1549–1553) and Mary Tudor (1553–1558), were too short to allow religious identities in Ireland to become fixed. There were signs of resistance to a Protestant Reformation in the reign of Edward, and, according to the Protestant Bishop John Bale, people in Kilkenny rejoiced over the return of Catholicism in Mary's reign, but as the research of the 1990s on England has shown, they also welcomed the return of the Mass in England.

POLITICAL TENSIONS AND RELIGIOUS UNCERTAINTY (1558–1580)

Largely owing to dynastic coincidences, the religious future of Ireland remained undetermined when Elizabeth I acceded to the throne in 1558, and in this respect Ireland was not so different from England and Wales. It was, however, different with regard to its political situation. Ireland was clearly not under the control of the English monarchs, but was politically fragmented between the Gaelic Irish, the Anglo-Irish lordships and the "English districts," that is, the Pale and the Anglo-Irish towns. This political complexity was crucial for Ireland's religious development in the later sixteenth century.

The following phase between 1558 and about 1580 was characterized by increasing political tensions in an atmosphere of religious uncertainty. After the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 it soon became clear that she would separate her dominions from the Catholic Church. This became law in Ireland when in 1560 the Irish parliament adopted the English Act of Supremacy, declaring the Church of Ireland independent of Rome and Elizabeth "supreme governor" of this state church. The English *Book of Common Prayer* was introduced to Ireland through an Act of Conformity. At least

theoretically, the Church of Ireland took control of the medieval church, its fabric, and its personnel. This political and legal Reformation was followed up by an attempted religious Reformation. It was hoped that the Church of Ireland would gradually be transformed into a true Protestant church and that the people of Ireland would be educated in the new faith. However, Protestant reform strategies of all kinds, whether persuasive or coercive, lacked the means to be fully implemented. The principle of “one monarch, one faith,” which was successfully applied in many, if not all, European countries, did not succeed in Ireland; or rather the “mechanisms” necessary to achieve this were never really set in motion.

This situation had two important consequences: First, the all-embracing, but not all-controlling Church of Ireland produced a vacuum, which was filled by traditional Roman Catholic religion. This vacuum was most obvious in areas that were not politically controlled by the Dublin government. But even where the queen’s writ more or less ran, a similar situation prevailed: There was no active resistance to Protestantism, some conformity, little enthusiasm, and a lot of “clinging to the old ways.” Catholic survivalism—also called crypto-Catholicism or church papistry—thrived in a church that, while having to rely on the existing personnel, did not have the means to ensure that personnel’s conformity with the new ecclesiastical laws. From the point of view of the government and the Church of Ireland, this period was one of “missed opportunities,” which afforded “a crucial breathing space” to Catholicism in Ireland (Ford 1997, p. 222).

However, this phase saw important developments in the political sphere. The Desmond rebellions of 1569 and 1579 brought together two forms of noble resistance that would prove explosive in the future: Resistance to expansionary English rule on the one hand and militant Counter-Reformation with backing from the papacy and continental Catholic powers like Spain on the other. The aim and justification of this kind of opposition was a combination of political resistance with the idea of religious war against Protestantism.

The second decisive political development was the Anglo-Irish resistance to the so-called cess, a particularly galling and burdensome tax. Owing to the financial strain on them caused by the English military presence, the loyal Anglo-Irish burghers and gentry, who had originally been in favor of increased English involvement in Ireland, developed a political grievance and began to resist English power in Ireland. Although the religious climate was still preconfessional (i.e., not yet marked by sectarian antagonism), political opposition to the cess became intense.

TRANSITION TO A RELIGIOUSLY DIVIDED SOCIETY (1580–1603)

The subsequent phase of religious development in Ireland from about 1580 to 1603 was marked by a gradual transition to a religiously divided society. This phase began with the Baltinglass and Nugent rebellions of 1580 and 1581, two highly symbolic events whose psychological consequences exceeded their real political significance. The government was shocked that the kind of fusion between political resistance and Catholicism, which they had previously associated only with the “unruly” lordships not under government control, now suddenly occurred so close to Dublin. Its reaction was swift and harsh, but in its turn shocked and antagonized the loyal Anglo-Irish community of the Pale. Moreover, the executions following the rebellion produced the first Catholic martyrs in Ireland, as some of the convicted declared on the scaffold that they died for their religion, not for the political crime of treason.

A fusion of religion and politics had begun: Political opposition, which focused on the traditional rights and privileges of the Anglo-Irish community, coalesced with religious opposition, understood as the defense of liberty of conscience. Catholicism, the “old religion,” was seen as an integral part of the traditions, rights, and privileges to be guarded from an encroaching government. As a consequence, important decisions for the future were taken: Sons of Anglo-Irish families were increasingly sent to Catholic universities on the continent and a decisive “generation shift” occurred. The children came back imbued with Tridentine Catholicism and often as missionaries for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland.

In terms of aims and justification, the Nine Years War (1593–1603) was a climax of the fusion between political and military resistance and the idea of a “religious war” against Protestantism. This was powerfully propagated by the Gaelic lord Hugh O’Neill, but not persuasively for the Anglo-Irish burghers and gentry who sided with the government and preferred constitutional opposition in parliament to open rebellion.

During this phase both the Catholic Church in Ireland and the Protestant Church of Ireland took their first steps toward church formation, that is, toward building fully developed confessional churches—processes that would come to fruition in the early seventeenth century. The religious vacuum left by the state church was increasingly filled by seminary priests and missionaries returning from the Continent, who brought with them a well-defined confessional alternative in the form of Catholicism as articulated by the Council of Trent (1545–1563). In contrast to the Ca-

tholicism that was customary among the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Irish up to this point, Tridentine Catholicism precluded conformity or any other compromises with the state church. Toward the end of the sixteenth century the most important order of reformed Catholicism, the Jesuits, successfully and permanently established themselves in Ireland.

Meanwhile, the Church of Ireland's status as an all-embracing state church was literally crumbling. Older conformist clergy died out or clergy even left their Church of Ireland benefices to live and work as Catholic priests. Recusancy (that is, the refusal to attend the services of the state church) increased drastically. The Church of Ireland had difficulty recruiting clergy in Ireland and increasingly resorted to "importing" Protestant clergymen from England and Scotland. As a consequence, the Church of Ireland became a colonial church, embracing only the "New English" community in Ireland. This was the phase in Irish religious history, which, through gradual church formation on both sides, eliminated a conservative "middle way" within the state church. While the religious divide hardened, clergy and people were forced to decide "which side they were on."

OPPOSITION OF OLD ENGLISH TO THE STATE CHURCH (1603–1632)

The next phase of Irish religious development from 1603 until 1632 was one in which the religious divide between Protestantism and Catholicism grew even sharper, although the period was on the whole peaceful because the London government often exercised a moderating influence from fear of rebellion. The year 1603 saw the end of the Nine Years War and the period that followed was—from the point of view of the government—characterized by a sense of new possibilities. In the early years of the reign of James I the Irish government believed that, as a consequence of the complete military conquest of Ireland, political and religious control could now be established effectively and completely.

But particularly with regard to the Church of Ireland's claim to a religious monopoly in Ireland, this reform program did not succeed. After the demise of the great Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lords in the Nine Year's War, the religious conflicts focused on the Anglo-Irish gentry and burghers, who from the late sixteenth century onwards called themselves the "Old English" in order to stress their difference from the more recent Protestant settlers, the "New English." They were still a very powerful group in Irish society, controlling the towns and much of the land and wielding great political influence, not least in the Irish Parliament. Their reli-

gious allegiance was the issue at stake, for, as a political elite, their religious conformity was essential to establish the Church of Ireland in the whole island. Protestant efforts to force this group into conformity with the state church achieved effects that were the opposite of their intentions: It provoked fundamental opposition of the Old English to church and state.

Again, the political and the religious aspects of this confrontation coalesced, particularly in the towns. Whereas the Protestant effort "from above" to enforce conformity was combined with an attack on urban political and economic privileges, Catholic resistance "from below" also meant defending urban liberties against state encroachment. For example, the recusancy revolt of 1603 in the Munster towns was sparked by a combination of political, economic, and religious grievances. This also suggests that strong Catholic identities had been formed during the preceding period.

In 1626 English foreign-policy considerations brought about a new development in Irish history. In return for their financial support of the army, Charles I offered the Old English "graces," concessions which would have made life easier for the Catholics in Ireland by, for example, abolishing recusancy fines and enabling the Old English to inherit property and practice law despite their religion. The graces could have prepared the way for an official toleration of Catholicism and a biconfessional settlement in the Irish kingdom. However, the failure of the graces was inherent in that they did not grow out of, and thus did not find sufficient support in, Irish society as a whole. They had been suggested by the monarch as a response to foreign policy and without consultation from the "New English" elite; therefore, "New English" opposition against them was massive, and the Crown eventually retracted.

This period of religious development also saw an unprecedented level of rival church formation in Ireland. The Church of Ireland had become a Protestant minority church, with its personnel recruited in England and Scotland. In 1615 the convocation (the assembly of the Church of Ireland clergy) agreed upon the markedly Calvinist 104 Articles. Thus the Church of Ireland was put on a consciously broad, but nevertheless clearly defined, Protestant footing. For the time being, Scottish Presbyterians and their ministers, who had settled in Ulster in the course of the plantation there, were kept within the hierarchical structure of the Church of Ireland.

After establishing a Tridentine mission at the end of the sixteenth century, Catholic Church formation accelerated in the early seventeenth century. Major synods were held in 1614 and 1618 to ensure acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent and to regulate Catholic

Church formation in Ireland along Tridentine lines. And by establishing a resident hierarchy, Catholicism developed from a mission into a visible “underground” but institutionalized church.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UPHEAVAL (1632–1660)

The last phase of religious development in Ireland, between 1632 and 1660, was mainly determined by influences and developments from outside Ireland, namely, by the British and European contexts of Irish political and religious history. From 1633 to 1641, the new lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth, attempted to transform the Church of Ireland into an all-embracing state church. Wentworth believed that Catholic strength and the economic weakness of the Church of Ireland had produced a situation where conformity with the state church could not be successfully enforced. Moreover, he realized that the Church of Ireland could not be effectively controlled by the state because of the strong New English lay influence over it. Therefore, Wentworth intended to transform the Church of Ireland into an institution that could be controlled by the state and become a formidable opponent to Catholicism. This program was to advance in two steps.

The first step required condoning Catholicism for the time being and meanwhile transforming the Church of Ireland. The state church was to be put on a sound financial footing and at the same time New English lay influence was to be reduced. The Church of Ireland’s theological and doctrinal basis was to be tightened, and at the same time it was to be given greater capacity to control its own personnel. Despite vigorous resistance, Wentworth succeeded in forcing convocation in 1634 to replace the 104 Irish by the 39 English Articles, thereby removing the broad Calvinist consensus on which the Irish state church had been based since 1615. As a consequence, Puritan and Presbyterian-minded clergy were forced out of the parishes of the Church of Ireland.

The second step of Wentworth’s program targeted Catholicism. First, he wanted to render the Old English elite politically and economically powerless, a means to which were additional “plantations.” Second, with the help of a “streamlined” Church of Ireland, Wentworth intended eventually to suppress Catholicism in Ireland. But his attempt at this transformation ended when he was impeached in England and into the power vacuum he left behind came the rising of 1641.

The period after 1641 was marked by political and religious upheaval of the most extreme kind. In political terms, the rising of 1641 led to the Irish Confederate War (also called the Irish Civil War) between 1641 and

1653. After the outbreak of the rising, which was initiated by the Ulster Irish, the Old English of the Pale for the first time joined a Catholic war in Ireland and consequently made possible the so-called Confederation of Kilkenny, which met in 1642. In the territory that was controlled by the confederation, Catholicism experienced a new phase of church formation. During his presence as papal nuncio to the confederation, Archbishop Rinuccini of Fermo in Italy was an agent of Tridentine Catholicism in Ireland. The aims of Rinuccini’s mission were derived from his continental background. On the one hand, he advocated a militant Counter-Reformation, aiming at the establishment of Catholicism as the state religion in Ireland. This, however, caused the latent differences of opinion within the Confederation of Kilkenny to intensify. Whereas the Old English sought an accommodation with the Protestant king, the Gaelic Irish refused to accept such a solution and were strongly backed by the nuncio. On the other hand, Rinuccini also brought his strict Tridentine convictions to bear on his Irish mission. Consequently, he criticized the Catholic Church in Ireland for adapting to its underground status and compromising Tridentine principles.

The political and social upheaval of this period also resulted in massive religious changes on the Protestant side of the religious divide. The Scottish Presbyterians in Ulster, who had previously been part of the Church of Ireland, set up a separate Presbyterian Church structure. And in the south of Ireland, soldiers and new settlers, especially after the Cromwellian invasion of 1649, brought with them the religious pluralism that had developed in England during the Civil Wars. Thus the Quakers, Baptists, and Independents came to Ireland, adding to its religious diversity.

THE PROTESTANT–CATHOLIC DIVIDE AFTER 1660

With the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, another phase of religious history in Ireland began because the ecclesiastical settlement resulted in the reestablishment of the Church of Ireland as an episcopal state church. Other Protestant groups, notably the Scottish Presbyterians, were henceforth regarded as “Dissenters” because they did not accept the newly restored state church. The Presbyterians, however, made up a substantial number of the Protestants in Ireland, and the government did not want to alienate them. In fact, from 1672 they were granted a fixed sum of money by the Crown for the maintenance of their ministers, the so-called *regium donum*. The Church of Ireland thus became even more of a minority church in Ireland.

Although some land was returned to Catholics after the Restoration, the Old English elite had lost their political and economic power as a result of the Cromwellian land settlement. And the Catholic Church after 1660 became again a “visible underground church,” whose situation was in many ways precarious. For example, during the so-called Remonstrance controversy of the 1660s it was again debated whether Irish Catholics could declare their loyalty to the Protestant King Charles II. Moreover, anti-Catholic measures were, just as in the early seventeenth century, periodically adapted by the government, especially during the Popish Plot scare of 1678 to 1681.

The tide turned again for a short time when the Catholic James II acceded to the throne in 1685. The new king made it clear that he intended to promote the Catholic Church in Ireland, and the Church of Ireland was clearly in danger of losing its status and privileges as state church. However, the victory of William of Orange in 1690 meant that the Church of Ireland continued to be the Irish state church until its disestablishment in 1869. The Catholic Church remained an illegal underground church. Although the rule of Mary Tudor, the Confederation of Kilkenny, and the reign of James II were the only short periods in early modern Irish history in which Catholicism was practiced publicly and openly, Catholicism remained the religion of the vast majority of the population of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Burial Customs and Popular Religion from 1500 to 1690; Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Edwardian Reform; Marian Restoration; Protestant Reformation in the Early Sixteenth Century; **Primary Documents:** On Catholic Ireland in the Early Seventeenth Century; Confederation of Kilkenny (1642)

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Ute Lotz-Heumann

SINCE 1690

The Irish Republic has been widely regarded, until recently, as a Catholic confessional state founded on a nationalism mainly confined to its Catholic community; Northern Ireland remains bitterly divided into two ethnic communities defined largely by religious affiliation. Many observers therefore regard group identity in ethnic communities as the key to understanding the role of religion in modern Ireland.

RELIGION AND COMMUNITY

Those who link religion to community formation in Ireland usually have in mind a special type of community called the “nation.” The nation, a modern construct that became politically important in Ireland and elsewhere in the nineteenth century, is an “imagined” community. It posits that each individual enjoys relationships with millions of fellow-countryfolk whom he or she has never met, comparable to relationships experienced in a traditional local community in which all relationships are personal and face-to-face. Most of the population of late seventeenth-century Ireland identified primarily with the latter sort of community—for example, a village or kin group—and not with the modern imagined community of the nation.

There was, however, another type of community present in early modern Ireland that was different from both the traditional local community and the modern imagined community. Every landed gentleman in seventeenth-century Ireland belonged to one of the two elite confessional communities—Catholic or Protestant—contending for power at the national level. When the Protestant landed elite decisively won this contest at

the end of that century, they set about excluding not only Catholics but also Protestant Dissenters from power. There were relatively few Dissenters who owned enough land to be serious contenders for power in any event, but during the course of the eighteenth century they too developed an elite which formed a third confessional community.

There was therefore a well-understood tripartite division of Irish society into three religious systems known to contemporaries as Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenting. This use of the term *Protestant* can confuse modern readers because what it really connoted was the Anglican Church of Ireland, the established church until 1869. The term *Dissenter* also obscures the true situation. A scattering of English Protestant Dissenting groups—Quakers, Independents, Baptists, and so on—had survived from Cromwellian times, but the Presbyterians were by far the most numerous Dissenters by the mid-eighteenth century, when approximately two-thirds of the population were Catholic, and the remaining one-third were divided approximately equally between Anglicanism and Presbyterianism. Apart from a few exceptions—notably some Old English elite families that had remained Catholic—the tripartite system delineated three ethnic groups: native Irish Catholics, New English members of the Protestant Established Church, and Ulster-Scot Presbyterians.

The Williamite victory of 1691 confirmed the huge transfers of land from Catholic to Protestant ownership that had occurred during the preceding century, ensuring that there would be an Anglican presence in virtually every part of the Irish countryside, though in many localities it consisted of little more than the families of the landlord (or his agent) and the Church of Ireland minister. In most areas the great majority of the rural population was Catholic, but in Ulster there was a substantial Protestant population engaged in agricultural and protoindustrial pursuits. Anglicans were most numerous in a swath of rural territory across south Ulster, and Presbyterians dominated the countryside in the north and east of the province.

Though a primary objective of the Anglican elite was to deprive Catholics of landownership and thus exclude them from access to political power, some Catholics managed to maintain gentry status and even to exercise modest political influence in eighteenth-century Ireland. Moreover, a number of Catholics in the towns became quite prosperous merchants, sometimes taking advantage of relationships with kinsmen who had migrated to continental Europe following the Williamite victory. In Belfast and Derry the Presbyterians made up somewhat for their almost total lack of landed property by similar mercantile success.

So each of the three religious systems—Anglican, Catholic, and Presbyterian—was led by a confessional community of clergy and elite laity. In the Anglican case this community came to be called the “Ascendancy,” and it used its victory in the contests of the previous century to make its central religious ritual—taking communion “according to the usage of the Church of Ireland”—a test for full membership in the civil polity. In 1760 the Catholic elite community founded an organization known as the Catholic Committee to agitate for their own admission to that polity. The Presbyterian elite developed a principled aversion (not necessarily shared by country Presbyterians) to confessional politics, so when they set up an analogous organization in Belfast in 1791, they called it the “Society of United Irishmen” rather than the “Presbyterian Committee.”

During the 1790s the revolution in France generated high hopes among the proponents of change in Ireland and alarm among the defenders of the status quo. Radicals from both the Catholic and Presbyterian elites were pitted against the government and the Anglican Ascendancy. The confrontation culminated in an insurrection in 1798 for which the elite radicals mobilized both Catholic and Presbyterian foot soldiers. The rebels were soundly defeated, and in the aftermath of the rebellion the government sought to craft policies that would win the adherence of the Catholic and Presbyterian confessional communities to a new civil polity—the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—in which the Irish Ascendancy would be a permanent minority.

The government’s policy was frustrated in one important particular by the king, George III, who refused to consent to the prompt admission of Catholics into the new united Parliament. The resulting delay of Catholic Emancipation for nearly three decades contributed to a crucial change in the structure of community in Ireland. During the 1820s Daniel O’Connell developed a daring political strategy by replacing the old elite Catholic Committee with a new Catholic Association with dues of one penny a month, collected at the gates of Catholic chapels throughout the country. This strategy transformed the elite Catholic confessional community into an “imagined” nationwide community, an empty vessel into which modern nationalism flowed as soon as the (essentially elite) issue of admission to Parliament was resolved in 1829. From 1832, when O’Connell proposed the repeal of the Act of Union, the attainment of some sort of national autonomy would be the consensus goal of a Catholic community that now transcended class lines.

In a sense the Ascendancy was also well on the way to reinventing itself as a confessional community transcending class lines. The Loyal Orange Order, which

emerged in 1795 out of a squalid sectarian conflict in County Armagh, had promptly been taken over by landlords throughout the country as a means of mobilizing their reliable Protestant tenants in opposition to radicalism. Although the Order opposed the Act of Union in 1800, the admission of Catholics to Parliament in 1829 made it plain that any repeal of the Union would result in a Catholic-dominated parliament in Dublin and ensured that the expanded Anglican confessional community would oppose Repeal as strongly as its Catholic counterpart demanded it.

The position of the Presbyterian community around 1840 is less clear. Most Presbyterians certainly opposed Repeal, but respectable Presbyterians continued to view the Orange Order with contempt. As late as the 1870s there were a few constituencies in which Presbyterian and Catholic voters cooperated to elect reformist candidates. The espousal of Home Rule for Ireland by the Liberal Party in 1886 made a Catholic-dominated government in Dublin a realistic eventuality and terminated the last vestiges of Presbyterian political independence. The tripartite array of confessional communities had been transformed into a bipolar arrangement in which virtually all Catholics were nationalists and virtually all Protestants were unionists.

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

While the process of ethnic-community formation certainly helps us to understand how the political alignments of religious groups emerged, it is not as helpful in explaining the character and depth of religious devotion. We must look not only at the differences between the ethnoreligious groups but also at the divisions within them. The most important of these divisions is social class, which, insofar as the clergy are seldom drawn from the poorest classes, is closely related to (but not identical with) the division between clergy and laity.

In a rural society religion is a commodity which, like whiskey, can easily be manufactured by the consumers; the licensed purveyor, when he cannot rely upon the government to stamp out illicit competition, must persuade consumers to buy his product and perhaps to modify it to accommodate their tastes. In early modern Catholic Europe the official product was Tridentine Catholicism as promulgated by the Council of Trent (1545–1563). A uniform hierarchical structure based on the territorial parish was imposed upon Catholic Europe, making the parish church the exclusive venue for the central acts of religion, especially for regular mass attendance and Easter communion.

Late medieval Ireland, where feuding might militate against the peaceable gathering of a parish population

for mass and where church resources were often controlled by kinship groups, presented especially egregious examples of the noncanonical practices that Trent was trying to supplant (Bossy 1971). Outside the towns the official rituals of confession and communion may well have been less central to religious life than the seasonal or occasional pilgrimage to sites associated with local religious figures. In such observances the clergy were dispensable. Indeed, if later folk tradition can be trusted, a clergyman in good standing may have been regarded as a less reliable conduit to the supernatural than one who had distanced himself from the church by misconduct (Taylor 1995). Religion in early modern Ireland, as Raymond Gillespie (Donnelly and Miller 1998, pp. 30–49) has suggested, was the product of dialogue between the systems on offer from the religious professionals and the religious needs and practices of ordinary folk.

By 1690 the heroic efforts of missionaries and of clergy trained in continental seminaries had effected some progress toward the establishment of a parish system that could function at least at a minimal level when not prevented from doing so by persecution or warfare. It appears unlikely, however, that many individual Catholics in the countryside had yet adjusted their behavior very far toward compliance with the Tridentine norms by this time. From then until the third quarter of the twentieth century, when social scientists found that almost 100 percent of Catholics who were canonically obligated to attend mass were doing so each week, we have nationwide data on mass attendance for only one year: In 1834 the government collected data on religious practice which enables us to estimate that about 40 percent of the Catholic population (or, arguably, a somewhat higher percentage of Catholic adults) attended mass on a typical Sunday. Attendance varied from more than 80 percent in parts of the southeast to less than 30 percent in some areas of the northwest (Brown and Miller 2000, pp. 158–179).

Between 1690 and about 1775 Irish Catholicism did make some progress toward compliance with Tridentine norms, but during the population explosion from that period until the 1840s canonical practice seems to have declined to the levels reflected in the 1834 census (Corish 1985, p. 167). During this decline the church was obliged to compromise the Tridentine ideal of a parish chapel-based set of rituals by admitting the household-based piety reflected in the practice of “stations”—confession and communion held on a rotating basis at the homes of various Catholic farmers throughout the parish. Certainly there were local efforts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to implement Tridentine reforms, but it was the Great Famine

of the late 1840s which, by dramatically reducing the ratio of layfolk to priests, made possible a “devotional revolution” throughout the country. From about 1850, disciplinary reforms introduced by Paul Cardinal Cullen, the conduct of parish missions by members of religious orders, and the introduction of a variety of continental devotional practices led to a sustained rise in compliance with canonical norms (Larkin 1984).

The linkage of long-term change in canonical practice with demographic change raises further questions. It is fairly clear that members of the huge rural underclass of the landless and near-landless were disproportionately represented among the lax mass attenders before the famine. The elimination of much of this underclass by the famine and its aftermath may account for a significant share of any rise in formal religious practice (Hynes 1978). So should we see those who failed to attend mass prior to the famine as deterred more by their poverty or by their class? Were remote residences, bad roads, and lack of energy owing to austere diet their principal obstacles to attending mass? Or did ragged clothes and the stench and vermin of a destitute rural existence render them out of place in the chapels erected by their better-off neighbors? These questions remain unanswered, but recent studies of postfamine Catholicism make plain its predominantly middle-class character (Rafferty 1999; Murphy 1997) and suggest that the interaction between class formation and religious behaviors is a promising area for further investigation. Certainly, there continued to be tension between official and popular Catholicism, but the postfamine Church found it much easier to coopt popular devotional movements—notably the flowering of Marian devotions between about 1860 and 1960 (Brown and Miller 2000, pp. 252–283).

Indeed, changes in class structure affected the relationship between popular and official religion in all three systems—Catholic, Anglican, and Presbyterian. Although ordinary Protestants had shown interest during the seventeenth century in some of the same sorts of “magical” folk practices that Tridentine reformers tried to eliminate or coopt in Catholic peasant life, in eighteenth-century Protestantism we should look in a different domain for the popular side of the ongoing dialogue between ordinary folk and religious professionals. Both English and Scottish settler communities manifested vocabularies and ritual repertoires for challenging local elite dominance in their respective ethnic religions, thereby defending the communal rather than class character of their religious systems.

The prime challengers of elite hegemony within Anglicanism were the Methodist preachers who offered a generous religion of the heart as an alternative to the

cold and self-interested outlook of many established clergy. Although a separate Methodist denomination was erected in 1816, a more significant development for the Church of Ireland was the adoption of evangelical attitudes promoted by Methodism on the part of numerous landlords and ministers in the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion. This development together with the elite patronage of the Orange Order—an organization that enabled working-class Anglicans to proclaim loudly their Protestantism without the inconvenience of regular church attendance—helped Anglicanism to retain its communal character. The Church of Ireland managed to remain a church for rich and poor, devout and indifferent, for perhaps two centuries of dizzying changes in class structure.

Methodism made few inroads in Ulster-Scot settlements because Presbyterians had their own ritual repertoire for challenging their elite. Presbyterian polity provided a more or less democratic process for selection of a local minister, which offered ample opportunities for literate but unreflective folk to tax the candidate and their betters more generally with defection from the seventeenth-century standards of orthodoxy. Moreover, from the 1740s the Secession Synods, imported from Scotland, facilitated such challenges to the dominance of the well-heeled and the well-read. In open-air communions, drawing both the godly and the worldly from a wide area, Seceders celebrated a vision of Presbyterian solidarity reminiscent of the covenanting days of the seventeenth century and unconstrained by the tidy respectability of the mainstream meeting houses.

So Presbyterianism, despite its institutionally divisive tendencies (indeed, because of them) was socially comprehensive within the Ulster-Scot settlements of the eighteenth century. The mechanisms that enabled Presbyterianism to function as a communal religion, however, were dismantled between 1829 and 1840. By requiring unqualified subscription to the Westminster Confession from all its ministers and then by merging with the Seceding Synod, the General Synod removed the question of doctrinal orthodoxy from the arena of congregational politics. It thereby facilitated the conversion of a religious system in which the unwashed and the unlettered had once had their say into a system that primarily addressed the needs of the respectable. This was happening just as Belfast, the recipient of considerable migration from Presbyterian country districts, became aware that, like many British cities, it faced a serious problem of unchurched workers. Furthermore, deindustrialization of the countryside would create an underclass of unemployed linen weavers comparable to the Catholic underclass whose miseries became so evident during the Great Famine.

Presbyterian leaders groped for a strategy to cope with this reality, and in 1859 some thought that Providence had provided a solution in the form of a huge revival that dominated the life of Ulster for some months. Suddenly, young working-class converts, female and male, were perceived as more in touch with the supernatural than were the ministers. Clergy moved decisively to gain control of the movement and give it a satisfactory spin. Although very few Presbyterians spoke ill of the revival in public, over the succeeding generation those who preferred the emotional style of religiosity that it represented tended to drift into Methodism and a number of smaller evangelical sects that arose in the north. The transformation of Ulster Presbyterianism from a communal religion to a class religion was virtually complete by the end of the century—a development that confirmed the transformation of the tripartite system of religious communities into the bipolar system with which we are so familiar in contemporary Northern Ireland.

CHURCH AND STATE

The extraordinarily high levels of religious observance that prevailed among Catholics in the southern Irish state (compared with other European countries) until the 1980s, and the sectarian character of the Northern Ireland state from 1921 to 1972, have led observers to use the term *confessional state* in discussions of twentieth-century Ireland. Recently, historians have been using the same term to characterize eighteenth-century political structures throughout the British Isles. Like England and Scotland, eighteenth-century Ireland was a confessional state; to avoid confusion, we should perhaps refer to it more specifically as an “Erastian” state. In other words, the Church of Ireland, like its counterparts the Church of England and the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland, was expected to act as the religion department of the state. The prime function of a state church, in the eyes of the government and the governing classes, was to sacralize the civil polity and instill in the lower orders obedience to the Lord’s commandments, especially the one that forbade coveting the goods of one’s neighbor. In principle an Erastian state church was supposed to minister to the whole population, not just to the devout.

Since more than 80 percent of the population were either Catholics or Presbyterians, the Church of Ireland was in no position to fulfill this function. In one respect the government acknowledged this fact by paying modest stipends (the *regium donum*) to Presbyterian clergy, who took this gesture as a recognition, albeit an imperfect one, of their status as ministers of an established church, to the great annoyance of Anglican ecclesiastics.

One reason for a controversy among Presbyterians in the 1720s over subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith was a desire on the part of the “subscribers” to demonstrate their institution’s fitness to play the role of an established church.

In the early eighteenth century, of course, there could be no thought of an Erastian role for the Catholic clergy, whose bishops were appointed on nomination of the Jacobite Pretender until the death of “James III” in 1766. Indeed, certain penal laws, if enforced, would have eliminated the Catholic clergy in one generation and left their Anglican counterparts as the sole Christian ministers in most parts of Ireland. Moreover, early in the century some Anglican churchmen tried to launch a program to convert the Catholics through the medium of the Irish language. In general, however, the Ascendancy had little zeal for enforcing the laws against the Catholic clergy and ritual system (as opposed to those designed to limit the property and power of Catholic gentry) and little interest in providing the resources to convert the Catholics.

Predictably, the Church of Ireland was a dismal failure in the role of sacralizing the polity assigned to it by Erastianism. Among the lower orders only the Anglican minority could be relied upon to oppose rebellion in the 1790s. Government policy reflected an understanding of this dysfunctionality and showed a determination to enlist the other churches in the duty on which the state church had defaulted. Both the establishment of a state-funded Catholic theological seminary at Maynooth in 1795 and an increase and restructuring of the *regium donum* to Presbyterian clergy after the 1798 rebellion were prompted by that determination. The threat of disorder from the Presbyterians faded in succeeding decades, but the same cannot be said of the Catholics. Throughout the nineteenth century the government regularly sought to encourage the appointment of “loyal” bishops by the Holy See and to persuade bishops to constrain the behavior of priests suspected of “agitation.”

In the eighteenth century none of the three religious systems had tried very hard to make converts from the other two. This pattern was changing dramatically by the 1820s, when Anglicans, inspired by evangelicalism and probably prompted also by liberal criticism of their church for its failure to serve more than a minority, launched a movement to convert Catholics known as the Second Reformation. At the same time, Anglican-dominated, government-subsidized societies were actively establishing schools for poor children. Some Catholic clergy, generally lacking the resources to provide schools for their parishioners’ children, were

initially willing to sanction such schools, but the Catholic hierarchy was increasingly wary of them.

A Liberal government responded in 1831 to the resulting tensions by establishing the National Education Board (composed of prominent members of all three religious communities) to make grants to local interdenominational committees of clergy and laity who would undertake to establish mixed schools under the inspection of the board's staff. Catholic clergy generally welcomed the plan, and Anglican clergy largely refused to participate in what they saw, rightly, as a major attack on their Erastian entitlements. At the time of the initiative the General Synod of Ulster was under the demagogic influence of the Reverend Henry Cooke, who cherished a vision of a reconfigured Irish Protestant establishment that would somehow embrace Presbyterians as well as Anglicans. Cooke was counting on Sir Robert Peel and the Tory Party to implement this vision. In the early 1840s, however, the Tory government adopted policies toward the established Church of Scotland (as well as the Irish Presbyterian Church) that were interpreted as deliberately anti-Presbyterian. Peel was blamed for the dramatic 1843 schism in the Church of Scotland known as the Great Disruption. Cooke's vision was discredited and his grip on Irish Presbyterianism was broken. Meanwhile, however, Cooke had kept the General Synod from sanctioning the national schools until 1840, when they extracted from the board concessions that seriously compromised its original goal of nonsectarian education. These concessions made it difficult for the board and the government to resist further demands over succeeding decades—notably from the Catholic Church—to compromise the original nonsectarian ideal. By the end of the century the system basically consisted of a separate clerically controlled, government-funded, *de facto* denominational school wherever there were enough children of a given denomination to warrant it.

In 1869 a Liberal government enacted legislation disestablishing the Church of Ireland and replacing the *regium donum* and the annual grant to Maynooth with lump-sum payments to the Presbyterian and Catholic churches respectively. This action formally ended the Erastian system, but the continued heavy involvement of the churches in state-financed education means that we should think of the resulting arrangement less as a secular state than as a multiconfessional polity. By imposing order and discipline upon a previously fractious hierarchy, Paul Cullen was rendering the Catholic Church an increasingly capable contender for influence within the civil polity.

In the years following Cullen's death in 1878, that polity came to include not only a government at West-

minster but a government-in-waiting for a new civil polity to be based in Dublin—the Home Rule Party. In 1884 the hierarchy struck a deal with Charles Stewart Parnell in which the bishops agreed to support the party and the party promised to defer to the bishops in the vital matter of education. This arrangement set the conventions followed by Parnell's generation of nationalist leaders, and these conventions were instilled in key leaders of the next political generation who supplanted the Home Rule Party in 1916 to 1921.

Both of the new polities created from 1920 to 1922—the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland—are sometimes described as “confessional” states. Whatever this label may have meant in twentieth-century Ireland, it definitely did not connote the Erastianism of the eighteenth-century confessional state. It might make more sense to refer to Northern Ireland as a confessional “society”—the dysfunctional product of the bipolar division of Irish society in the nineteenth century in which religion, far from sacralizing the civil polity, became the principal obstacle to the emergence of such a polity capable of enjoying support in both confessional communities.

Those who describe the post-1921 southern Irish state as “confessional” do not have in mind a church which, like the Church of Ireland two centuries earlier, exists to buttress the authority of the state. Rather, they tend to envisage the Roman Catholic Church as dictating policy to the state. A better-supported formulation is that until the 1980s southern Ireland was certainly not a theocracy, but the church did have more influence on policy than an ordinary interest group, particularly in those domains such as education, which the church claimed as within her sphere (Whyte 1971). In recent years that influence, and the devotional commitment that underlay it, have diminished significantly, and the Catholic Church has begun to share the concern of other Irish churches for recovering their traditional constituencies.

SEE ALSO Ancient Order of Hibernians; Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Ecumenism and Interchurch Relations; Education: Primary Private Education—“Hedge Schools” and Other Schools; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Education: Secondary Education, Female; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Education: University Education; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Marianism; Maynooth; Methodism; Mother and Child Crisis; Overseas Missions; Penal Laws; Presbyterianism; Protestant Ascendancy: 1690 to 1800; Protestant Ascendancy:

Decline, 1800 to 1930; Protestant Community in Southern Ireland since 1922; Religious Orders: Men; Religious Orders: Women; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Secularization; Sodalities and Confraternities; Temperance Movements; **Primary Documents:** An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1704); The Catholic Relief Act (1778); The Catholic Relief Act (1782); The Catholic Relief Act (1793); On Presbyterian Communities in Ulster (1810, 1812); From the 1937 Constitution; Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951)

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David W. Miller

TRADITIONAL POPULAR RELIGION

The popular historically is defined not by any inherent quality but by its subordinate (or subaltern) position in a wider social system. It must be understood in its social and political context, and changing configurations of power hence may entail the changing of the content of the popular. Traditional popular religion seeks to distinguish those aspects of popular religion that have long been established in agrarian society and are associated with a particular way of life, especially that of peasants, from more recent and nonrural forms, particularly those characteristic of industrial society. The latter, of course, may be traditional too, but are seen as being a product of modern society (usually defined in opposition to "traditional society"), whereas the former are seemingly premodern in origin or at least are conventionally so constructed. The traditional-modern polarity can obscure the reality of hybrid cultural forms in the present as well as in the past.

Sources for traditional popular religion include the huge archives assembled by the Irish Folklore Commission (1935–1970), largely representing the remembered traditional culture of the postfamine period; the writings of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarians and nineteenth- and twentieth-century folklorists (the term *folklore* was coined in 1846); travel writings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; eighteenth- and nineteenth-century statistical inquiries (note the etymological relationship between state, statist, and statistic); and the "literature of confutation" (to use Alberto Mario Cirese's words) of church documents. None of these sources engaged with traditional popular religion in its own right as a legitimate religious phenomenon. Mostly, they were the work of men and had a distinct patriarchal bias. A social and often sectarian condescension influences many of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources. Enlightenment discourses of progress and improvement influenced the observations of statisticians and sometimes of churchmen. Romanticism was a strong influence on folklorists and often on travel writers. Folklorists were frequently informed by a nation-building discourse that sought to rescue the elements of traditional popular culture, which could be adjusted to that project, or, in the case

Pilgrims to a holy well near Galway. From Harper's Weekly, 14 October 1871. COURTESY OF THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of those who were also creative writers, such as W. B. Yeats, by a notion of folklore as a source of artistic inspiration that transcended a prosaic modern world. Travel writers were usually in search of local color, provided by cultural difference in its more spectacular forms.

Traditional popular religion is a shifting object of study over time. It includes cultural elements of pre-Christian, often Celtic, and Christian origin, which were articulated in a worldview framed ultimately by Christian notions. The evidence for it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries came from within a state that had an official religion (the Church of Ireland until 1869) and its projects of modernization, and from within a society that had its social stratifications and a majority religion that differed from that of the state and hence shared in the wider derogatory connotations of the popular. Within this context pressures on popular religion grew in the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the state, from state religion, and from

Roman Catholic elites influenced by Tridentine reform (which aimed to strengthen church discipline and attack "superstition") as well as by their own projects of modernization (of which nationalism was one). In 1852 Sir William Wilde in *Irish Popular Superstitions* could quote a Catholic acquaintance of his as having complained that "the tone of society in Ireland is becoming more and more 'Protestant' every year; the literature is a Protestant one, and even the priests are becoming more Protestant in their conversation and manners" (p. 17n). Here, then, Protestant values become synonymous with modernity in Ireland, as anglicization was to be for a later generation.

Localism is a defining characteristic of traditional popular religion, in contradistinction to the centralizing and hierarchizing organization of institutional religion and particularly of the Roman Catholic Church. This is attested to by scores of thousands of sacred sites from ring forts ("fairy forts") to holy wells and by supernatural beings with specific local associations, from named

fairy leaders to local patron saints. Mircea Eliade in *Patterns in Comparative Religion* pointed out how in traditional societies the supreme divinities “are constantly pushed to the periphery of religious life where they are almost ignored; other sacred forces, nearer to man, more accessible to his daily experience, more useful to him, fill the leading role” (1958, p. 43). The numerous recorded traditions of the intervention of fairies in people’s lives, such as bringing bad luck, blighting crops, and abducting humans and animals and their propitiation with gifts or their containment with charms, exemplify that. The modernization of religion meant the “disenchantment” of the landscape and the limiting of the sacred to relatively few sites, more subject to institutional control.

Traditional popular religion shared common religious concepts with institutional religion, but unlike the latter, it did not coexist to the same extent with the abstract rationalism of modern society. It has been argued that traditional societies have no real historical consciousness. Their history, preserved and transmitted through myths and rituals, is the work of supernatural beings and mythical heroes, whose actions are the model for all significant human actions. Thus the present moment constantly intersects with the time of origins. Mythical time recurs, is cyclical, and can be exemplified by the festival, which interrupts the passage of profane time, allowing the supernatural and the mortal to intersect. This can also be exemplified by St. Brigid’s presence on the eve of her festival (St. Brigid’s Day, *Lá ’le Bríde*), blessing a ribbon (*brat Bríde*) left on the windowsill and endowing it with healing powers, or by the dangers of May Day (Bealtaine) or Hallowe’en (Samhain), when supernatural beings were about and interacted with mortals.

Holy-well pilgrimages and wake customs were a constant source of fascination to travelers and were widely condemned by churchmen. This interest was largely due to the apparent unseemly and scandalous mixing of boisterous entertainment with the sober piety of a religious occasion. Scholarly writing on festival has emphasized the importance of its role as a form of release in hierarchical societies, allowing the temporary suspension of norms and distinctions and a concomitant sense of communion and comradeship, *communitas* in Victor Turner’s terminology, thus helping to renew social order. Mikhail Bakhtin has argued that the boisterous festivities were a coequal part of such rituals, without which they could not reveal their true meaning. “The material bodily principle,” as he called it, with its emphasis on feasting, drinking, and sexual license, emphasized a biological humanity, which is immortal and thus pointed to the relativity of authority.

A “pattern” (from “patron [saint]”) was a type of pilgrimage normally held on a saint’s day and involved visiting a sacred site, which usually included ecclesiastical ruins, a holy well, and other features such as a cairn (mound of stones). The pattern entailed arduous devotions at the sacred site, fasting, numerous circumambulations of well, ruin, and cairns, and prayer. These were followed by eating, drinking, and storytelling, and the playing of music, dancing, and fighting, which sometimes led to fatalities. Thomas Crofton Croker (1824), visiting the pattern at Gougane Barra, County Cork, in 1813, sympathized with the simple devotion of the common people, but observed that “drunken men and the most depraved women mingled with those whose ideas of piety brought them to this spot; and a confused uproar of prayers and oaths, of sanctity and blasphemy sounded in the same instant on the ear.” This sums up the commonest objections to the pattern and helps to explain why a “civilizing offensive” of clerical and civil power helped finally to abolish it altogether or largely to reduce it to its devotions by the second half of the nineteenth century.

The wake was a key funerary custom lasting at least a night and involving the laying out of the body, usually in the family home of the deceased, so that respect could be paid by family, friends, and neighbors, and the deceased could be “keened” (ritually lamented). Alcohol, whiskey or *poitín*, and tobacco were provided to visitors, and after the saying of prayers amusements began and usually included storytelling, singing, dancing, the playing of music, card playing, contests of strength and agility, and merriment varying from practical jokes and mock sacraments to catch games and games of forfeit and the hide-and-seek kind. The Catholic Church vigorously opposed the ritual public mourning and the license, particularly of a sexual nature, of the wake. As with the pattern, the wake can also be seen as renewing social order, not at a fixed temporal and calendrical point but after the crisis and disruption caused by death. Gearóid Ó Cruaíoch argues that the “merry wake” “became a focus in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish popular culture for the carnivalesque element of social life,” increasingly subject to new forms of civil and ecclesiastical control (1998, p. 193). The merry wake rarely survived into the twentieth century and is illustrative of a continuous process, ultimately coercive, in the modern period of shifting the population away from traditional popular religion and toward more orthodox religious forms.

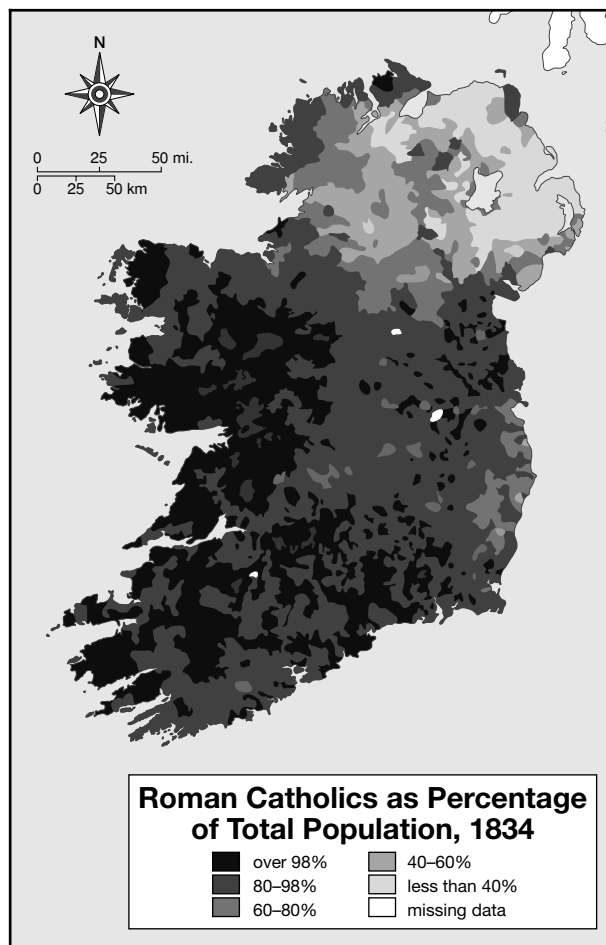
SEE ALSO Burial Customs and Popular Religion from 1500 to 1690; Devotional Revolution; Religion: Since

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Diarmuid Ó Giolláin



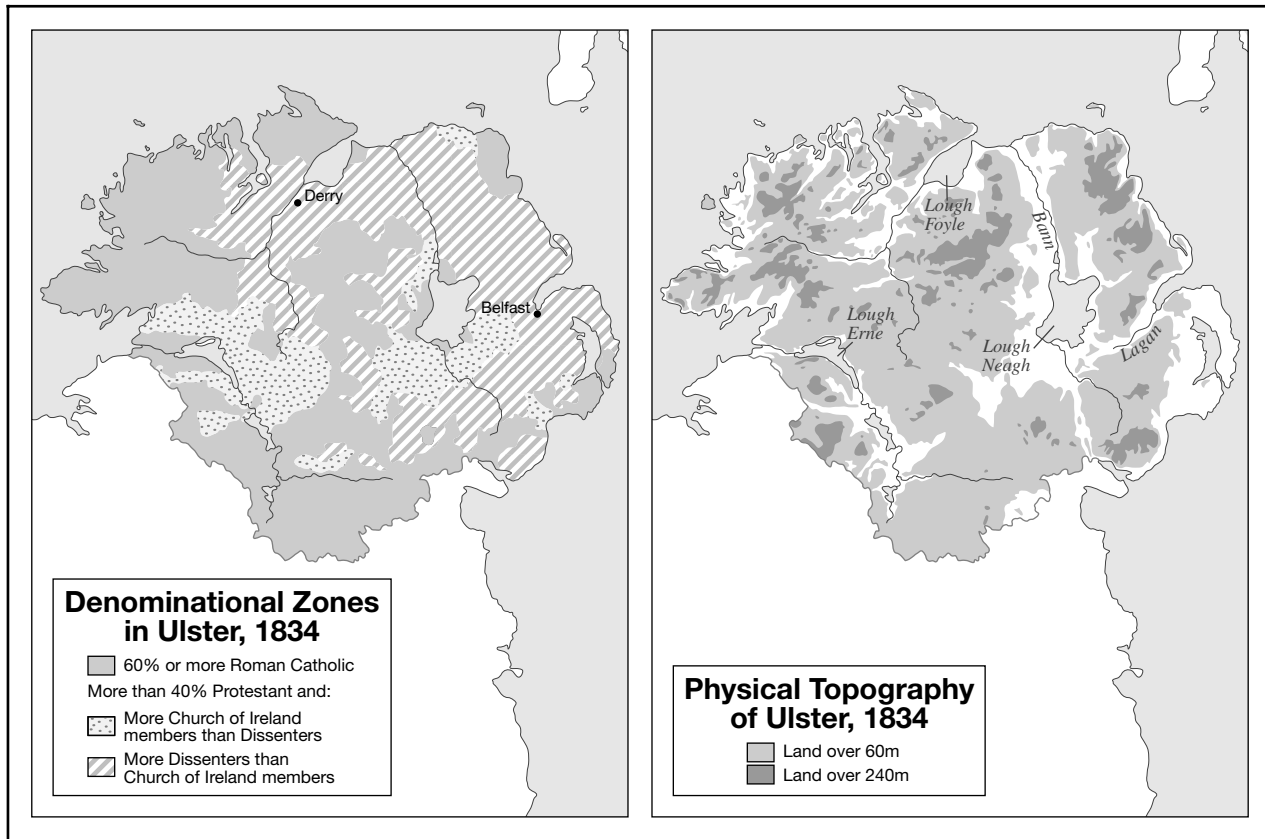
Religious Geography

The general pattern of geographic distribution of the major religious denominations in modern Ireland was established by events of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Native Irish “occupiers” of the land generally were Roman Catholic, but many of them were displaced from certain areas by Protestant settlers from England and Scotland. Meanwhile, the “ownership” of the land in most areas was transferred from Gaelic and Old English elites, who were still largely Catholic in the seventeenth century, to a New English elite composed of members of the Protestant Established Church. These transfers—together with some conversions of Catholic landlords in the eighteenth century—ensured that there was at least a small Protestant minority composed of landlord families and their retainers in nearly every part of Ireland in the nineteenth century.

The earliest census that provides reliable and consistent parish-level data on adherence to each of the major religious denominations throughout Ireland was con-

ducted in 1834. The first map here is based on these data and offers a snapshot of Irish religious geography about halfway through the period since the general pattern was established. The proportion of Protestants in the population, which may have been higher in the eighteenth century, was declining in many areas by the mid-nineteenth century, and that decline was accelerated in southern Ireland after independence in 1922. At present Protestants constitute less than 5 percent of the population of the Irish Republic.

The religious geography of Ulster reflects not only the displacement of Catholics by Protestant settlers but also the division among those Protestants between immigrants from England, who generally adhered to the Church of Ireland, and those from Scotland, who mostly retained the Presbyterianism of their mother country. At least as late as the 1790s that division within Protestantism was very important politically. Anglicanism dominated a zone based in the Erne valley in the southwest of the province and another zone in the lowlands around the southern shore of Lough Neagh. Usually, lowland territory is agriculturally more desirable;



significantly, Catholics and Presbyterians had to settle for the less desirable uplands adjacent to these zones. Presbyterians did, however, dominate the mouth of the River Lagan as well as the Lower Bann valley (known locally as “the Route”) and the Foyle valley (known, confusingly, as “the Laggan”). As a result, the two leading towns that developed in post-plantation Ulster, Belfast and Derry, were Presbyterian strongholds in the eighteenth century.

The industrialization of Belfast in the nineteenth century led to heavy migration from the countryside, including both Anglican and Catholic workers. As Presbyterians lost their majority position in the city, and as the political tensions between Anglicans and Presbyterians lost their salience, Belfast developed more or less clearly demarcated Protestant and Catholic working-class neighborhoods. A similar process happened in Derry, which is now a predominantly Catholic city. Such segregation became even more thorough during the “Troubles” that began in the late 1960s. Although the refusal of many persons to state their religion in recent censuses makes precision impossible, it appears that the present population of Northern Ireland is about 42 percent Catholic (compared with about 35 percent in the 1960s).

SEE ALSO Landscape and Settlement

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David W. Miller

Religious Orders

MEN
 WOMEN

TONY FLANNERY
 MARY PECKHAM
 MAGRAY

MEN

Though the nineteenth century opened with some of the penal laws still on the statute books, and though Catho-

lic Emancipation did not become law until 1829, in fact the “emancipation” of Catholics in Ireland had been substantially achieved by the turn of the century. Traditional religious orders, such as the Jesuits, re-emerged after the persecution, and by the middle of the century they were joined by many new orders, both native and from continental Europe.

Possibly the most significant of such new orders was that founded by Edmund Ignatius Rice in 1802, when he set up a school to educate the sons of poor families. This was the beginning of the Irish Christian Brothers, a congregation which came to have immense influence in Ireland for nearly two hundred years. With other groups, such as the Presentation and Franciscan Brothers, they gradually provided both primary and secondary schools for the sons of the poor. Similar development occurred among women’s orders to provide for the needs of girls.

Around the middle of the century a number of male religious orders came to Ireland from the Continent. The Passionists (1848) and the Redemptorists (1853) brought with them many of the devotional practices of Italy. Along with the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (1851) and a group of native priests who eventually came under the umbrella of the Vincentians, they began an intense period of missions around the country. These missions were enormously popular and led to an upsurge in religious practice and devotional exercises. Confraternities and sodalities were set up in parish churches. The Redemptorist Archconfraternity of the Holy Family, a confraternity for men in Limerick city, was the largest of its type in the world for many years. The Passionists had a similar one for boys at Mount Argus in Dublin that at its peak had a membership of close to 2,500. Devotion to the Miraculous Medal and the Sacred Heart of Jesus spread widely. These movements in popular piety changed the face of Irish Catholicism and led to a significant increase in the power and influence of the church. In fact, by the 1880s Catholic life and practice was dominated by its clergy to a greater degree than ever before, and this continued for almost one hundred years.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century Ireland had become a fertile ground for vocations, and other religious orders from the Continent, especially France, began to arrive. The Holy Ghost Fathers (1859) and the Society of African Missions (1877) were two of the most important. Their coming coincided with a period of great nationalist fervor, leading up to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. The clergy had been closely associated with the nationalist movement, and they benefited from this development. They had considerable status in the emerging society, religious orders

thrived, and a period of enormous missionary expansion began. In the minds of many Irish people the mission of the “Island of Saints and Scholars,” which had restored the faith to Europe in the eighth century, was being reenacted with great pride. Maynooth, the national seminary, was overflowing with candidates for the priesthood, and out of this abundance two new missionary institutes were founded, the Columbans in 1916 and the Kiltegan Fathers in 1932. A society that had become very religious and church-centered sent thousands of Irish missionaries to Africa, the Far East, and South and North America. To be a priest, and especially a missionary, was presented as a life of great service and idealism, superior to married life. In a poor Ireland with little opportunity for its young, becoming a priest or female religious was for many the best way of obtaining an education and having a chance to travel, living an interesting life, and stepping up the social ladder.

This period of growth for religious orders lasted until the 1960s, when a sudden change occurred. Vocations quickly dried up, and within a few years only a handful were joining. The Catholic Church was changing as Ireland became prosperous and economic opportunities abounded. The traditional power of the church began to be resented, and church attendance eventually fell sharply. People became more materially minded, the notion of service was no longer so attractive to the young, and scandals, particularly involving child abuse, further eroded the church’s influence. By the end of the twentieth century nearly all male religious orders in Ireland were in serious decline, with some already dying out.

SEE ALSO Devotional Revolution; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Overseas Missions; Religion: Since 1690; Rice, Edmund; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Sodalities and Confraternities; Temperance Movements; **Primary Documents:** An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1704)

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Tony Flannery

WOMEN

In 1771 the wealthy Catholic woman Nano Nagle paid for a foundation of the French Ursuline order in her native city of Cork, the first new convent in Ireland since the early seventeenth century. It proved to be a very significant event. Over the next century and a half, Irish women of means and ability created an immense network of institutions that became indispensable to the functioning of the Irish church and Irish society. In the process they were instrumental in constructing the devout, modern Irish-Catholic culture.

The significance of their lives and work has been much debated. They have been described variously as powerless subordinates who carried out the wishes of their male superiors, and also as resourceful women who took advantage of an opportunity (given to few women at the time) to create, finance, and run institutions, thereby effecting real social and religious change. Contemporary women have held them responsible for disseminating and inculcating a powerful gender ideology that continues to limit women's cultural authority and personal autonomy. In fact, all these assessments are valid. However, to focus exclusively on their subordinate position within the church or their maintenance of the traditional gender hierarchy is to overlook their influence on the world in which they lived. The women's orders helped to transform church and society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a consequence, it is impossible to discuss religious and cultural change in Ireland without discussing women religious.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY GROWTH

In 1750 there were just twelve houses of religious women in Ireland, which belonged to four old, established orders that had managed to survive despite two centuries of legal proscription and harassment. By the late eighteenth century, however, great change was under way, precipitated by canonical modifications in the organization of women's communities. In 1749, Pope Benedict XIV issued a precedent-setting ruling that conceded (after centuries of pressure) the right of religious women to form a new style of uncloistered, socially engaged women's community, ending the era of enforced enclosure in place since 1299. Although freedom of movement was still restricted, the new congregations did afford women the right to undertake a range of religious and charitable activities within the community.

Wealthy Irish women (like many other women of their class in Europe at this time who sought a life dedicated to philanthropic work) were quick to take advantage of this development. In just a few decades they re-

talized the religious life for women. Old religious orders like the Dominicans (who became prominent educators of the daughters of wealthier Catholics) and the Poor Clares (who took up the institutional care of orphans) were revived, and dynamic new Irish congregations (whose ministry was primarily to the poor) were formed. The most important of these were Nano Nagle's Sisters of the Presentation, founded in 1775; the Sisters of Charity, begun in 1815 by Mary Aikenhead; the Loreto Sisters (an Irish foundation of Mary Ward's Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary), founded in 1820 by Frances Ball; the Sisters of Mercy, created by Catherine McAuley in 1831; Margaret Aylward's Sisters of the Holy Faith, founded in 1867; and the Medical Missionaries of Mary, founded by Marie Martin in 1936. In addition, many European congregations made foundations in Ireland, including the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, the Good Shepherd Sisters, and the Saint Louis Sisters. Following the establishment of the first houses, branch foundations were made, gradually expanding the convent network throughout Ireland between 1775 and 1850. By 1900 there were 368 convents in the country, belonging to thirty-five different orders. Numbers of vowed women continued increasing until the middle of the twentieth century, and at their peak they comprised almost 75 percent of the total Irish Catholic workforce of priests, monks, and nuns.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

From large and imposing buildings (often the most prominent local landmarks) in Ireland's cities and towns, the women's orders developed and managed large and complex enterprises. During the first half of the nineteenth century out-of-doors relief to the sick and poor was a principal occupation of the Irish orders. They were later quick to utilize state subsidies to develop institutional care. Orphanages, industrial-training schools, reformatories, hospitals, hospices, and asylums (for the blind, the aged, the homeless, the mentally impaired, and those marginalized in other ways) all appeared in increasing numbers after 1850.

During the last half of the nineteenth century some orders took up nursing, managing their own private hospitals and health-care facilities as well as providing nurses at state institutions. They did not undertake professional medical or nurses' training, however, until well into the twentieth century after the canonical prohibition on the study of medicine (1917-1936) was rescinded. Their relatively recent access to professional training notwithstanding, by the twentieth century women religious managed to own, operate, and staff Ireland's major hospitals.

Perhaps their most significant work was in education. Beginning early in the nineteenth century, women's orders accepted state funding to establish a network of national primary schools and, later, secondary schools. After 1922, with the full financial and ideological support of the new southern Irish state, women religious came to control Catholic female education in the country.

Finally, the expansion of Irish orders outside of the country that had begun in the nineteenth century (principally in North America and Australia) continued in the twentieth. Irish women religious played a prominent role in the missionary movement, starting new orders and opening new convents in Africa and Asia.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DECLINE

The decade of the 1950s proved to be the high-water mark of devotional Catholicism in Ireland. Thereafter, the conventual movement suffered a precipitous decline. Though religious life had long been a fulfilling and highly sought-after avocation for women—a chance for many to hold positions of responsibility and authority not available to them in secular society—by the 1960s it no longer offered the opportunity it once had. A century after women began to demand access to education, employment, and political and civil rights, Irish women's lives were irrevocably changed. And in the increasingly secularized world within which those lives were lived, the conservative brand of Catholicism that the women's orders helped to create now came under scrutiny. Women's educational and professional credentials were no longer a luxury but, in some cases, a necessity, and in this regard women religious fell far short. Long eschewing the need for advanced education and training, relying instead on their moral and spiritual authority, women religious now seemed to be ill-educated, poorly compensated, and seriously outdated vestiges of a society that no longer existed. Burdened by archaic restrictions on their personal freedom on the one hand, and by a serious (and highly critical) reinterpretation of the benefit and impact of their work by young Irish women on the other, the Irish women's orders began to contract in the 1960s. By the 1980s they were forced to begin closing convents around the country in response to the sharp decline in their numbers. The Irish witnessed again what had not been seen in a hundred and fifty years—towns without convents.

SEE ALSO Devotional Revolution; Education: Women's Education; Nagle, Honora (Nano); Overseas Missions; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1690

to 1829; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Secularization; Sodalities and Confraternities; **Primary Documents:** An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1704)

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Mary Peckham Magray

Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)

Established in Ireland by 1654, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) is remembered for its unprecedented relief during the Great Famine of 1845 to 1851. Never numbering more than about 3,000, Irish Quakers had an impact on social policies and the relief of distress far greater than their proportion in the population. English in origin, some were farmers, others artisans and merchants. Upon moving into manufacturing, the professions, commerce, and shipping, they won respect for their rectitude in business. After the Restoration of 1660, Irish Quakers were considered a threat to the supremacy of the established Church of Ireland, and they endured a century of persecution, distraint of their goods, and imprisonment. In response they developed systems to care for oppressed members, which they soon extended outside of the sect. About 1680, Quaker Anthony Sharp of Dublin prepared a plan to care for the indigent and beggars. During the Williamite war pacifist Quakers cared impartially for the wounded and distressed, inspiring the memorable cry "Spare the Quakers, they do good to all and harm to none." In the 1798 rebellion Quaker women organized soup kitchens, the distinctive manifestation of Quaker practicality. In the famine of 1821 to 1822, Quakers worked on relief committees. By documenting and publicizing distress during the Great Famine in the late 1840s, Quakers defined

the limits of philanthropy and state responsibility, challenging official policies with irrefutable statistics and contravening government relief procedures. They brought an awareness of the true condition of Ireland to North America. Through their Central Relief Committee they coordinated the outpouring of famine relief materials and money (amounting to about 6 million dollars in modern funds) directed to their care. Quakers tackled the Irish Fisheries Board over inappropriate legislation for fishing seasons, made interest-free loans to bring waste land into production, revitalized the fishing industry, led the establishment of linen manufacture in parts of the west and south, undertook the provision of employment for women as well as men, and carried out two massive distributions of green-crop seeds to provide immediate food and an alternative to potatoes. A model farm was set up to train Irish farmers in the management of new crops. Quaker relief policies were institutionalized in the sect and have become the methodology in Third World relief and development today.

In the postfamine years the Quakers, led most visibly by Jonathan Pim (MP, Dublin city, 1865–1874), pressed land-reform campaigns through legislation from the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 to the great 1881 Land Act. The Friends mounted relief campaigns during the acute distress of 1860 to 1863 and 1880 to 1881, and yet again during the war of 1919 to 1921. In the 1980s Quakers led a campaign to find homes for itinerants and to get their children into school. The relief work that is remembered in the phrase, “They fed us in the famine,” is only one aspect of major services to Ireland in 350 years of Irish Quakerism.

SEE ALSO Great Famine

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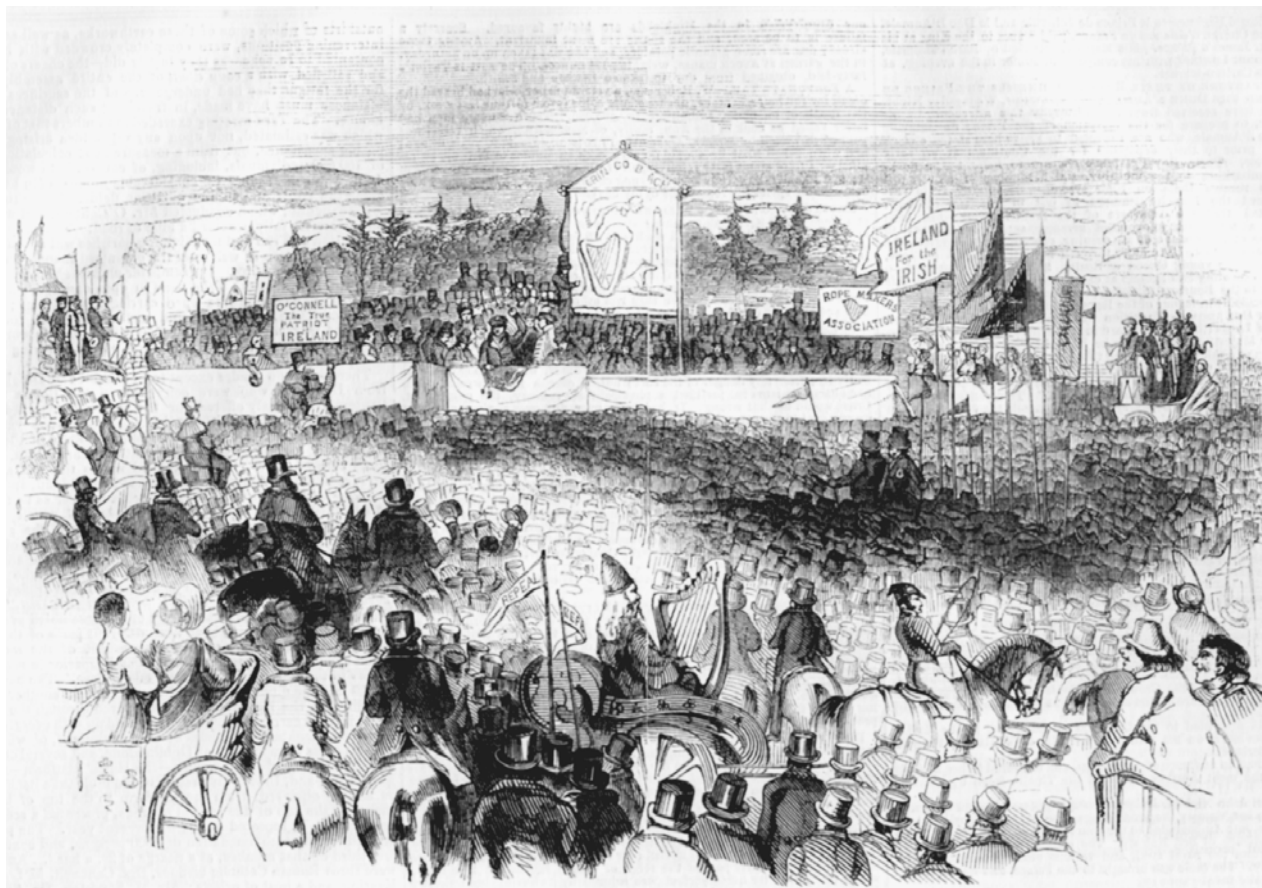
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Helen E. Hatton

Repeal Movement

Many Irish people, including Daniel O'Connell, opposed the Act of Union (1800) from its inception, but it was not until the late 1830s that nationalists began an organized campaign to bring about its repeal and to develop a form of self-government for Ireland. O'Connell launched the Precursor Society of Ireland in 1838 as a preliminary to forming the Loyal National Repeal Association in July 1840. By 1843 this organization, whose general structure resembled that of the Catholic Association of the 1820s, had drawn thousands into its ranks and had become the vehicle for mass agitation on an unprecedented scale.

The repeal movement differed from the campaign for Catholic emancipation in a number of ways. First, the Repeal Association brought political organization to a new level of sophistication. It boasted a permanent staff of nearly sixty people who formed departments and committees that specialized in particular issues and activities; it featured a three-tiered membership, each with its own identification card and annual dues; it operated at the parish level through “repeal wardens” who were in regular contact with the central organization and who supervised repeal reading rooms and collected the “repeal rent.” The latter, a national fundraising scheme, was crucial to the functioning of the organization; in 1843 and 1844 alone it brought in £92,590 (this compared with around £55,000 collected for the “Catholic rent” between 1826 and 1829). Second, O'Connellites were more skilled in politics by the 1840s than they had been in the 1820s. The campaigns for Catholic emancipation, tithe reform, tenant right, and other issues had turned countless numbers of them into experienced activists and politicians. As well, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1840 created Catholic-nationalist majorities on the town councils and corporations of more than a half-dozen large municipalities. Third, it was easier to mobilize the Catholic population in the 1840s than it had been two decades earlier. Thanks to a slow but steady growth in literacy and an expanded nationalist press—by 1843 the *Young Ireland* weekly, the *Nation*, enjoyed the largest circulation of any newspaper in the country—repeal supporters were better informed about national issues and could be reached more easily. Father Theobald Mathew's temperance crusade in the early 1840s had produced a more sober population and, through its mass assemblies, showed the enthusiasm that immense public gatherings could generate. Finally, a substantial majority of the Catholic hierarchy endorsed the repeal movement, as did most ordinary parish priests, many of whom be-



Depicted here is the “monster meeting” staged in August 1843 at Tara, site of the ancient Irish high kings near Dublin. It was the largest of about forty vast gatherings organized in that year. Supporters of repeal of the Union with Britain exaggerated the size of the crowds, but they were still among the biggest political assemblies ever seen in Ireland. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 26 AUGUST 1843.

came the key organizers in their parishes. “Do nothing without the clergy,” was the advice that O’Connell gave to his colleagues in the field.

MONSTER MEETINGS

When a Tory government took office in 1841, the prospects of gaining repeal solely through Parliament appeared to fade. O’Connell believed that some sort of extraparliamentary pressure was needed and, with the conclusion of his term as lord mayor of Dublin in late 1842, he and his aides focused their attentions on obtaining repeal. The plan they developed involved the staging of a series of large open-air meetings in the three southern provinces (O’Connellite support was weakest in Ulster) that would attract as many people as possible. As O’Connell put it, the purpose of these “monster meetings” was not to convince Irish nationalists of the need for repeal, “but to convince our enemies—to con-

vince the British statesmen. . . . I want to make all Europe and America know it—I want to make England feel her weakness if she refuses to give the justice we require—the restoration of our domestic parliament.”

During a six-month period in 1843—the “Repeal Year”—O’Connell and his followers organized more than thirty repeal gatherings. Some of the sites that they chose, such as the Hill of Tara (the seat of the ancient high kings of Ireland), Clontarf (where Brian Boru defeated a Danish army in 1014), and the Rath of Mullahmast (where English soldiers slaughtered Irish leaders in 1577), were intended to evoke a sense of continuity with Ireland’s past. Other meetings took place in the larger cities and provincial towns in order to blanket Leinster, Munster, and Connacht and thereby enable everyone in these areas to attend at least one of them. The number of people who *did* attend has always been a subject of debate. Nationalists naturally gave inflated estimates, invariably reporting crowds in the hundreds

of thousands and, in the case of the Tara meeting, claiming that more than a million people attended. The government and the Tory press, by contrast, downplayed the size of the meetings. Precise figures are impossible to come by, but it is certain that the assemblies were huge by any standard. Even reducing nationalist figures by as much as 75 percent would mean that about one and a half million people—or approximately one-quarter of the total population of the three southern provinces—attended monster meetings in 1843. This in itself constituted an unparalleled achievement in political mobilization in Europe and North America. The meetings were spectacular events that commenced with massive processions that numbered in the thousands and that featured bands, elaborate banners, floats, and street theater. By including townsfolk and people from the surrounding countryside, the parades symbolized the way that the repeal movement had united the urban middle classes and small farmers. This was also apparent when the same crowds later gathered in a large open area to hear O'Connell and other dignitaries speak on the subject of repeal. There were additional speeches at an evening banquet, this time to a smaller, more select group of the local elite in a hotel or special pavilion.

THE END OF REPEAL

Despite their color and excitement, the monster meetings failed in their objective. British opinion remained steadfastly opposed to granting self-government for Ireland in any form because it seemed to threaten the very existence of the United Kingdom and the empire. The government banned the monster meeting scheduled for Clontarf on 8 October 1843 and charged O'Connell and eight of his associates with conspiring to alter the government and constitution by unlawful means. After a lengthy trial they were found guilty, fined, and sent to Richmond prison for nine months to a year. An appeal to the House of Lords gained their early release in September 1844, after which O'Connell renewed the repeal campaign. He appeared at a few more monster meetings in the summer of 1845, but at age seventy his physical strength and mental powers were obviously waning. Leadership of the Repeal Association fell increasingly to his son John, whose tactlessness and arrogance alienated many nationalists.

Most important, rifts opened up in the repeal movement between the Young Irelanders and O'Connellites who proudly styled themselves as "Old Ireland." Their differences were generational and ideological, but they were fought out over specific issues such as the Queen's Colleges Bill of 1845. This measure, which established three colleges in Ireland, also placed restrictions on theological education and thereby ap-

pealed to Thomas Davis and other Young Irelanders who believed that it would promote an all-inclusive nationality. By contrast, O'Connell and his supporters condemned the "godless colleges." The split grew wider after Davis died in September 1845; it became irreparable a year later when the O'Connellites introduced resolutions calling upon all repealers to renounce the use of physical force as a means of obtaining Irish self-government. John Mitchel, William Smith O'Brien, and other Young Irelanders soon left the Repeal Association, and in January 1847 they formed a rival organization, the Irish Confederation. These events, coupled with the death of O'Connell in May, the devastation of the Great Famine, and the abortive Young Ireland rising of July 1848, effectively ended the repeal movement. Nevertheless, it established a potent legacy that found expression in the Home Rule movement of the late nineteenth century.

SEE ALSO Davis, Thomas; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Mitchel, John; Newspapers; O'Connell, Daniel; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; **Primary Documents:** On Repeal of the Act of Union at the "Monster Meeting" at Mullingar (14 May 1843)

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Gary Owens

Republic of Ireland, Declaration of

See Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act.



Restoration Ireland

The Cromwellian conquest of Ireland (1649–1653) had resulted in massive transfers of land, but not commensurate immigration, and in the months preceding the restoration of Charles II in May 1660, the established settlers, who had been the principal beneficiaries of the recent confiscation of Catholic estates, asserted themselves to seize the political initiative. Their desire for the return of monarchy was sincere, but it was qualified by their determination to preserve the land settlement and to defend it by excluding Catholics from political power. Catholics in Ireland sought the overthrow of the settlement and the benefits of the Ormond peace of 1649, which had granted to individual Catholics the free exercise of their religion and made them eligible for appointment to public office. Although Charles was conscious of an obligation to Catholics who had been loyal to his father, he was mindful that his political circumstances did not allow him to favor Catholics over Protestants. The Act of Settlement (1662) incorporated a compromise that aimed to restore their estates to those Catholics who established their innocence of involvement in the rebellion of 1641 before a court of claims and to compensate (or “reprise”) their Protestant successors with grants of reserve lands that had not been distributed in the 1650s. The impracticality of this scheme was revealed when the success rate of the first batch of Catholic claimants proved so unexpectedly high as to exceed the reserve lands available. The court was abruptly adjourned, leaving thousands of claims unheard. An alternative approach was adopted in an Act of Explanation (1665), which required grantees to each relinquish one-third of their land to provide sufficient land reserves to make room for the reinstatement not only of those dispossessed Catholics who had received decrees of innocence from the court of claims, but also for new land grants for a number of prominent Catholics nominated by the king. This act made no provision for further hearings of claims of innocence—when a new court of claims opened to administer the act in 1666, its operating principle was that those who had not already been declared innocent were irredeemably guilty. The result was the permanent disinheritation of those Catholics who had not already benefited. When the court concluded its business in 1669, the proportion of land owned by Catholics, which had fallen from 60 percent in 1640 to about 10 percent in 1660, stood at 22 percent (Simms 1956, p. 195).

Charles’s own priority in 1660 was the restoration of the Church of Ireland, and this was accomplished expeditiously through a complete set of appointments to

vacant bishoprics and the passage of a new Act of Uniformity (1666). Those who hoped for a policy of accommodation with the Presbyterian community were disappointed. A three-tier system emerged in which only members of the Protestant Established Church, who constituted perhaps 40 percent of the Protestant community, enjoyed full privileges. Presbyterians, who accounted for about one-third of Irish Protestants and whose numbers increased steadily with continued migration from Scotland to Ulster, were subject to religious and civil disabilities, as were other Protestant dissenters. In practice, they were allowed to worship freely, but their marriages and the legitimacy of their children were not recognized and their conscientious refusal to take an oath acknowledging the king as the supreme governor of the church excluded them from appointment to public office. Catholics, who amounted to some three-quarters of the population, were tolerated at the Crown’s discretion. Though there were instances of Catholic persecution, and a sustained period of repression during the “Popish Plot” crisis in England (1678–1681), in general Charles’s tolerant inclinations and his devious foreign policy combined to favor freedom of worship, and the reconstruction of both the regular and secular components of the Catholic Church proceeded without official opposition.

At the insistence of Protestants in Ireland, who recognized that the preservation of the land settlement depended upon the retention of political power, Catholics ceased to be admitted to membership in the Irish parliament. The right to vote was not withheld, but Catholic voting strength was greatly reduced by the loss of property and by a related shift of control in the towns, which had become Protestant enclaves. The complementary mainstay of the settlement was the control of military force. The standing army, at between 5,000 and 7,000 men, was twice as large as the prewar army and was deployed widely in small garrisons as an internal security force. At first undenominationally Protestant, and a source of official anxiety because many of the soldiers had served in Cromwellian armies, the introduction of obligatory attendance at divine service converted it gradually into a predominantly Anglican force. It was supplemented by local militia forces that were organized on a county basis and attracted a degree of participation that indicated both the priority that Protestant proprietors attached to defense and their unwillingness to leave the entire responsibility for it in the hands of the central authority.

The restoration arrangements rested upon force, and the main routine business of government was to find the money to pay for the security that the system required. After initial problems of adjustment this did

not prove difficult. The prewar regime, which had relied on archaic feudal taxes for its ordinary revenue, had been dominated by financial problems. The restored government drew its revenue principally from a hearth tax, customs duties, and the introduction of internal excise duties. These were largely consumer taxes, and the effect was to redistribute the costs of government from the property-holding classes to the community at large. The policy was both politically shrewd and fiscally successful. The period proved to be one of fairly constant economic expansion, revenue was buoyant, the expense of the military was easily borne, and the government was absolved from the need to summon Parliament again after its dissolution in 1666. Economic growth suffered an apparent and deeply resented setback in 1667 when the export of Irish cattle, sheep, and pork to England and Scotland was prohibited, but in reality the diversification of Irish pastoral exports was already under way and proved more profitable than the traditional supply of store cattle to the English market. Wool exports to England increased, exports to the French market expanded, and the provision trade with the transatlantic colonies was developed. The profits of expanding trade were closely associated with landownership, either directly through large-scale production for export markets or indirectly through increased rents, which meant that the Protestant community enjoyed a disproportionate benefit, all the more so because international trade was largely in Protestant hands. Nonetheless, vigorous population growth suggests that there was some trickle-down effect. Prosperity underpinned government by providing the revenue that supported the army that upheld the established order.

An important element of the new order was novel. Faced with the imperialist claims of the English Parliament in the 1640s, both Protestants and Catholics had protested that Ireland was a separate kingdom under the same crown and was not subject to the authority of the English legislature. They had not changed their minds by 1660, but Protestants were reluctant to offend Parliament and embarrass Charles by pressing the point. They raised no objection to English acts regulating Irish trade and disposing of Irish land, and their silence condoned a significant change in the legal relationship of the two kingdoms.

Outwardly, Restoration Ireland witnessed a remarkable recovery from the disruptions brought about by war and political uncertainty. By Charles's death in 1685, the government was solvent and stable, the established church was firmly in place, the land settlement and its associated social order had been maintained, trade was flourishing, and the population was growing. All of this was secured by a Protestant mo-

nopoly of administrative and political power, the protection of a large military force, and the support of the English government. The structure, however, was under a variety of strains. The most obtrusive was the discontent of those who had been deprived of land, office, and influence, most particularly the members of the Old English community. The defenses against disaffection were elaborate, but they depended ultimately on what had come to be recognized as the vital stress point—the reliability of English support. Since the early 1670s, when the conversion to Catholicism of James, Charles's brother and heir, had become public knowledge, the prospect of his succession had been a destabilizing influence in Ireland. From their different perspectives, all parties feared or hoped that the accession of a Catholic monarch would make the Protestant monopoly of power unsustainable and open the way to a sympathetic reconsideration of the inequities of the land settlement of the 1660s. As a result, the second half of Charles's reign was not the period of consolidation that it seemed to be on the surface, but a period of marking time until his death inexorably reopened the fundamental issues of land and religion that divided the communities of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1500 to 1690; Boyle, Robert; Butler, James, Twelfth Earl and First Duke of Ormond; Petty, Sir William; Plunkett, Oliver; Puritan Sectaries; Smith, Erasmus

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Aidan Clarke

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Rice, Edmund

Edmund Rice (1762–1844), educator, founder of Presentation Brothers and Irish Christian Brothers, was born at Callan, Co. Kilkenny, and educated at a local “hedge school” before being apprenticed to his uncle, a merchant in Waterford, in 1779. Rice amassed a fortune in the provisioning trade at Waterford, where he joined the campaign of the Catholic Committee for emancipation. In 1785 he married Mary Elliott; their only child, Mary, was mentally handicapped, and Rice suffered additional heartbreak in 1789 with the death of his wife.

This tragedy radically changed Rice’s priorities and from that point he became increasingly involved in pious and charitable pursuits. Initially he devoted his attention to the plight of prisoners and orphans, assisting in the foundation of the Trinitarian Orphan Society (1793) and the Society for the Relief of Distressed Roomkeepers (1794). His greatest contribution, however, was to Catholic education. Prompted by a pastoral address of Bishop Thomas Hussey, in 1802 Rice established a religious community of laymen dedicated to teaching poor boys, modeled upon the Nano Nagle’s Presentation Sisters. The schools followed a plan devised by Rice. The curriculum was a pragmatic combination of best practice of the time, but from the outset the Brothers were determined to preserve the exclusively Catholic character of their schools. In time this led to acrimonious relations with the National Board and the eventual withdrawal of Rice’s schools from the system. By the time of Rice’s death in 1844 the Brothers had forty-three schools, including six in England. Besides founding the schools, Rice played a key role in the revival of the institutional church following the dislocation of the penal era. A collaborator of Daniel O’Connell, Theobald Mathew, and Charles Bianconi, Edmund Rice was a key figure in the modernization of Irish society; he was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1996.

SEE ALSO Education: Primary Private Education—“Hedge Schools” and Other Schools; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Religious Orders: Men; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891

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Dáire Keogh

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Richard II in Ireland

Richard II, the only king of England to visit Ireland between 1210 and 1689, did so in order to retain his lordship there in the face of two threats: a mounting Gaelic recovery, particularly in Leinster under Art MacMurrough, and a dangerous depopulation of the English colony, caused partly by plague and by the flight of colonists before the Irish advance. Richard used the opportunity of peace with France and Scotland in 1394 to lead an expedition in person, as had long been called for by the Anglo-Irish. Having proclaimed that all men of Irish birth should return there, he assembled a fleet of perhaps 500 ships and set sail from Haverfordwest in late September. When joined by Anglo-Irish troops upon his arrival, he had an army of 8,000 to 10,000 men, the largest that had ever been sent to Ireland.

Richard landed at Waterford on 2 October, but he waited until the end of the month before marching against MacMurrough, having first established a ring of garrisons around his territory. MacMurrough was attacked by force and eventually compelled to submit, as did his vassal kings, O’Byrne, O’Toole, and O’Nolan. In the following months, amid heavy fighting in some areas, negotiations ensued with the other Irish kings, most of whom, seeing the ease of Richard’s success in Leinster, decided to submit on terms. Some did so voluntarily, hoping that by becoming his subjects he would shield them from colonial aggression, and Richard too seems to have arrived at a greater understanding of Irish grievances, and was intent on a more conciliatory approach.

The problem was that Richard’s policy involved strengthening the colony by resettlement of land held by absentee lords, whose interests were in direct conflict with the Irish. The earldom of Ulster, for instance, was now the possession of Richard’s heir, Roger Mortimer, and when Richard left Ireland after having appointed him as lieutenant, a clash with O’Neill was inevitable, since the latter had overrun much of the territory of the earldom. The settlement that Richard had imposed was therefore fragile and superficial, and it had collapsed by



Richard II's fleet sails from Ireland (c. 1399). From Jean Creton's verse chronicle of the campaign, *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre Richard II . . .* (c. 1400–1425). © THE BRITISH LIBRARY/TOPHAM-HIP/THE IMAGE WORKS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the time Mortimer was killed in 1398. When Richard made a second expedition to Ireland in 1399, it was with vengeance in mind, however his weaker force met with hardened Irish resistance, and was probably doomed even before news arrived from England of the coup by his cousin, the future Henry IV, which ended both his reign and his life.

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Seán Duffy

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland; Gaelic Recovery; Gaelic Society in the Late Middle Ages; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence; **Primary Documents:** King Richard II in Ireland (1395)

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Rinuccini, Giovanni Battista

Archbishop of Fermo and papal nuncio to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini (1592–1653) was born in Rome on 15 September 1592 (new style). After a glittering scholastic career he received a doctorate of *Utrumque Ius* from the University of Pisa and was employed as a referendary in the Roman Curia before being promoted to the archbishopric of Fermo in Italy on 17 November (ns) 1625. In March 1645, with considerable fanfare he was appointed nuncio to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland and began his journey to the island. After a stay of several months in Paris in an unsuccessful attempt to thaw diplomatic

relations between France and the Holy See, he eventually landed in Kenmare Bay, Co. Kerry, in October and entered the de facto Confederate capital in Kilkenny on 12 November (old style).

For most of his first year in Ireland, Rinuccini attempted to prevent the conclusion of the first Ormond Peace between the Confederate Catholics and Charles I's lord lieutenant, the marquis of Ormond, because it failed to guarantee rights to property and jurisdiction to the Catholic clergy. Military successes in June and July of that year, partially owing to the 50,000 scudi that the pope had provided for the Irish mission, confirmed his belief that a more militant policy would enjoy both practical success and divine favor. When the peace was finally published in Confederate quarters in early August 1646, Rinuccini led the Irish clergy in the synod of Waterford, which repudiated the peace and overthrew the government that the treaty had established. The nuncio became president of a new Confederate Supreme Council, which launched an unsuccessful assault on Ormond in Dublin. From this point on, his influence began to wane. He resigned his presidency in early 1647, confident that his supporters still dominated Confederate government, but a succession of military disasters, partially attributable to the alienation of the Confederate faction that had supported the peace, severely eroded his influence. He was tempted to leave Ireland in March 1648 but elected to remain and resist the Inchiquin truce, which he considered a device to prepare the way for the reintroduction of the Ormond Peace. His excommunication of the supporters of the truce in May 1648 triggered a Confederate civil war that his partisans eventually lost. This paved the way to the negotiation of the second Ormond Peace of January 1649. Bitterly disappointed and resentful, the nuncio left Ireland in the following month.

During his career in Ireland Rinuccini was animated by a distrust of the Confederate peace party, which he believed ready to abandon the interests of the clergy for private gain, and by a belief that genuine commitment to war in the Catholic interest offered real possibilities of success, not least because it would attract large-scale papal assistance. In the event he was able neither to unify the Confederates around a militant strategy nor to attract substantial investment from the pope. Instead, he served merely to delay the completion of peace between the Royalist and Confederate parties and to ensure that the forces that opposed invasion from England in 1649 not only lacked possession of Dublin but were weaker and less united than they would have been without his mission.

SEE ALSO Confederation of Kilkenny; Darcy, Patrick; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); O'Mahony, Conor, S. J.; Rebellion of 1641

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Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin



Robinson, Mary

First female president of Ireland, long-time human-rights campaigner, and United Nations (UN) Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson (née Bourke) was born in Ballina, Co. Mayo, in 1944. Mary attended a private primary school, and her secondary education was gained at the Sacred Heart Convent at Mount Anville in Dublin. She also attended a finishing school in Paris. At Trinity College, Dublin, she studied law and won a postgraduate fellowship to Harvard in 1967. After practicing for a year as a barrister, she was appointed Reid Professor of Law at Trinity College in 1969. In the same year she was elected a senator on the Trinity College panel, and in the following year introduced a bill to repeal the laws banning the importation and sale of contraceptives. This was to be the first of three unsuccessful private member's bills that she introduced on this subject. In 1975 she acted for Mairin de Burca and Mary Anderson when they successfully took the state to the Supreme Court for its exclusion of women from jury duty. She campaigned on a broad spectrum of human-rights and feminist issues—against internment in Northern Ireland, against the Emergency Powers Act in the Republic, and for greater support for unmarried

mothers who wanted to keep their children. In 1979 she took a successful case against the Irish government to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg for its failure to provide free legal aid in a family-law matter. She also worked to abolish the status of illegitimacy and campaigned against the 1983 antiabortion amendment to the constitution. In 1986 she defended freedom of information about abortion. She was involved in the campaign to preserve Viking Dublin, served on the Dublin Vocational Education Committee, and participated in the Divorce Action Group, founded in 1980.

In 1976 she joined the Labour Party and stood unsuccessfully for election to the Dáil in 1977 and 1981, but she regained her senate seat on both occasions. In 1985 she resigned from the Labour Party in protest over its support for the Hillsborough Anglo-Irish Agreement, yet in 1990 the party adopted her as its candidate for the presidency. In November 1990 she was elected the first female president of Ireland. She made the first working visit of an Irish president to Belfast in 1992 and traveled to other trouble spots all over the globe. In 1997 she announced that she would not be seeking a second term as president, and was appointed UN Commissioner for Human Rights, a position that she held until 2002.

She married Nicholas Robinson in 1970, and they have three children—Tessa (born in 1972), William (1974), and Aubrey (1981).

SEE ALSO Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Presidency; Women's Parliamentary Representation since 1922; **Primary Documents:** On the Family Planning Bill (20 February 1974)

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Caitriona Clear

Roman Catholic Church

1690 TO 1829 C. D. A. LEIGHTON
1829 TO 1891 OLIVER P. RAFFERTY

SINCE 1891

DAVID W. MILLER AND
JAMES S. DONNELLY,
JR.

1690 TO 1829

From the sixteenth century until 1800, Ireland was singular among European states in that the greater part of the population adhered to a religion that was regarded with intense hostility by the ruling elite and the organs of government. The position of the Catholic Church, embraced by this majority, was rendered even more difficult in the wake of the defeat in 1691 of the cause of the dethroned Catholic monarch James II. The Irish parliament's relevant legislation of this period was, ostensibly, largely directed toward securing the Protestant character of the establishment, by destroying the economic, political, and military capacity of the surviving Catholic part of the elite. However, legislation was also directed against the Catholic Church itself. Further, the assumptions of the age about the ability of the elite to determine the religion of the inferior ranks of society allow it to be said that the penal code, as it came to be known, sought the destruction of the Catholic religion.

The anti-Catholic legislation proved impossible to enforce in its entirety, and disruption of fundamental Catholic practice was restricted to the decades around the turn of the century. As the eighteenth century wore on, conversions from Catholicism were numerous; but the weakness of the established religion and the poverty and distinct culture of most Catholics served as barriers to any major change in affiliation. In the long term, this experience assisted Catholicism in adapting to the changing circumstances of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Catholic Ireland was largely immune to the contagion of the Enlightenment—always an elite affair—but was enthusiastic in embracing its notions of religious toleration, propagated by Charles O'Connor of Belanagare and later publicists in the Catholic cause. The way was paved for the turbulent religious pluralism of the nineteenth century. The hostility of an essentially Protestant ancien régime, which survived well into the nineteenth century, had the singular effect of ensuring that Catholicism was the firm ally of the liberalism of the period.

The government of the Irish church was singularly constituted. Though Ireland fell under the jurisdiction of the Roman congregation (Propaganda) responsible for non-Catholic countries, it continued to possess a national hierarchy. It was the exiled Stuart sovereign who nominated its members until 1766. Thereafter, Irish bishops were, in effect, very often able to nominate their



OUR readers are to suppose the Reverend Philemy M'Guirk, parish priest of Tir-neer, to be standing upon the altar of the chapel, facing the congregation, after having gone through the canon of the Mass; and having nothing more of the service to perform, than the usual prayers with which he closes the ceremony.

“Take notice, that the Stations for the following week will be held as follows :—

VOL. I.

I.

A “station” mass celebrated in a private home remote from the nearest Catholic chapel. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries this was a common arrangement to deal with shortages of clergy and inaccessible church accommodation. Illustration from William Carleton (1794–1869), *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (1830). COURTESY OF THE GRADUATE LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

own successors. From about 1780 the question of the nomination of bishops was central to a conflict, which lasted some fifty years, about who was to exercise the greatest influence over the church as it emerged from its repressed condition. From 1808 attempts by politicians to gain influence for the state were firmly resisted by the bishops; but their clerical and lay subjects also entered the fray. Substantially, victory went to the bishops, and the nineteenth-century Irish church was free of both excessive political influence and internal factionalism.

The Banishment Act of 1697 did come close to obliterating its targets, the episcopal bench and the regular clergy. However, both bodies recovered quickly. By the middle of the century friars had become numerous enough to be seen as undermining the diocesan and parochial structures of the church, and Roman decrees of 1743 and 1751 restricted their activities and reduced their numbers. The episode is indicative of the reasonably healthy condition and satisfactory circumstances of the clerical body as a whole by this time. Certainly, clerical numbers did not constitute a serious problem; but despite the establishment of seminaries within Ireland, notably at Maynooth, toward the end of the century, they did not manage to match the population growth in the famous gap between the famines (1740s to 1840s). The penal legislation did not advert to religious women; but life was in fact difficult for them, and for most of the eighteenth century there were not more than about a dozen convents in the country. They generally presented themselves as girls' boarding schools. New, indigenous foundations, beginning with Nano Nagle's Presentation Sisters, marked the beginnings of spectacular growth thereafter.

The history of Irish Catholic practice in the period conforms to a general European picture: There was a diffusion of Tridentine patterns of religious behavior, which were particularly slow to reach poorer rural regions. As elsewhere, this regional variation was magnified by linguistic difference. The oral and scribal culture of Gaelic Ireland certainly produced a distinctive religious life, albeit that this too was nourished by the religion of the Counter-Reformation. However, the chief local variations were simply the consequences of relative prosperity and poverty. In some places the parish gathered in a chapel rather than around a Mass rock and possessed a well-educated priest, a fixed residence for him, and a parish school. Here the Tridentine vision of the parish as the focus of the sacramentally based Catholic life of a well-instructed laity was clearly much easier to realize. The provision of this plant and personnel seems to have been normal by the middle of the eighteenth century in the more prosperous agricultural regions of Leinster and Munster, as well as in the towns.

Here Catholic life, though conducted with the minimum of ostentation, differed very little from the norms aspired to anywhere else in the western church.

The emergence of O'Connellite politics has been taken as the chief sign that the era of Catholic self-effacement was at an end. However, other signs, such as the provision of capacious new Dublin churches, might have been observed (and certainly were by an anxious Protestant community) well before the O'Connellite agitation of the 1820s. Such change had much to do with the general Catholic revival in postrevolutionary Europe and the increasing frequency with which the population was taken into account in political calculations in the era. However, it was also a reflection of very considerable growth and advance in many areas of the life of the Irish church, notably in education at all levels and in religious life among women. And these were but the consolidation and expansion of Irish Catholicism's remarkable achievement in the face of its penal-era adversity.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Doyle, James Warren; MacHale, John; Maynooth; Murray, Daniel; Nagle, Honora (Nano); Penal Laws; Religion: Since 1690; Religion: Traditional Popular Religion; Religious Orders: Men; Religious Orders: Women; Rice, Edmund; Troy, John; **Primary Documents:** An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1704); The Catholic Relief Act (1778); The Catholic Relief Act (1782); The Catholic Relief Act (1793); Origin of the "Catholic Rent" (18 February 1824); The Catholic Relief Act (1829)

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C. D. A. Leighton

1829 TO 1891

The period from Catholic Emancipation in 1829 to the fall of Charles Stewart Parnell in 1890 to 1891 saw profound transformation in the Catholic Church in Ireland.

At an institutional level the church moved from a relatively weak position to one where organized Catholicism came to dominate the social and to some extent the political lives of most Irish Roman Catholics. In the process ecclesiastical leadership passed from the hands of accommodating and politically retiring individuals such as Daniel Murray, archbishop of Dublin (1823–1852), and James Doyle, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin (1817–1834), to more robust defenders of the church's prerogatives like Cardinal Paul Cullen (1849–1878) and Archbishop John MacHale (1825–1881).

Cullen and MacHale were unlikely bedfellows, and they frequently clashed on matters of policy. MacHale tended to represent a romantic Gallican and advanced nationalist strain within the church, compared with Cullen's brash ultramontane tendencies. For Cullen, political aspirations were to be placed at the service of the church, and Catholicism itself was the only permissible ideology.

The political coming of age represented by Emancipation coincided with growing social expectations on the part of Irish Catholics, and in 1869 the first Catholic lord chancellor, Thomas O'Hagan, was appointed. This fed Cullen's hopes that at last Catholicism would begin to play a role commensurate with its strength in Irish society.

Political advancement went hand in hand with specific religious developments in the church. Although it is clear that Catholic mores had begun to change early in the nineteenth century, the "devotional revolution" which is particularly associated with Cullen's ministry developed in earnest from 1850 to 1875. In time the church building replaced the home as the center of Irish religious life, and ultimately, Tridentine Counter-Reformation Catholicism triumphed over traditional popular religion. Many of the features of modern Irish Catholicism, such as sodalities and confraternities, have their beginnings in this period. Other, more traditional aspects of Irish Catholic devotional life were greatly strengthened, such as Marianism, which was helped in part by the reputed apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Knock, Co. Mayo, in the summer of 1879.

Like many other changes in Irish society, the transformation of Irish Catholicism into a recognizable product of ultramontane exuberance was facilitated by the Great Famine. The ratio of priests to laypeople dramatically improved, and an emphasis on improving the church's infrastructure meant that more people had access to churches than at any other time in Irish history. The education and training of the clergy received a new impetus with the increase of the state grant to Maynooth College in 1845. The average product of the college was not necessarily an academic high-flyer, but he

was nonetheless solidly grounded in Catholic culture and rites. The Maynooth-trained clergy also assisted in the political gains of Catholicism, and Daniel O'Connell's skillful manipulation of the clergy as political agitators helped to ensure the political successes he achieved. The priests also worked to keep the more militant aspects of growing Irish nationalism at bay. Ironically, it was precisely what he regarded as the overpoliticized and anti-Roman elements in the Maynooth education that led Cullen to set up his own seminary in Dublin in 1859.

If the clergy by mid-century were better educated, so too, relatively speaking, were the laity. The national school system set up in 1831 was a major factor. The system was not always to the liking of the Catholic authorities, but policy disagreements among the bishops concerning the system meant that the schools were not as vigorously opposed as they might have been. Even opponents such as MacHale were eventually forced to accept the system as the only means of securing primary education in poor dioceses. The system ultimately replaced the "hedge schools" and on the whole provided a higher standard of education. The popularity of both the hedge schools and the national system is testimony to the high value that Irish peasant society placed on education.

State provision always exceeded the church's ability to meet popular educational demands, despite the activities of religious orders such as the Irish Christian Brothers, founded by Edmund Ignatius Rice in 1802, or the Presentation Sisters, founded by Nano Nagle in 1775. The education of the Catholic middle classes was relatively well provided for by such groups as the Jesuits and, from 1860, by the Holy Ghost Fathers. Individual dioceses also began to build and run secondary schools, and these often were recruiting grounds for the major seminaries such as Maynooth. The education of middle-class girls was facilitated by the expansion of communities of female religious such as the Sisters of Mercy and the Sacred Heart order.

The attempt by the church to immerse itself in university education was not especially successful. Despite the involvement of John Henry Newman and subsequently the Society of Jesus, the hoped-for Catholic University paid for by the public purse never emerged in nineteenth-century Ireland. The Irish Universities Act of 1908 gave the Catholic Church considerable scope to influence the shape of third-level education, at least in what became the Irish Free State. This new authority was, from an ecclesiastical perspective, an enormous improvement over the Queen's Colleges established by an act of Parliament in 1845.

The leading figure in shaping educational policy at its various levels was William Walsh, archbishop of Dublin (1885–1921). Walsh's ascendancy marked the increasing rapprochement between official Catholicism and militant Irish nationalism, which reached its apogee, especially in Ulster, in the activities of the explicitly Catholic-directed Ancient Order of Hibernians. Walsh's tenure as archbishop also saw the foundation of the most successful and enduring of the temperance movements, the Pioneers of the Sacred Heart, which doubtless built on the mid-nineteenth-century work of the "apostle of temperance," Father Theobald Mathew.

The consolidation of Catholicism in Ireland was complemented by its expansion overseas. At any given time, up to a third of the soldiers in the British army were Irish Catholics. Meeting their spiritual needs in the far-flung corners of the British empire produced as a by-product the strengthening of Catholicism wherever the Union Jack was raised. Such considerations also involved official Vatican pronouncements on Irish political affairs, including the condemnation of Fenianism in 1870 by Pope Pius IX, which was welcomed by Irish bishops, and the condemnation of the Plan of Campaign and of boycotting by Pope Leo XIII in 1888, which was a grave embarrassment to Irish ecclesiastics.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Irish Catholicism in the whole period was its gradual shift toward conformity. Between the late 1820s and the early 1890s the church was characterized by two decisive features: strict obedience to Roman authority and an inclination to identify itself with aggressively nationalist politics. As the downfall of Parnell illustrated, at some level, nationalism had to be firmly under the control of ecclesiastical hierarchy.

SEE ALSO Ancient Order of Hibernians; Cullen, Paul; Devotional Revolution; Doyle, James Warren; Education: Primary Private Education—"Hedge Schools" and Other Schools; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Education: Secondary Education, Female; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Education: University Education; MacHale, John; Marianism; Maynooth; Murray, Daniel; Overseas Missions; Religion: Since 1690; Religion: Traditional Popular Religion; Religious Orders: Men; Religious Orders: Women; Rice, Edmund; Sodalities and Confraternities; Temperance Movements; Walsh, William Joseph; **Primary Documents:** The Catholic Relief Act (1829); On Irish Catholicism (1839)

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Oliver P. Rafferty

SINCE 1891

By the 1890s Irish Catholics displayed extraordinary levels of religious practice thanks to the devotional revolution of the mid-century. Ecclesiastics were well aware, however, that intense devotion to Catholicism existed in uneasy alliance with another popular passion—nationalism. Though most clergy, including nearly all the bishops, shared the popular aspiration for Home Rule, over the preceding two generations the church had acquired important interests under British rule, foremost among which was a network of clerically managed but state-funded primary schools that had become denominationally segregated despite the government's original intent that they be nonsectarian. The Catholic hierarchy's problem was how to protect its interests within the existing political system while retaining the confidence and fidelity of a laity committed to the abolition of that system and its replacement with one in which Ireland would be self-governed.

LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

During the career of Charles Stewart Parnell as leader of the Irish Nationalist Party in Parliament, the Catholic hierarchy had addressed the difficulty of protecting its interests in an 1884 arrangement to support the party's effort to gain Home Rule for the Irish nation on condition that the latter defer to the bishops' judgment in matters relating to the church's educational interests.

This arrangement was able to survive the crisis in 1890 and 1891 over Parnell's divorce because, contrary to an important strain of popular memory, it was not the bishops but the party itself (prompted by the English Liberal Party leader, W. E. Gladstone) that deposed Parnell from the leadership. Two legacies from the period of Parnell's dominance of Irish politics, however, made the 1884 arrangement problematic for the church over the next three decades.

The first of these legacies was that all parliamentary constituencies with Catholic majorities had become permanent "safe" seats for nationalists. As a result, a cohort of politicians only a few years younger than Parnell continued to dominate nationalist politics from the latter's death in 1891 until the party's humiliating defeat in the 1918 general election by a new generation of politicians. Therefore, to the extent that the bishops adhered to the 1884 arrangement, they risked alienating younger Catholic nationalists frustrated by the party's failure to deliver Home Rule. The second legacy was Gladstone's commitment of the Liberal Party to Home Rule, which meant that the Nationalist Party had no practical alternative to some sort of alliance with the Liberals. The latter's increasingly secularist outlook toward education made some bishops deeply suspicious of Nationalist Party leaders.

During the decade-long split in the party following Parnell's fall, some ecclesiastics were enthusiastic supporters of Timothy Healy, one of the anti-Parnellite leaders whose policies seemed to promise greater clerical influence in party affairs. The 1900 reunion of the party under the leadership of the Parnellite John Redmond, with the support of Healy's anti-Parnellite rival John Dillon, isolated Healy politically. Cardinal Logue of Armagh had never really abandoned his Healyite sympathies, but Archbishop Walsh of Dublin, the subtlest intellect in the hierarchy, did correspond candidly with Redmond in the years immediately following the reunion. Around 1905, however, Walsh became alienated from the party under Redmond's leadership. Communication between the hierarchy and the party leaders generally devolved upon one of Logue's suffragans, Patrick O'Donnell, bishop of Raphoe, who had become rather deeply involved in party affairs.

Although the 1884 arrangement remained the basis for the relationship between the bishops and the party, unease over the Liberal alliance, as well as some popular disillusion with the party, meant that the hierarchy increasingly tended to conduct that relationship at arm's length. Of course, the outcome of the two 1910 general elections, which seemed to give the party leverage to force enactment of Home Rule, restored some of its popularity. Popular disenchantment with the party

returned, however, after Ulster Unionist threats to secede from any Home Rule government in Dublin resulted, at the outbreak of World War I, in the mere pro forma enactment of Home Rule coupled with an act suspending it for the duration of the war.

EASTER RISING THROUGH WORLD WAR II

The distancing of the bishops from the party during the preceding decade or more worked very much to their advantage during the revolutionary developments of 1914 to 1923. Nineteenth-century experience might have led one to expect the hierarchy to rally around the party's constitutional nationalism in opposition to "physical force" nationalism in the wake of the 1916 Easter Rising. Certainly a number of bishops condemned the violence immediately after the event, but the hierarchy avoided any ringing endorsement of the party. Meanwhile British execution of most of the rebel leaders left a sort of tabula rasa upon which an alternative to the party would be constructed under the label Sinn Féin ("we ourselves"). The young Sinn Féiners were unsullied by the old party's associations with the Liberals, and the fact that many of them were associated with movements celebrating rural Gaelic society resonated with the bishops' anxiety over the dangers of modern urban popular culture.

In the spring of 1918, by promoting a nationwide anticonscription movement in which the party and Sinn Féin were nominally coequal partners, the hierarchy sent a message that the latter was a legitimate claimant to the former's role as representative of the nation. During the hostilities of 1919 to 1921, bishops deplored the violence of both the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and crown forces without calling into question the legitimacy of Dáil Éireann, the alternative legislature constituted by the Sinn Féiners elected to Parliament in late 1918. The hierarchy rejoiced at the 1921 treaty settlement and came down very hard on the side of the new Free State government by excommunicating the anti-treaty side in the Civil War of 1922 to 1923.

Given this ecclesiastical support at such a critical moment, it is not surprising that the new state quickly enacted into civil law Catholic moral teachings in such matters as divorce and contraception. More significant is the fact that antitreaty politicians, after they reentered the Dáil in 1927 as the Fianna Fáil Party led by Eamon de Valera, proved themselves equally committed to the confessional character of the state despite their harsh treatment by the church during the Civil War. When de Valera as head of government set about re-drafting the constitution in 1937, he relied heavily on the advice of Father John Charles McQuaid, who be-

came archbishop of Dublin in 1940. The new constitution was influenced by contemporary Catholic social teaching and recognized “the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens.”

THE 1950s

By the 1950s the Irish Catholic Church had settled into certain grooves and seemed likely to preserve this combination of features far into the future. It was thoroughly hierarchical in its governance, with its bishops and priests expecting the laity to accept a distinctly subordinate role. It occupied a position of enormous power and influence primarily because, with vocations at floodtide, priests, brothers, and nuns in great profusion staffed schools, hospitals, and other public services. Most politicians—and Catholics generally—readily acknowledged its authority over public and private morality. The celebrated “Mother and Child” crisis of 1951 was remarkable not because the church succeeded in blocking implementation of a system to provide prenatal and pediatric care and instruction but because the minister of health insisted on making a public issue of his disagreement with the hierarchy.

Taking a deeply pessimistic view of the secular world, church leaders saw moral danger lurking almost everywhere, and nowhere more menacingly than in the sexual realm. Other Christians in Ireland (not to mention Jews), outside the “one true church,” were regarded as fit only for conversion; otherwise their very salvation was in doubt. To the discomfort of Irish Protestants, the cult of the Virgin Mary had long occupied a central position in the devotional life of most Irish Catholics. Rituals and ceremonies focused on Our Lady of Fatima, Our Lady of Lourdes, and the rosary were especially widespread and exuberant in the 1950s, when devotees were stimulated by the Marian Year (1954), the centenary of the Lourdes apparitions (1958), and the rosary “crusades” of the Irish Dominicans and Father Patrick Peyton. There was no scriptural tradition either in popular piety or in scholarship, and Irish Catholics were encouraged to observe with great strictness the iron laws of a punitive God and “his” church if they wished to escape everlasting damnation.

IRISH CATHOLICISM SINCE VATICAN II

All of these characteristic features of Irish Catholicism were challenged forcefully by the very different winds that blew from Rome during and after the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). In its sweeping reform program Vatican II called for giving the laity a much-

expanded role in the governance of the church. It expressed considerable optimism about the nature of the modern world. It strongly encouraged dialogue with other Christians and indeed with representatives of other major religious traditions. It discouraged popular religious beliefs associated with miraculous cults, and it sought to put the life of Christ and the boundless love of God at the core of personal religious experience, thus relegating the Virgin Mary to a subordinate position. And the Scriptures were to become the touchstone of both theological inquiry and popular piety.

Over the next quarter-century Irish Catholicism was substantially reshaped by the reforms associated with Vatican II. In some important areas, admittedly, change came very slowly and in small doses. The hierarchy was unwilling to share much power with either priests or the laity, and the roles of both in church governance expanded more in form than in practice. On the other hand, clergy and laity alike readily accepted numerous liturgical changes—Mass in the vernaculars (English and Irish), hymn singing, lay Scripture readers, lay ministers of the Eucharist, and Communion in the hand. Marian devotions and Marian organizations such as Our Lady’s Sodality and the Legion of Mary soon dwindled into insignificance. Relations between the churches vastly improved. Laying aside its earlier conversionist mentality, the institutional Catholic Church entered into respectful theological discussions with representatives of other Christian traditions in Ireland and began to view certain kinds of interfaith religious services as not only acceptable but even highly desirable.

But Vatican II did not only reshape the Catholic Church in Ireland; it also weakened it and helped to precipitate its decline. The development that has proved most debilitating has been the dramatic fall in vocations to the priesthood and the religious life. Of course, the causes of this development include the materialist values arising from economic prosperity and the spread of modern sexuality since the 1960s, but the emphasis placed by Vatican II on human freedom, the development of the whole human person, and the dignity and beauty of married love worked strongly in the same direction. The requirement of celibacy now seemed to entail too great a sacrifice. Whatever arguments there might be about the relative weight of the different factors involved, the results have long been all too plain. By 1998 there were only 44 ordinations to the priesthood in Ireland, as compared with the peak of 412 in 1965. The total number of priests, brothers, and nuns in Ireland plummeted from almost 34,000 in 1967 to fewer than 20,000 in 1998 (a fall of 41 percent), with the heaviest declines coming among the orders of religious brothers.

If the recent past and the present have been bleak, the future is even darker. In 1966, at the crest of the floodtide of vocations, some 1,400 people in Ireland were registered as beginning formal preparation for the priesthood or the religious life, but by 1998 the corresponding number had fallen to 92. The dramatic decline in vocations has hardly been limited to Ireland, but its consequences there have been more far-reaching than almost anywhere else owing to the historic role of Irish Catholicism. Because of this radical contraction in its personnel, the institutional Irish Church has been unable to staff schools, hospitals, and other public services to anything like the same degree as in the period up to the mid-1960s, and in the process much of its old power and influence has been lost.

Other factors have undoubtedly contributed to this loss of power and influence. One is that the Catholic laity of Ireland have been made more independent of clerical authority by their rising levels of education. Between 1970 and 1998 the number of students enrolled in third-level education in the Irish Republic increased from about 25,000 to over 112,000. The statistics for secondary-school education tell an equally dramatic story. The moral authority of the church has also been badly damaged by poor leadership. In Ireland as elsewhere, the Catholic laity generally repudiated the teaching of *Humanae Vitae*, the notorious papal encyclical of 1968 banning all forms of “artificial” birth control. On this issue the Catholic bishops of Ireland took a hard line in accord with Roman orthodoxy and prohibited priests from engaging in public dissent. The obvious fact that many priests did dissent and yet pretended to accept the ban fostered an image of clerical hypocrisy among the laity and cost the institutional church dearly in credibility with most Irish Catholics.

Crippling the moral authority of the church even more seriously has been the avalanche of clerical scandals since the early 1990s, beginning with the case of Bishop Eamonn Casey of Galway (who resigned in 1992 when it was discovered that he had fathered a son years earlier), and extending to the case of Bishop Brendan Comiskey of Ferns (who resigned in 2002 after his role in failing to stop the activities of a pedophile priest—the suicide Father Sean Fortune—came under intense public scrutiny). Among these scandals none caused more public outrage than the disclosure of the widespread physical and sexual abuse of children and adolescents in residential institutions conducted by male and female religious orders. This particular scandal, magnified in its public impact by a powerful television documentary in spring 1999, led to the appointment of a government commission of investigation and eventually to a huge financial settlement in 2002 by the religious orders to

compensate victims of abuse. The clerical sex-abuse scandal in Ireland, as in the United States, eventually focused on the failure of church leaders to remove priests from active ministry or contact with children after the receipt of credible evidence of serious wrongdoing. Cardinal Desmond Connell, the archbishop of Dublin, came under pressure to resign for this reason. The Irish Catholic hierarchy promised a thorough diocese-by-diocese investigation of clerical sex abuse, to be followed by a public report.

As if the seemingly endless drumbeat of scandals were not depressing enough, church leaders have also had to confront much evidence that a basic feature of Irish Catholic life—regular Sunday Mass attendance—has become imperiled. Surveys indicate that during the 1990s Mass attendance rates declined significantly—from 85 percent in 1990 to 65 percent in 1997. Although even the lower rate is quite impressive by European standards, what is especially worrisome is that when these figures are broken down by age and location, it emerges that a majority of young people in urban areas “have turned their backs on a part of Irish life which was almost universal a generation ago.” It should not be assumed, however, that there is a causal connection between the scandals and the drop in Sunday Mass attendance. Persuasive evidence exists that Irish Catholics have not substantially changed their religious beliefs or practices in reaction against the scandals. Nevertheless, the aura of serious moral misconduct attaching to numerous servants of the church since the early 1990s can only worsen the problems of the dearth of vocations and the poverty of moral credibility. It will be years before the Irish Catholic Church could recover even a semblance of its former authority in the moral sphere, and its old political power is gone for good.

SEE ALSO Ancient Order of Hibernians; Ecumenism and Interchurch Relations; Education: Primary Public Education—National Schools from 1831; Education: Secondary Education, Female; Education: Secondary Education, Male; Education: University Education; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; McQuaid, John Charles; Marianism; Maynooth; Mother and Child Crisis; Overseas Missions; Religion: Since 1690; Religious Orders: Men; Religious Orders: Women; Secularization; Social Change since 1922; Sodalities and Confraternities; Temperance Movements; Walsh, William Joseph; **Primary Documents:** From the 1937 Constitution; Letter to John A. Costello, the Taoiseach (5 April 1951)

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Royal Ulster Constabulary (including Specials)

The police force of Northern Ireland, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), came into existence on 1 June 1922 upon the disbandment of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). It was preceded by local paramilitary defense forces that were officially recognized in June 1920 as the Ulster Special Constabulary (USC) and divided into "A" (full-time), "B" (part-time), and "C" (reserve) sections. The USC was seen as violent, ill-disciplined, and sectarian. After the demise of the Boundary Commission in 1925, the "A" Specials were disbanded and the "C" force lapsed. The "B" Specials survived as a police auxiliary force, whose main advantages were its low cost and local knowledge. Its unofficial activities included bitterly resented harassment of local Catholics.

Nationalist attempts to secure proportionate Catholic membership of the RUC in the early 1920s failed. Protestant predominance increased as older Catholic members recruited from the RIC retired; the RUC had 23 percent Catholic membership in 1922, 10 percent in 1970. From the 1920s to the 1960s the RUC was a small provincial police force. Its politicization and lack of professionalism were exposed by its violent response to civil-rights demonstrations in 1968 and 1969; its inability to contain rioting in August 1969 led to direct

British intervention. The 1969 Hunt Commission recommended that the RUC should be restructured, modernized, and disarmed, with the "B" Specials replaced by the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR). The UDR inherited the "B" Specials' reputation as a semiprofessionalized Protestant defense force; some UDR members were implicated in loyalist paramilitarism. (The UDR merged with the Royal Irish Regiment in 1992.)

The Troubles precluded disarmament; "Ulsterization" of security policy beginning in the mid-1970s placed the RUC on the frontline. It was professionalized and trebled in size, and it suffered an increasing proportion of security-force casualties. (303 RUC officers were killed; many were severely injured or traumatized.) The RUC remained predominantly Protestant (republican paramilitaries targeted Catholic members). Controversy surrounded its interrogation techniques and the role of double agents who were sometimes accused of becoming agent provocateurs or licensed murderers within paramilitary organizations. However, the RUC arrested and secured the convictions of numerous loyalists as well as republicans.

The Patten Commission, established under the 1998 Belfast Agreement, recommended a reformed police force whose name and emblems would be neutral between communities. On 4 November 2001 the RUC became the Police Service of Northern Ireland. Republicans complained that the old culture of the RUC persisted; unionists protested that the changes retrospectively dishonored the RUC, and that the loss of experienced officers compromised policing. The history of the RUC illustrates the difficulties of policing a deeply divided society.

SEE ALSO Special Powers Act; **Primary Documents:** The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (10 April 1998)

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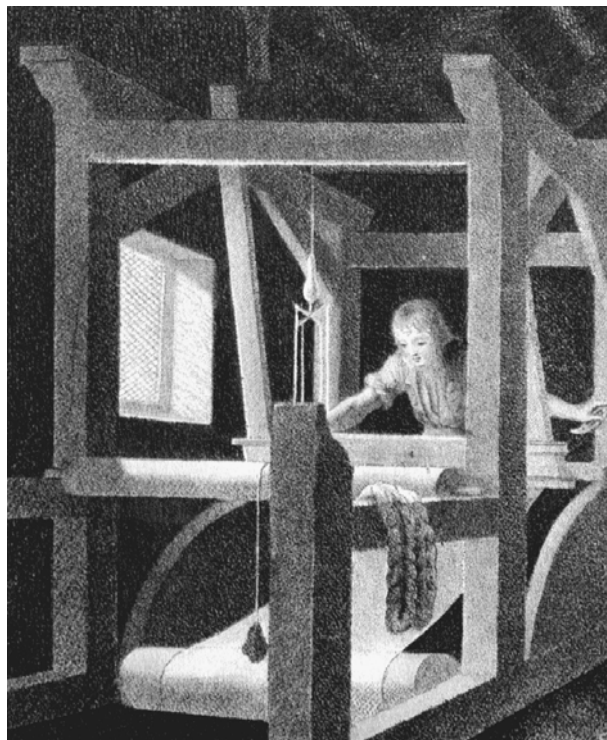
Patrick Maume

Rural Industry

Until the introduction of cotton in the late eighteenth century, wool and linen were the raw materials from which cloth was woven in Ireland. For more than a century, skilled craftsmen were concentrated in Dublin and the country towns under the patronage of local landowners, but in the countryside many people prepared the raw materials, spun yarn, wove coarse cloths, and sold them in local fairs to supplement their family incomes. The woollen industry in its long history in the south of the country from Kilkenny to Waterford and Bandon had developed cloths to suit local markets, but the success of the linen industry in Ulster was due to increasing demand from England and its colonies.

The ready supply of flax, a traditional crop in Ireland, was exploited by immigrants from Britain during the plantation of Ulster in the seventeenth century. Several landlords encouraged their tenants to spin and weave linen in their cottages and assisted in marketing the products. Some merchants carried their linen to market in Dublin, and its improving quality attracted attention even in London. The King's and Queen's Corporation for the Linen Manufacture in England, incorporated in 1690, promoted a subsidiary company in Ireland in 1692. An employee, George Stead of Lisburn, informed the Board of Trade and Plantations in 1697 that there were then from 500 to 1,000 looms working commercially in the counties of Down, Antrim, Armagh, Tyrone, and Londonderry. To promote the industry in Ireland, the London government encouraged a Huguenot, Louis Crommelin, to establish a colony in Lisburn in 1698 and made him Overseer of the Royal Linen Manufacture. Because his project had limited success, however, the Dublin parliament in 1711 set up the Board of Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures to regulate and supervise the development of the industry. Especially in its early years it played an important role by developing contacts in London and by employing craftsmen to copy not only patterns and qualities of European cloths then fashionable in London, but also techniques for bleaching and finishing the linen webs. In 1728 the trustees established a White Linen Hall in Dublin to accommodate the commerce in linens with visiting English merchants.

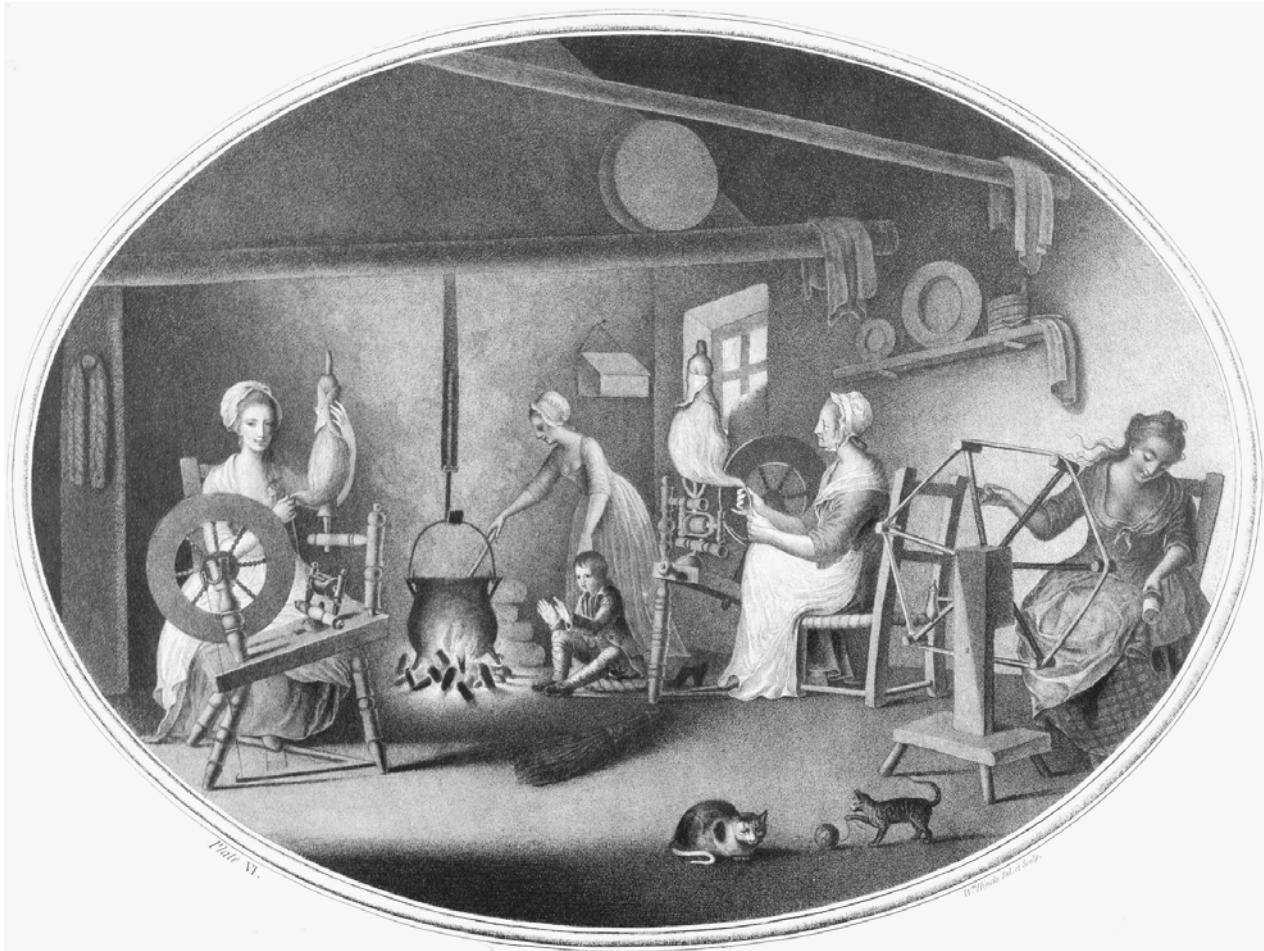
By 1730 Ulster linen was competing successfully with continental linens on the London market. In that decade it strengthened its grip further by reducing the cost of bleaching when its bleachers adapted for linen the processes used in the tuck mills for finishing woollen cloths. Water power was harnessed to drive the wash-



The weaving of linen on the type of handloom typically found in the weaver's own cottage. Detail from an engraving by William Hincks, c. 1783. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF DAVID W. MILLER.

mills, rubbing-boards, and beetling engines in their bleachmills. The temperate climate of eastern Ulster provided lakes and rivers in the hills with a regular supply of water during the summer bleaching season as well as power to drive scutch mills every autumn for separating the fiber from the woody sheath of the flax plant. The bleachers were entrepreneurs, quick to adopt chemicals for bleaching by importing sulphuric acid (oil of vitriol) and barilla ash. Fierce competition led them to slash the bleaching time, increase the throughput of webs, and cut their overheads to reduce the cost of bleaching, and smaller concerns were forced out of business.

With growing confidence the bleachers began to take over the direction of the industry. In Ulster the marketing of domestically manufactured linens had grafted itself onto the traditional pattern of markets and fairs. A 1719 act had stipulated that all linen cloth and yarn had to be sold publicly in open markets or at lawful fairs, and had appointed lappers to inspect the finished linen cloths and stamp them as a guarantee of their quality. For several decades, however, the enforcement of these laws was opposed by the weavers, who viewed it as a plot to enslave them, until in 1764 Parliament passed a fresh act for the regulation of the trade. The Linen Board appointed sealmasters to inspect and



Women spinning, boiling, and reeling linen yarn in the home, County Down. Engraving by William Hincks, c. 1783. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF DAVID W. MILLER.

stamp the brown (unbleached) linens brought in by the weavers before the commencement of each market. Although these brown sealmasters were selected from among the weavers themselves, individuals were liable to summary dismissal for failing to enforce the act. The bleachers appreciated this measure of quality control because it enabled them to send their linendrapers on circuit through the weekly markets in the provincial towns to purchase the variety of linen webs required for the English and American markets. In 1782 they asserted themselves by rejecting new regulations introduced by the board. This independence they consolidated by opening two new white-linen halls, in Belfast and Newry.

Great quantities of both linen and wool were spun by country people to supplement the incomes of their families. On the periphery of the Ulster linen-weaving counties were regions where women spun linen yarn. Men known as "grey yarn jobbers" carried some of it to the weaving districts in east Ulster, but much was ex-

ported either from the east coast through Dublin and Drogheda or from the north coast through Londonderry, which itself sent more than 10,000 hundredweights per annum in the 1760s to Lancashire. This same decade saw exports of woollen yarn for the English market from Cork and west Leinster peak at 150,000 stones per annum. Afterward, exports of worsted yarn from Ireland declined rapidly as its price rose. Nevertheless, during the 1760s as many as 60,000 women may have been employed by the southern clothiers in spinning wool for the market.

Both the linen and woollen industries were affected after 1770 by the rapid growth of the cotton industry, which was more profitable than either of them. Since the newer industry relied on imports of cotton wool into Dublin, Cork, and Belfast, cotton-spinning mills were built there and the yarn put out to weavers. Key individuals in the Cork wool-spinning trade moved into the cotton industry, which itself failed to grow after the 1820s. By contrast, the survival of the Ulster linen in-

dustry was due to the skill of rural weavers in weaving fine-quality linens, notably damasks and cambrics, and to the business skills of the bleachers, who continued to dominate the industry.

SEE ALSO Brewing and Distilling; Factory-Based Textile Manufacture; Industrialization; Markets and Fairs in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail; Women and Children in the Industrial Workforce

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William H. Crawford

Rural Life

1690 TO 1845

W. A. MAGUIRE

1850 TO 1921

DAVID FITZPATRICK

1690 TO 1845

Throughout the period 1690 to 1845 Ireland was predominantly rural. Though towns expanded or developed to meet the needs of what was a rapidly growing population and greater trade, since at least the mid-eighteenth century the great majority of Irish people continued to live and work in the countryside rather than in urban areas. In 1725 only about one-eighth of Ireland's total population of two million or so lived in the eight largest towns. Apart from Dublin and Cork most of these urban centers were small places. The smallest, Lisburn in County Antrim, had fewer than eight hundred houses (Cullen 1972). At that time much of Ireland's industrial activity was, in any case, rurally located, being concerned with processing agricultural products.

The problems created by prolonged population growth fell much more heavily on certain areas of the country than on others, and more on some classes of the rural population than on others. The traditional view of eighteenth-century Ireland is of a chronically depressed society, but as L. M. Cullen has shown, the wealth of the country as a whole—to judge by the value of its trade—increased considerably while other parts of Europe were as unfortunate, or more so, in the bad years that threatened all agricultural societies. "Bad harvests," he writes, "feature disproportionately in contemporary literature. Better harvests in the intervening years were often taken for granted"; and the particularly bad 1720s were "a period of prolonged agricultural depression everywhere . . . Ireland's circumstances were not exceptional" (Cullen, Davis Lecture 1968, p. 11). When famines occurred—as in the periods 1728 to 1729 and 1740 to 1741—they did so when food was in short supply everywhere in Europe. The famine of 1740 to 1741, largely forgotten but proportionately as severe in its effects as the Great Famine of the late 1840s, caused the deaths of somewhere between 310,000 and 480,000 people (Dickson 1997). Even the lower death toll estimate is higher than that of the Great Famine, and the deaths occurred in a much shorter time.

Rural society was complex, with many gradations at every level. At the very bottom of the heap were laborers with no access to land. Some of them were employed as live-in servants on a pittance wage but at least with the security of bed and board. Others, called cottiers, were employed by the farmers when needed, paying the rent of their small potato gardens in labor rather than in cash. Worst off of all were those forced to rent each season, for cash, plots of potato ground called "conacre." Such laborers got whatever work and wages they could find by migrating seasonally to different parts of the country. By 1830 only one-third of the laboring poor could find steady employment (Cullen 1968).

Above the laborers were tenant farmers of various degrees. Most were smallholders living at subsistence level. On the eve of the Great Famine, the Devon commission report (1845) revealed, nearly one-quarter of all holdings consisted of a mere five acres or fewer. Another quarter were between five and ten acres; a similar proportion were ten to twenty. Farms of fifty acres or more, most of which were in the province of Leinster, accounted for less than 10 percent of the total of all holdings (Donnelly 2001).

Above the farmer class were gentry. Sir Jonah Barrington, who came from the top layer, famously identified three categories of gentry, in ascending order of gentility: "half-mounted gentlemen," "gentlemen every



Cottiers and laborers occupied the meanest houses in Ireland. In most of the west before the Great Famine, half or more of all houses were cramped one-room cabins, like that of the Kerry cottier shown here in 1846. In the clearances of the famine years these huts were generally unroofed or demolished altogether. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 10 JANUARY 1846.

inch of them," and "gentlemen to the backbone" (Staples 1968, p. 31). From such people came most of the "middlemen"—holders of long leaseholds who typically lived on the profits from subletting their estates. Their numbers were declining well before the Great Famine, however.

The top of the pyramid of rural society was occupied by a small number of aristocrats and wealthy commoners, owners of freehold estates, who were leaders in county affairs and dispensers of patronage. Contrary to the popular view at the time and later, most of the major absentees were careful to maintain and cultivate their Irish "interests" and to keep an eye on their resident agents. The vast amount of estate correspondence generated by such men as the eighth earl of Abercorn shows that absenteeism did not necessarily mean neglect or oppression.

From the end of the seventeenth century through to the middle of the nineteenth century and even later,

most Irish people lived in a countryside that has been aptly described as "a multitude of rural islands, each dominated by its Big House" (MacDonagh, p. xxx). A Big House was not necessarily a grand one, but some were, for the eighteenth century was the golden age of country houses in the classical style, from Castletown in County Kildare (begun in 1722) to Castle Coole in Fermanagh (started in 1793). Most so-called Big Houses were more modest in size and architectural ambition, however, with the gentry who owned them often acting as their own architects.

By contrast, housing conditions for the rural poor deteriorated as population continued to increase (though at a slower rate after 1815), as domestic industry declined, and as poverty in consequence became more widespread. The 1841 census figures show that on the eve of the Great Famine 40 percent of houses in Ireland (in some areas up to 75 percent) were one-room mud cabins without windows. The next class of dwell-

ing, of two to four rooms with windows, accounted for another 37 percent. The furniture in these hovels was sparse, if any. One parish in County Donegal had only 10 beds, 93 chairs, and 243 stools among its 9,000 inhabitants (Cullen 1968).

More ominous still than the increasing impoverishment of the rural population was its growing dependence on a more or less exclusive diet of potatoes. But the assumption that this dependence was a fact even before 1800 is wrong. For most of the eighteenth century the potato, though widely cultivated everywhere, was not the only food: Even the poor ate oat bread in the months between potato crops (Cullen 1972). The reliance of the poorest classes on the potato increased as the population went on rising, however, to the point where a male laborer on average consumed twelve to fourteen pounds of potatoes a day and little else (Donnelly 2001). Fortunately, such a diet, if supplemented by milk, was remarkably nutritious. Recent research (based on military and convict records) shows that during the period 1770 to 1845 potato-eating Irishmen were on average taller than Englishmen, and concludes that they may have been healthier and better fed (Mokyr and Ó Gráda 1989, 1990; Ó Gráda 1991). This confirms the impressions reported by many visitors to Ireland at the time. But over-dependence by so many people on a single source of food, however good, would eventually prove fatal.

Lastly, two cultural changes affecting rural society are worth noting. The first was the growing presence and prestige of the Catholic Church, evident in the doubling of the number of parish priests between 1800 and 1845 (Cullen 1968) and in the part played by many clergy in O'Connell's campaign for emancipation. The second change was a marked decline in the use of the Irish language, from about 50 percent of the population in 1800 to about half that figure in 1851. By then, only 5 percent spoke no English (Cullen 1968).

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Land Questions; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Seasonal Migration; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Population Explosion; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings; **Primary Documents:** On Irish Rural Society and Poverty (1780); On Rural Society on the Eve of the Great Famine (1844–1845); From *Narrative of a Recent Journey* (1847)

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W. A. Maguire

1850 TO 1921

Between 1851 and 1911 the urban proportion of Ireland's ever-declining population doubled. Even so, on the eve of World War I, only one-third of the people lived in towns with more than two thousand inhabitants. Despite rapid urbanization in the Belfast region, Ulster was still predominantly rural, though less so than Munster or especially Connacht. Even in Leinster the urban population was only 47 percent in 1911. Farming still accounted for the majority of occupied men, though the proportion had fallen from two-thirds in 1951 to 55 percent in 1911. Though not immune to the urban drift transforming Britain, western Europe, the United States, and Australasia, the Irish economy had retained its rural character to a remarkable degree. This anomaly was a by-product of massive emigration, which had enabled up to half of each generation to urbanize itself overseas rather than at home.

The character of rural life in postfamine Ireland was likewise shaped by emigration, which enabled the remaining labor force to exploit the land more efficiently. As the population shrank, the mean size of farms gradually grew, despite the persistent problem of "conges-



The Land Act of 1870 aimed to increase tenants' security by encouraging the granting of leases. Landlords issued thousands of new leases after 1870, but under many of them tenants were denied legal rights. The backlash came during the land war, as when in 1881 the Duke of Leinster's leases were contemptuously burned at a Land League meeting in Kildare town. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 8 JANUARY 1881.

tion" in Connacht and along the western seaboard. The continuous shift from tillage to pasturage raised profits and output per capita, but reduced the demand for labor. This factor, along with significant if unspectacular technological breakthroughs (such as the displacement of sickles by scythes), fundamentally altered the rural class structure. Paid laborers, already depleted by the Great Famine, lost out to farmers and their unpaid family assistants as agriculture became less labor-intensive. By 1912, 70 percent of the agricultural workforce was made up of family members, while less than two-thirds of paid workers were permanently employed. Though real earnings rose for those laborers who remained, the laboring class disintegrated. Even female service declined, except for the widespread practice of young girls spending a year or so on a neighboring farm before emigration or marriage. The concentration of farming into small family-based units, with low labor costs, was most marked in Connacht and least prevalent in Leinster. Yet throughout Ireland the pattern of prewar agriculture bore little resemblance to

rural Britain, where farming was increasingly conducted by large landowners with substantial workforces.

Rural class structure lost much of its top as well as its bottom layer during the later nineteenth century. Tenant agitation, legislation, and economic setbacks accomplished what the Great Famine had failed to achieve, the emasculation of the landlord class. Though retaining their home farms and leaseholds, most landlords had begun to sell tenanted farms to the occupiers before 1914. Fairly generous state compensation ensured that such landlords were not pauperized, and many gentry continued to live beyond their means through reliance on bonuses and easy credit, facilitating their subsequent ruin in the aftermath of World War I and civil conflict.

For the mass of small farmers and their families, the half century after the famine was a period of cultural retrieval, whereby they salvaged much of the supposedly archaic style of life which the famine (according to the providential interpretation) should have destroyed. In much of rural Ireland the potato, far from being discredited, remained the major staple of diet, along with

buttermilk and “kitchen” in the form of salted herring. Meat was seldom eaten except at festivals, even in rural Ulster where oats still reigned supreme. The enduring preference for potatoes reflected justified faith in their nutritional value as well as taste, and prevailed despite the fact that unblighted potatoes were now much more expensive to grow or buy. By the late nineteenth century imported foods and home-produced meats were more widely disseminated, yet the rural diet remained astonishingly simple and healthy.

This helps to account for the exceptionally low level of rural mortality, by comparison with urban Britain and America as well as urban Ireland. Statistics based on the frequency of deaths registered after 1864, though somewhat unreliable, suggest a gradual but steady decline up to the World War I. This decline, marked among infants, reflected the reduced incidence of many infectious diseases despite the alarming spread of tuberculosis. There was little variation in welfare between men and women, mortality being lowest paradoxically in the poorest counties of Connacht. Income is indeed inadequate as an index of human well-being.

Residential conditions gradually improved, as slate and stone or brick displaced thatch and mud. The greatest advance in housing benefited the few remaining regular laborers, many of whom were able from the 1880s onwards to rent excellent cottages subsidized by the state and local authorities. Farmers, whose houses were often older, less comfortable, and less up-to-date, resented both the extra rate-burden and the novel prestige secured by the humble laborer. Even so, in most of rural Ireland farmers lived in adequate if simple dwellings with two or three rooms, a chimney, and an expanding stock of furniture and delft. The pig-infested hovels celebrated in *Punch* had virtually disappeared. Whereas a growing proportion of city-dwellers lived in cramped and unsanitary tenements, the quality of rural vernacular housing was improving.

Intrinsic to human happiness and therefore to welfare is the support available from family and neighbors. By the mid-twentieth century, rural Ireland seemed to many of its surviving inhabitants, isolated by widespread “celibacy” (nonmarriage) and inexorable emigration, a lonely and abandoned terrain. Before 1914, however, Irish families continued to reproduce themselves quite efficiently, with remarkably high levels of fertility within marriage, and moderate though increasing celibacy. Illegitimate births remained unusual and the negotiated property “match” was still the normal form of marriage, though “shotgun” alliances were tolerated on the principle that it was better to marry than to burn. In 1911, when median completed family size in Britain and Australia was down to about two children, seven

offspring remained typical in rural Ireland. These large families, made practicable by the prospect of emigration, provided a reserve of unpaid labor and, more importantly, of personal sustenance. Women, though ever more excluded from the paid labor force, derived enhanced influence and often satisfaction from their control of the expanding household economy. Mutual support among relatives and neighbors compensated for low income and deprivation of career options for those staying at home.

Between 1914 and 1920 rural Ireland experienced unexampled prosperity as a consequence of the European war. Irish farmers, hitherto struggling to compete with European and North American food imports in the British market, relished their comparative advantage as long-distance merchant shipping was curtailed. During the boom, which ended only in late 1920, farmers gained more than their laborers. Yet increased demand for tillage, along with state controls over food prices and farm wages, generated a minor revival of paid agricultural labor. The decline of the gentry, accelerated by wartime enlistment and losses, was crowned by land seizures, arson, and sometimes murderous attacks by acquisitive neighbors.

Since the late nineteenth century, state intervention had benefited rural welfare through housing subsidies, the work of the Congested Districts Board, and technical innovations fostered by the Department of Agriculture. Desperate to augment human capital and consolidate the home front, wartime governments proved even more energetic in fostering welfare. In a successful effort to reduce infant mortality, midwifery was professionalized, advice centers opened, and free milk supplied to schools. As the world economy slid towards recession, and as Ireland slipped into revolution, the impulse for reform faltered. Yet rural Ireland was a far richer, healthier, and more comfortable environment in 1921 than seventy years earlier. Remarkably, modernization had been achieved without sacrificing the simple yet satisfying ways of living that the survivors of famine had conspired so ingeniously to perpetuate.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; American Wakes; Congested Districts Board; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Indian Corn or Maize; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Migration: Seasonal Migration; Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); **Primary Documents:** From *Narrative of a Recent Journey* (1847)

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David Fitzpatrick



Rural Settlement and Field Systems

Rural settlement and field systems refer to the arrangements of farmsteads and their associated landholdings. Although the geographical and economic contexts of rural landscapes in Ireland have been substantially modified in the decades since World War II, earlier cultural and historical processes have been fundamental in shaping the template of rural settlement.

Rural settlement in Ireland at present is predominantly one of dispersal of houses across the face of the countryside. There are also limited examples of a variety of nucleated settlements in parts of the country. In restricted coastal districts of the west of Ireland and in isolated parts of mountainous regions elsewhere (in Tyrone, Louth, and Wicklow), there are remnants of house clusters of late origin; some localities in south Leinster have farm clusters of a different origin. Throughout rural Ireland there are also chapel villages, which are informal nucleations of school, shop, public house, and post office around Catholic churches. Finally, there are small, more formally planned villages that are often legacies of a local landed estate.

This legacy of rural settlement has been modified in the twentieth century by the Irish planning system, which has an important function in conserving or expanding the inherited settlement pattern. In many ways the dispersed pattern of settlement has resulted in local demand for further building in the countryside, and many pressured countrysides, especially around towns and cities, are characterized by ribbon development along the road network.

Through all these changes, however, the texture and scale of the rural settlement pattern reflect its evolu-

tion over time. Although the single isolated farm was a characteristic form of settlement in early historic Ireland, where the rath or ringfort predominated, modern settlement patterns largely originated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when distances were short and communities were largely self-sufficient. Houses were sited in the midst of their farmland. Settlement growth was usually organic, reflecting the processes of farm fragmentation. The operation of the estate system locally may have been important in influencing the nature of settlement dispersal. The clustering of laborers' houses on some estates frequently accompanied dispersed large farmsteads, and although huge sections of the landless population emigrated in the nineteenth century, county-council cottage schemes in the east mirror these settlements in the early twenty-first century. In large parts of the west and many more marginal areas, where the controlling hand of the estates was largely absent (like the landlord himself), local clustered settlements grew up haphazardly in response to adverse environmental conditions. Many of these clusters (or *clachans*) grew out of one or two original houses, with land being fragmented and subdivided among offspring, until clusters of thirty or forty cabins resulted, with a few surnames predominating. Most of these experienced attrition in the postfamine years, and only in places like Achill (in Mayo) or Gweedore (in Donegal), can residual features of this historical pattern be seen. In some regions of Norman colonization, especially in south Leinster and east Munster, older farm villages developed from manorial times, many of which were abandoned in the later medieval period or were dispersed during eighteenth-century improvements.

Rural settlement was closely connected with various methods of managing the farm holdings that were associated with the settlement. The basic ingredient of patchwork and hedged fields in the modern Irish countryside is largely a product of local tenant initiative as well as of landlord commitment to the modernization of agriculture from the eighteenth century. Enclosure of the land with farmhouses located centrally in their fields became the hallmark of improvement. Field size, ranging from miniscule plots of stone wall-enclosed gardens in Connemara to extensive enclosures of twenty or thirty acres with drainage ditches in parts of Leinster, reflects the historical impact of the local agricultural economy and estate management, as well as the consequences of local demographic expansion or contraction. Commercial tillage, dairying, and cattle grazing all required varying arrangements of fields and farmhouses. Areas of rapid population expansion in the prefamine period also resulted in fragmentation of farms and fields, and periods of continuous emigration

subsequently resulted in consolidation or abandonment of settlement landscapes.

This essentially modern individualized field system succeeded earlier systems that accompanied premodern settlement structures. As in much of Europe, open-field systems were most prevalent before the eighteenth century, when the land lay largely unenclosed, with each farmer's portion held in scattered intermingled plots, usually separated by low baulks. In the richer eastern portions of the island, where the manorial system flourished, the open fields resembled those of Europe, with the strips of land belonging to the village farmers lying in two or more extensive "fields," each cultivated with the same crop on an agreed cycle. Subsequently, piecemeal enclosure of these open fields occurred, so that in some parts of the Pale the long, narrow medieval strips were fossilized as modern hedged enclosures. In general however, from the eighteenth century wholesale land reform saw the obliteration of the open fields and their nucleated villages.

The other form of open field in Ireland was associated with the nineteenth-century farm clusters on more marginal landscapes—clusters that developed as late responses to population growth in these poorer places. These small peasant communities worked their surrounding open fields on a simple "infield" and "outfield" system, called the rundale system. The most productive land close to the village was the infield, in which scattered small plots of the farmers were worked communally. The outfield farther out was cultivated occasionally but more frequently as population expanded. Plots consisted of ridges termed *lazy beds* (because of the simple way in which they were made) separated by small boundary markers. Both areas were symbiotically linked with extensive commonage, frequently sur-

rounding moorland or mountain, which was often used for summer pasturing of animals in a transhumance system known in parts of the country as *booleying* (from *bó* for cow). A farm cluster at Rathlackan in County Mayo in the early twentieth century had fifty-six families whose land was scattered in 1,500 small fragments. These rundale field systems were generally remodeled in the postfamine decades either by landlords who wished to reform their estates on more efficient lines or by the state's Congested Districts Board. In all cases the small, scattered plots of land were consolidated into modern fields enclosed by a hedge or stone wall to make up contiguous fields, which were then allocated to individual farmers relocated in houses strung out along new roads. This process frequently accompanied the granting of outright ownership of the farms to the farmers under the Land Acts and represented a revolution in the Irish rural landscape.

SEE ALSO Bogs and Drainage; Clachans; Estates and Demesnes; Landscape and Settlement; Rathes

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Patrick J. Duffy



Saint Patrick, Problem of

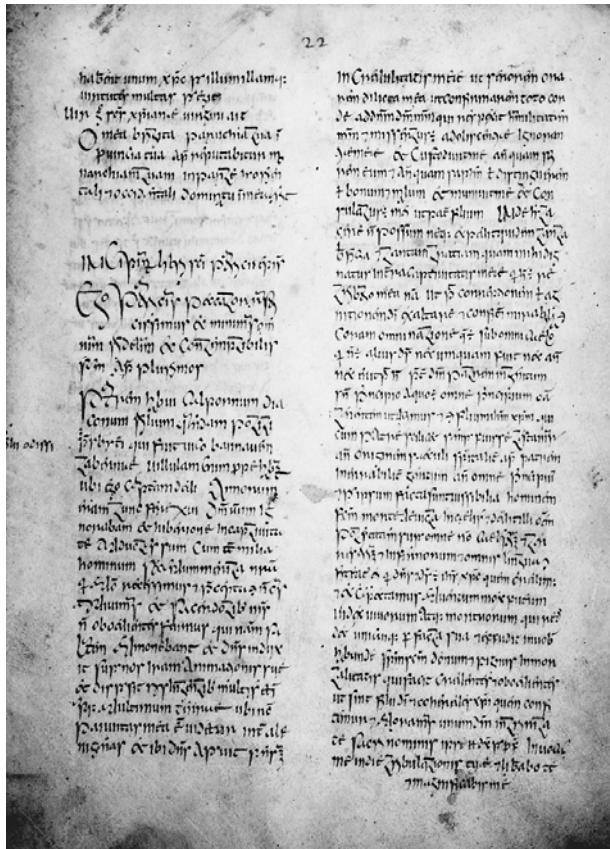
Two documents written by this fifth-century British-born missionary to Ireland survive. One is a letter to the British chieftain named Coroticus concerning a raid by his henchmen who had seized some Irish Christians. The other, known as the *Confessio*, is a self-defense of Patrick's own missionary career, apparently submitted to an ecclesiastical body of some kind conducting a disciplinary review or formal inquiry. Most of what is known about the man comes from these two pieces. The evolving legend of the saint is reflected in a series of medieval lives and stories about him, the earliest of those extant dating to the late seventh century.

Patrick is presumed to have lived and worked in Ireland from the middle to the latter part of the fifth century, though some scholars have argued for both earlier and later dates. The continental chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine in the year 431 reports that Pope Celestine had ordained Palladius as the first bishop to the Irish. According to the Irish hagiographical tradition, Palladius failed in his mission and was succeeded by Patrick, but we have no independent contemporary confirmation of the claim.

In the *Confessio*, Patrick provides a brief sketch of his own life in the course of describing his personal spiritual evolution. He was born to a prosperous Romano-British Christian family of some local prominence. When he was sixteen, Patrick was seized by raiders and sold as a slave in Ireland, where he experienced an intense spiritual conversion. He was able to escape and return to his family, but some time later (how much later Patrick does not say) he returned to Ireland in obedience to a divine summons received in a dream vividly described in the *Confessio*.

It is not known what official ecclesiastical backing Patrick had for his mission to Ireland. He refers to his ordination as a bishop but does not say where or by whom he was made one, nor does he name associates in his mission. The persons to whom the *Confessio* is addressed are never named. What does emerge very clearly from the *Confessio* is Patrick's own conviction that the authority for his ministry in Ireland was divine in origin and therefore not subject to question because of his own personal failings. The letter to Coroticus adds little information about Patrick himself, but it attests to the hardships of his mission and the perilous environment for his converts. In both documents Patrick shows a particular concern for the women among them, respecting their courage and the strength of their faith, and fearing for them.

The two earliest surviving lives of the saint were composed in Ireland in the late seventh century, nearly two hundred years after Patrick's time. Most scholars consider the career of the saint presented in these early lives as an amalgam drawn from the careers of Patrick, the shadowy Palladius mentioned by Prosper, and perhaps other members of their missions. Both accounts are also highly colored by the political environment of their authors' own time, in which the ecclesiastical community at Armagh was vigorously asserting itself as the seat of the saint's cult and therefore as leader of the Christian church in Ireland. This claim was more explicitly and stridently asserted in the anonymous work called the *Tripartite Life*, which was probably composed in the tenth century at Armagh and certainly reflects the views of the community's members. This life seeks to establish Patrick as the apostle to all of Ireland and, by doing so, make Armagh the administrative head of all of its ecclesiastical institutions, despite Ireland's political fragmentation. All these early lives were composed in Ireland for an Irish audience and depict the saint as a



The beginning of St. Patrick's *Confessio* from the Book of Armagh, created by the scribe Ferdomnach for the Abbot Torbach (early ninth century). THE BOARD OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

powerful miracle worker whose deeds serve political ends as often as spiritual ones. In these lives Patrick blesses kings and dynasties, or curses their opponents, as often as he cures the sick and helps the poor.

The medieval lives of Patrick from the English and continental tradition are in marked contrast to the earlier Irish ones. They use the Irish tradition but are more in conformity with continental hagiography: The topographical and political details are reduced, and the intimidating ferocity of the Irish saint is tempered with a more decorous Christian humility. This trend was greatly advanced in the late twelfth century, after the Norman conquest of Ireland, when the professional hagiographer Jocelyn of Furness was commissioned by John de Courcy in 1185 to write a life of Patrick. It was this life that was widely circulated and eventually selected by the Catholic religious order known as the Bollandists for their great collection of saints' lives, the *Acta Sanctorum*. Another highly influential text of the late twelfth century was the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* (Tract on Saint Patrick's purgatory) written by

a Cistercian monk at Saltrey. Although this tract was a literary vision of hell, not a life of the saint, its popularity helped to spread the reputation of the saint and his cult outside of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Hagiography; Hiberno-Latin Culture; Latin and Old Irish Literacy; Religion: The Coming of Christianity; **Primary Documents:** *Confessio* (Declaration) (c. 450); From Muirchú's *Life of St. Patrick* (c. 680)

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Dorothy Africa

Sarsfield, Patrick

Patrick Sarsfield (1655?–1693) was born, probably in 1655, into a prominent old English Catholic family, whose estates in counties Dublin and Kildare had been confiscated in the Cromwellian settlement (though partly restored in Charles II's reign). Nothing is known of his early life. A second son, in 1675 he went soldiering. Debarred by his Roman Catholicism from being an officer in England, he served with the duke of Monmouth's regiment of foot in France until the recall of British regiments. The London to which he came in 1678 was about to be engulfed in the anti-Catholic hysteria of the "popish plot," and he found himself unemployable as an army officer. His time in London gave him a reputation for duelling and womanizing, but after a visit to Ireland in 1681 he returned to London with the prospect of income from the Sarsfield estate at Lucan, Co. Kildare, which he eventually inherited in 1683.

With the accession of the Catholic James II in 1685, it was again possible for Sarsfield to serve in the army, and opportunity was provided by Monmouth's rebellion against James in the English west country. At the battle of Sedgfield, Sarsfield suffered severe wounds

and gained a reputation for loyalty and daring which James II rewarded with promotion and trust. In 1688 he was given command of Irish troops in England. Shortly after the king fled London in December 1688, Sarsfield joined him in France. Back in Ireland in 1689, he was promoted to brigadier and given command of a cavalry regiment. In August he failed to prevent the rout of Jacobites at Enniskillen, though he did take Sligo in October and helped to hold much of Connacht for James II. Some time during the winter of 1689 to 1690 he found time to marry Lord Clanricarde's fifteen-year-old daughter, Honora Burke. Promoted to major-general, he did not see much action at the battle of the Boyne and subsequently escorted the defeated James II to Dublin. His posthumous reputation is built on his successful surprise attack at Ballyneety on a Williamite siege train en route to Limerick (August 1690). This success prevented the Williamites' first siege of Limerick from turning into a full-scale attack. It also provided an important boost for Jacobite morale, thereby strengthening the hand of the antipeace party among the Jacobites, of whom Sarsfield was the most prominent. Created earl of Lucan early in 1691, he commanded the reserve forces at the battle of Aughrim (July 1691), after which he withdrew to Limerick. Not long after Tyrconnell's sudden death in August, Sarsfield too concluded that it was necessary to sue for peace. He was both a negotiator and a signatory of the Articles of Limerick (3 October 1691). The military articles were a considerable achievement, allowing him to take to France as many of his troops as were prepared to travel. Appointed a marshal in the French army, he fought creditably at the battle of Steenkirk in 1692, but he died the next year in early August from wounds received at the battle of Landen. His name and his deeds, particularly at Ballyneety, were later immortalized by Jacobite sympathizers and nineteenth-century nationalists. His role in the Williamite War achieved a posthumous significance that might have surprised his contemporaries.

SEE ALSO Jacobites and the Williamite Wars

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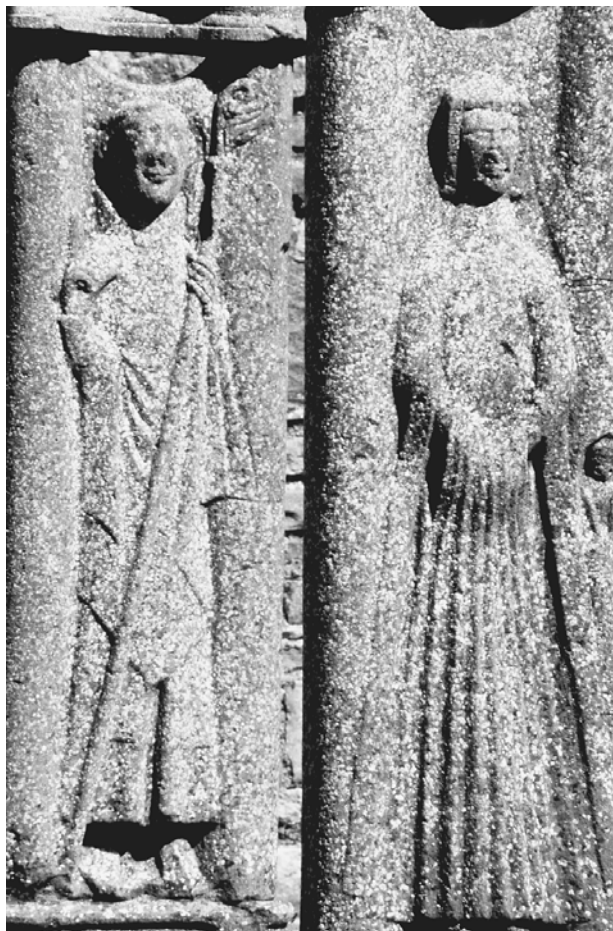
James McGuire

Sculpture, Early and Medieval

The eighth-century Kilnasaggart pillar in County Armagh is probably the earliest stone sculpture in Ireland datable by inscription, though the country, of course, preserves much older decorated stones from as far back as the Neolithic period around 3000 B.C.E. But the crosses inscribed on the Kilnasaggart stone were presumably preceded by other similar Christian symbols on slightly earlier slabs (many doubtless grave markers), which continued to be produced with multiple variations until at least the twelfth century at sites like Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly. Human figures in relief on upright monuments may not have appeared until the eighth century at the earliest, as on the pedimented stele with Pictish affinities at Fahan, Co. Donegal, while illustrations of the Crucifixion on island slabs at Inishkea North and Duvillaun More off the west coast of Mayo, and representations of pilgrims(?) at Killadeas, Co. Fermanagh, and Ballyvourney, Co. Cork, may well be somewhat later. Pilgrimage, indeed, could have been indirectly responsible in some way for the creation of two pillars carved in stylized fashion on all four sides at Carndonagh, Co. Donegal, and the unique high-relief figures with a variety of attributes on White Island, Fermanagh (not far from the twin-headed Boa Island statue, which may well be a Christian rather than a pagan monument).

The dawn of the ninth century saw a further heightening appreciation of a sense of monumentality in sculptured stonework with the appearance of free-standing pillars carved in relief, with horsemen, lions, and interlace, at Clonmacnoise and Banagher, Co. Offaly. From there it was but a short step to the development of the great scripture crosses (High Crosses), which represent the greatest corpus of religious sculpture to survive anywhere in Europe from the Carolingian period. In contrast to the stylized figures common in early Irish art, and as seen on the wonderfully graphic panels of the cross at Moone, Co. Kildare, many of the major scripture crosses have unusually naturalistic relief figures, often squat and grouped in threes, which may have been inspired by late classical and Carolingian models. The phasing-out of these crosses during the tenth century was followed by a hiatus lasting into most of the eleventh.

However, the sculpting of religious imagery picks up again in the twelfth century with the later group of High Crosses, portraying Christ and ecclesiastical figures on a large scale and in high relief, and the appearance—rare in Europe—of crowded Crucifixion scenes on church lintels, as at Maghera, Co. Derry, and Raphoe,



Carved figures from Jerpoint Abbey, Co. Kilkenny (late twelfth century), examples of Romanesque sculpture. © RICHARD CUMMINS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Co. Donegal. Other attractive manifestations of religious subjects in twelfth-century architectural sculpture include those in the chancel arch at Kiltel, Co. Kildare, and the wrongly reassembled stones on the exterior east gable of the cathedral at Ardmore, Co. Waterford.

As elsewhere in Europe, the twelfth century marks a high point in carved figures and strange beasts inhabiting a world of mysterious symbolism, encountered in Ireland largely on the portals and chancel arches of Romanesque churches—and even on Round Towers, as instanced by the doorway at Timahoe, Co. Laois. Munster first introduced the fashion in structures such as Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel in County Tipperary, consecrated in 1134, which is richly decorated with human heads, both single and on capitals, as well as having a centaur in relief firing an arrow at a large animal. Roughly contemporary are the fine vousoir heads preserved in Saint Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork, but the most bizarre collection of heads, mandarin and west-

ern—some with beards and typically high ears—appears on the disjointed doorway at Dysert O'Dea, Co. Clare, close to one of the finest examples of the later group of High Crosses. Chevrons (of Norman derivation) and floral ornament are frequently also included in the integrated program of designs on the Irish Romanesque doors and chancel arches, as at Killeshin, Co. Laois (where a fragmentary inscription suggests the patronage of Dermot Mac Murrough); Monaincha, Co. Tipperary; and in the two County Galway cathedrals of Tuam and Clonfert. The high quality of these later twelfth-century carvings continued west of the Shannon into the first quarter of the thirteenth century at locations such as Cong and Ballintober in County Mayo and Boyle in County Roscommon. Romanesque carving also included the stone sarcophagus at Clones, Co. Monaghan (copying a wooden and metal shrine), and probably also items such as the sundial at Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry.

By the early thirteenth century stylized Gothic foliage capitals were being used by the recently arrived Normans in styles that they introduced from their west of England homelands, while at the same time the Cistercians were incorporating very early naturalistic plant capitals with recognizable species into their abbey church at Corcomroe, Co. Clare. It was the Normans, too, who introduced the practice of placing effigies above tombs, and these can represent knights clad in armor of the period, ecclesiastics, or male and female civilians wearing long-draped garments. They were largely modeled on fashions current at the time in England, and some examples may even have been imported already carved, including a layman at New Ross, Co. Wexford, and possibly also the superb knight at Kilfane, Co. Kilkenny.

This flowering of Anglo-Norman sculpture was brought to a sudden end by the Black Death of 1347 to 1350. It was the Franciscan friaries of the west of Ireland that helped to revive the craft early in the fifteenth century, and the friary at Ennis shows how Irish master sculptors successfully adapted English alabaster panels to the much harder Irish limestone. The Dominicans responded with delicate and lively tomb- and altar-frontals at Strade, Co. Mayo.

Yet it was in the eastern counties dominated by the hibernicized Anglo-Norman lords that sculpture was most widely practiced in the fifteenth century. The Plunketts in Meath set up fine box-tombs with apostles as "weepers" supporting the effigy of lord and lady, and the crosses with religious figures in ogee-headed niches which they erected were a custom also practiced in towns such as Dublin, Kilkenny, and Athenry. The Plunketts' example was followed in the Ossory lands to



So-called tomb of Strongbow (c. 1340), Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. COURTESY OF FAILTE IRELAND. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the south, where the Butlers—who had probably provided employment for the “Gowran master,” sculptor and architect in the thirteenth century—were to act as patrons for the cloister at Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny, with its gallery of figures from varied walks of life. They also set up their own effigial tombs in Kilkenny and elsewhere well into the sixteenth century, employing one anonymous workshop of masons in the area rivaled by another run by the O’Tunney family. The Butlers were also involved in commissioning high-quality architectural sculpture at Holy Cross Abbey in the fifteenth century, which is roughly contemporary with the fine Gothic doorways in Clonmacnoise Cathedral and at Clontuskert, Co. Galway, in the decades surrounding 1470.

Most of the native wooden statuary that furnished later medieval churches in Ireland must have been ignominiously confined to the flames by zealots during the Reformation period, but the few pieces that survive show craftsmen at work competently providing Irish versions of styles prevalent elsewhere.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early and Medieval Arts and Architecture; High Crosses; Metalwork, Early and Medieval

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Peter Harbison

Second Reformation from 1822 to 1869

Following the revolutionary decade of the 1790s, the growth of an evangelical movement based on biblical morality was symptomatic of the growing belief that religion afforded the best protection against the destabilizing influences of the recent democratic revolutions in America and France. Convinced that the first Reformation had failed to take root in Ireland, supporters of the evangelical movement in the early decades of the nineteenth century sought to generate a “New,” or “Second,” Reformation. Promoters of the movement sought to effect a moral revolution among the upper classes that would make them more conscious of their duties as social and moral exemplars. They also attempted to introduce the principles of the Protestant faith to the Catholic population in the belief that this would secure Catholic acceptance of the existing social and political order. Initially, the movement was interdenominational in character and was dominated during its early years by Methodists and Congregationalists. During the second decade of the century, however, faced with the challenge launched by the Dissenting evangelicals, the Church of Ireland took the lead in the reformation campaign, especially in its outreach to the Catholic population.

The contemporary burgeoning demand for education among the poor was the most obvious and convenient avenue to control of the hearts and minds of the rising generation of Catholics. Through a variety of voluntary organizations (the Association for Discountenancing Vice, the London Hibernian Society, the Hibernian Bible Society, etc.) devoted to Bible distribution and education, the movement began to make serious progress in the 1820s, with increasing support from the landed classes and financial assistance from Parliament. When government funds went to agencies that were considered to be overtly engaged in proselytism,

Catholic leaders began to publicly condemn the movement. In 1819 and 1820, following a letter from the head of the Propaganda Fidei about the dangers of Bible schools, the Reverend John MacHale and Daniel O'Connell openly accused the schools of proselytism and attempting to subvert the Catholic religion as well as the movement for emancipation. This criticism was the opening shot in a rivalry that persisted through the 1820s against a backdrop of rising sectarian tension that was worsened by economic crisis and agrarian rebellion. It broke into open conflict following a famous sermon delivered at Saint Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin in October 1822 in which the newly appointed Archbishop William Magee called for a "glorious Second Reformation" that would establish the Church of Ireland as the church of the majority population. Magee argued that the Church of Ireland was the only legitimate ecclesiastical body in the country, deriving its legitimacy from apostolic succession and its descent from the ancient Celtic church of Saint Patrick. This claim provoked a reply from Bishop James Warren Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, an outspoken defender of the rights of the Catholic poor. Doyle's response to Magee was immediately recognized as the first expression of a strident assertiveness on the part of Catholic leaders, particularly the hierarchy, which quickly coalesced behind the Catholic Association, and it marked the beginning of a new phase of politicization for Catholics. Magee's sermon and Doyle's reply prompted an all-out ideological conflict in newspapers, pamphlets, and public debates—a conflict that accompanied the spread of the Catholic Association and the intensification of the controversy over Bible-based education. The controversy also promoted the institutionalization of the Second Reformation movement at the local level, where the campaign was supported especially by evangelical landed aristocrats such as Lord Farnham. Damaging criticism from the Catholic side was leveled against what was perceived to be coercion in the drive to make converts. Allegations surfaced that landlords were forcing Catholic tenants to send their children to evangelical schools on pain of eviction, and providing food and work as incentives to switch denominational allegiance. Although there were certainly some conversions, they never reached large numbers. Of far greater significance were the polarization that ensued between the two denominations (widened by the success of the Catholic Association) and the efforts by the government to solve the educational problem by setting up the National Board of Education in 1831. This last measure had severe implications for the Second Reformation movement, which focused its energies on the educational needs of the poor. During the 1830s, faced with the challenge of the schools of the National Board, the promoters of the Second Reforma-

tion shifted their attention to the west of Ireland, where the scarcity of Catholic religious education and the predominance of Irish-speakers were elements that could be exploited in the drive for conversions. During the 1830s and 1840s the foundations were put in place for a new missionary offensive that reached its highest point during the years of the Great Famine, when thousands of converts were reported. The charge of "souperism" (the use of food to attract converts) became widespread, especially in the western counties. Overall, the legacy of the Second Reformation movement hardened the attitudes of the Catholic hierarchy regarding Protestant influence in Catholic affairs, particularly those relating to education and philanthropy.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Evangelicalism and Revivals; Methodism; Presbyterianism

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Irene Whelan



Secularization

Secularization is a process in which religious belief and practice declines, people become less oriented toward the supernatural, and churches no longer have the same power within civil society, particularly over the state. It is sometimes difficult, however, to distinguish secularization from personalization, in which religion becomes more private and less formal and institutionalized. The fact that Catholics in Ireland in 2000 were going to mass less often than in 1950 and were disobeying church teachings, especially on sexual morality, could be seen as a sign of personalization more than secularization. Indeed, it could be argued that at the end of the twentieth century Irish Catholics were returning to a type of relationship with the institutional church that

was prevalent before the Great Famine. Nevertheless, whatever the process of change that is taking place, Irish Catholics are still very religious by Western standards.

Three-quarters of the people on the island of Ireland are Roman Catholic—over 90 percent of people in the Irish Republic and almost 40 percent in Northern Ireland. This is not just some nominal affiliation. Being Catholic or Protestant is central to personal identity—to how people see and understand themselves. In Northern Ireland, but less so in the Republic, religious identity is closely tied to social and political identity. But this does not seem to make Northern Catholics more religious. There is very little difference between Northern and Southern Catholics when it comes to mass attendance. However, given the specific context of Northern Ireland, and the lack of comparable data, this analysis of secularization focuses on the Republic of Ireland.

BEING RELIGIOUS

The level of orthodox Catholic belief in the Republic of Ireland is high. The majority (around eight in ten) of Irish Catholics accept the fundamental principles of their faith, such as belief in God, the divinity of Christ, and, in relation to Our Lady, the immaculate conception and her assumption into heaven. Similarly, over three-quarters (78%) believe in life after death, and seven in ten believe in miracles.

But what makes Ireland unique is the extent to which religious belief is put into practice. More than six in ten (63%) go to mass once a week. This is the one of the highest levels in the West, easily surpassing, for example, U.S. Catholics (43%), Poles (42%) and Italians (29%). There are also high levels of prayer (72% at least once a day) and reception of Holy Communion (42% receive once a week). There have, however, been changes in religious practice in recent years. The proportion attending mass once a week has decreased from 91 percent in 1973.

Another aspect that makes the Catholic Irish unique is the level of engagement in traditional religious devotions. Each year tens of thousands make pilgrimages to religious sites such as Knock, Croagh Patrick, and Lough Derg. Similar numbers participate in nine-day novenas to Our Lady in different churches throughout the country.

The Catholic Church still has a monopoly over the meaning of life in Ireland, particularly when it comes to life transitions. Young people may not be going to mass as often as they once did, but the vast majority of Irish Catholics are baptized, make their first Holy Communion, are confirmed (as Catholics), married, and buried



Pope John Paul II in Galway, September 1979. The visit attracted enormous crowds, but there is no evidence that it helped to arrest the declining influence of the Catholic Church. © VITTORIANO RASTELLI/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

within the church. These are still major social as well as religious occasions in Ireland.

BECOMING SECULAR

To understand the process of secularization, one must look beyond formal belief and practice to the extent to which people are oriented toward the supernatural and transcendental in their everyday life. There is plenty of evidence that the symbols and language of Catholicism—the statues, holy pictures, medals, greetings, and prayers around which daily life was once formed—are fading away. They do not have the same place in the rational lifestyle of modern bureaucratic society.

If being spiritual is one-half of the religious life, the other half is being ethical. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Catholic Church developed a monopoly over the rules and regulations of what constituted a good life and, thereby, how to attain salvation. What changed during the last half of the twentieth century was the nature of belief in the afterlife, the kind of behavior that was considered right and wrong, and the role of the church as a moral guardian.

Hellfire sermons have become a thing of the past. Only half of Irish Catholics believe in the devil and hell—in contrast to 85 percent who believe in heaven. There has also been a decline in acceptance of traditional church teaching, particularly in relation to sexuality. The proportion of people who believe that premarital sex is always wrong (30%) continues to decline. Less than half (42%) feel that the church gives adequate answers to moral problems and the needs of individuals.

For many years now there has been a decline in confession. In the 1970s almost half (47%) of Irish Catholics went at least once a month. This has declined to 9 percent. The change can be linked to Catholics distancing themselves from church teaching, particularly in relation to sexual morality. Young Catholics may be informed by church teaching, but they are increasingly making up their own minds about what is right and wrong.

While the church still has a monopoly over the religious field, it is rapidly losing its power in other social fields. Control of education has been crucial to passing on the faith from one generation to the next. Parents who had lapsed in their youth and early adult life were in the past easily persuaded to return to the fold once they had children. The development of multid denominational schools at primary level, and of community and comprehensive schools at secondary level, has facilitated disaffiliation from the church.

Health and hospital care is another field in which the church has lost its influence. In the past, people were often forced to use Catholic hospitals, or state hospitals whose medical ethics were essentially Catholic. It is becoming easier for Catholics to gain access to procedures such as sterilization and in vitro fertilization. A similar process is taking place in the administration of social welfare services. The state rather than the church now cares for the poor, the marginalized, and the disabled members of society. Social welfare is being disentangled from religious welfare.

The main reason for the decline in the church's influence in education, health, and social welfare has been the dramatic drop in vocations. In the 1960s the church could count on 1,400 new recruits to all forms of religious life each year. Now it has less than 100. There are still nearly 15,000 priests, nuns, and brothers, but they are aging rapidly. It is in this very real sense that the Catholic Church in Ireland is dying.

The church may have won the battle with the state over the Mother and Child Scheme in 1951, but it lost the war. The state has gained control of health and social welfare. It is slowly gaining control of education. Politicians gradually became less dependent on the sym-

bolic authority of the church. The state pursued a different vision of Irish society based on materialism, consumerism, and liberalism. It has encroached increasingly into the family and sexuality, previous strongholds of the church.

The church has also lost most of the control that it once had over the media. At the heart of the modern mass media is a philosophy of liberal individualism that stands in stark contrast to the message of piety, humility, and self-denial which are the traditional hallmarks of being a good Catholic. The media have been to the forefront in leading Irish Catholics to see, read, and understand their world differently. There is a new self-confidence in Irish people, particularly among women. They no longer accept the traditional church image of them as virgins, servants, housewives, or chaste mothers. If there has been one major cause for the decline in the power of the Catholic Church in Ireland, it was the demise of the Irish Catholic mother. She was once the lynchpin in passing on the faith from one generation to the next. Now, like many others throughout the world, she is busy going out to work and consuming.

SEE ALSO Divorce, Contraception, and Abortion; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; McQuaid, John Charles; Marianism; Mother and Child Crisis; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Social Change since 1922

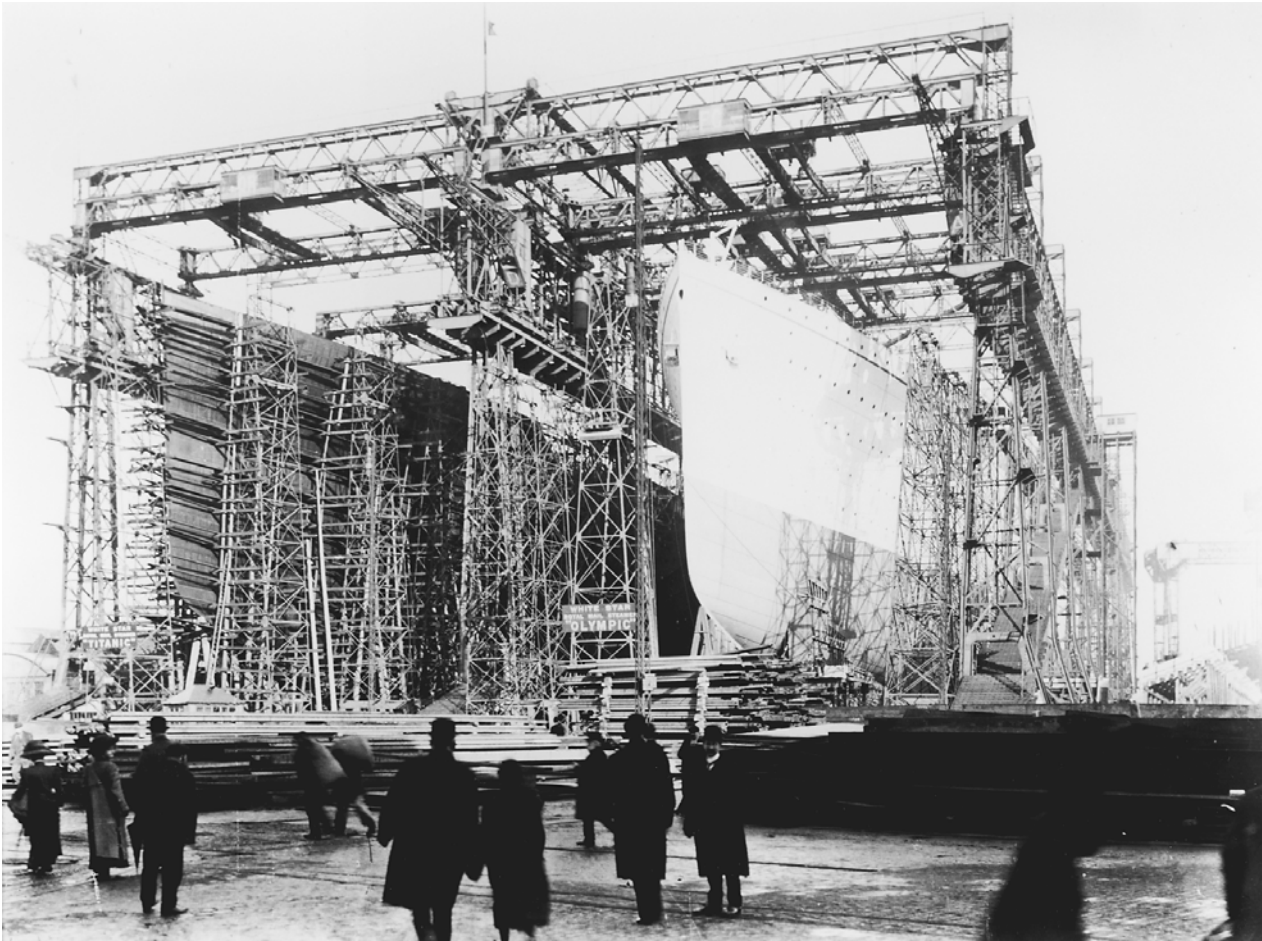
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Tom Inglis

shipbuilding

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wooden sailing ships were built at various locations around the



The Titanic and her sister ship the Olympic before launch in Harland and Wolff shipyard, Belfast, 1910. PHOTOGRAPH REPRODUCED WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND, M10-46-124.

coast of Ireland, including Belfast Lough. Belfast's first significant shipbuilding firm was established in 1791 by William Ritchie, a shipbuilder from Saltcoats on the west coast of Scotland. After 1850, product and process innovation, with the development of iron and later steel steamships together with scale economies, led to larger establishments and firms and to regional concentration in the shipbuilding industry throughout the United Kingdom. By the late nineteenth century most U.K. merchant tonnage was launched on the River Clyde in Scotland, the northeast coast of England, and the River Lagan in Belfast. The industry in Belfast consisted of two firms: Harland and Wolff and Workman, Clark and Company. In the years from 1906 to 1914 they produced 10 percent of the United Kingdom's output and 6 percent of the world's output.

Harland and Wolff was formed in 1861 by Edward Harland, an engineer and shipbuilder from the northeast of England, and Gustav Wolff, an English-trained engineer from Hamburg. The partnership acquired a

small yard on Queen's Island, which Harland had started to manage for Robert Hickson in 1854 and then purchased four years later. The Belfast Harbour Commissioners played an important role in the creation of this yard and in the subsequent development of shipbuilding on the River Lagan. Workman, Clark, and Company was formed in 1880 by Frank Workman and George Clark. Both men had served as apprentices with Harland and Wolff. The new company's yards were located mainly on the northern shore of the Lagan.

As with other U.K. firms, close links with shipping-line customers allowed the Belfast firms to maintain a high level of output and hence capacity utilization and also to develop product specialization, thereby enabling them to sustain unit-cost advantages over competitors. Under the leadership of William Pirrie, Harland and Wolff was one of a small number of yards equipped to construct the largest vessels, including the luxury liners *Olympic* (1911), and *Titanic* (1912). Workman Clark specialized in medium-sized cargo boats and combined

cargo and passenger vessels; the firm pioneered the development of the Parsons turbine engine and the construction of refrigerated meat- and fruit-carrying vessels.

Employment at Harland and Wolff increased from 500 in 1861 to 2,200 in 1871, and from 9,000 in 1900 to 14,000 in 1914. Altogether 20,000 were employed in shipbuilding in Belfast in 1914, and an all-time peak of nearly 30,000 held such jobs in 1919. Belfast did not have a large reserve of skilled labor. Skilled workers from Scotland and England were attracted and retained by offering them a premium on regional rates of pay: markets for skilled labor were interregional. These premiums did not apply to unskilled labor, which was in plentiful local supply. Because of their relative scarcity the skilled shipyard workers had considerable bargaining power and, as in Great Britain, were able to exercise a traditional right to select apprentices for their crafts. This informal labor market meant that recruitment frequently came from within the established local communities, often from within family groups. These employment practices continued into the twentieth century and help to explain the religious mix of the shipyard labor force. Serious sectarian incidents occurred in the shipyards in 1886, when there was a sharp downturn in shipbuilding output and employment, and in 1920, at the beginning of another major downturn for the Belfast yards. Each of these episodes took place at a time of heightened political tension over the national question: In 1886 and 1920 riots occurred during the first Home Rule crisis and as the Anglo-Irish War edged into the north, respectively.

In the 1920s and 1930s U.K. shipbuilders confronted the problems of slow growth in demand for shipping services, excess capacity, and increased foreign competition. Both Belfast firms experienced severe financial difficulties. Harland and Wolff responded by entering the market for oil tankers in the 1920s and diversified in 1936 by entering into partnership with Short Brothers to produce aircraft. Workman Clark did not survive the world depression that began in 1929 and launched its last ship in 1934.

The outbreak of World War II, like the previous world war, caused a boom in output; Harland and Wolff's contribution made the shipyard a target for German bombs in 1941. The long postwar boom saw an increase in demand for oil tankers and bulk carriers. Despite a decline in the U.K. shipbuilding industry's share of world output, tonnage launched by Harland and Wolff reached a historical high in the 1970s. However, the firm was in receipt of government financial support from 1966, and in 1975 the Northern Ireland

government became the sole shareholder in the company.

In 1989 Harland and Wolff was returned to the private sector as Harland and Wolff Holdings after a management and employee buyout in partnership with companies associated with the Norwegian shipowner Fred Olsen. Following privatization, the company diversified its product mix to include not just oil tankers and bulk carriers but also offshore production vessels for the oil and gas industry. After further restructuring in the late 1990s the dominant shareholder in the twenty-first century is Fred Olsen Energy. Diversification continues: Recalling the glory days at the start of the twentieth century the company is developing a research and tourism area on Queen's Island called Titanic Quarter. However, its shipbuilding days may have come to an end with the launch on 17 January 2003 of *Anvil Point*, a roll-on, roll-off ferry built for service with the U.K. Ministry of Defence.

SEE ALSO Belfast; Industrialization; Industry since 1920; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail

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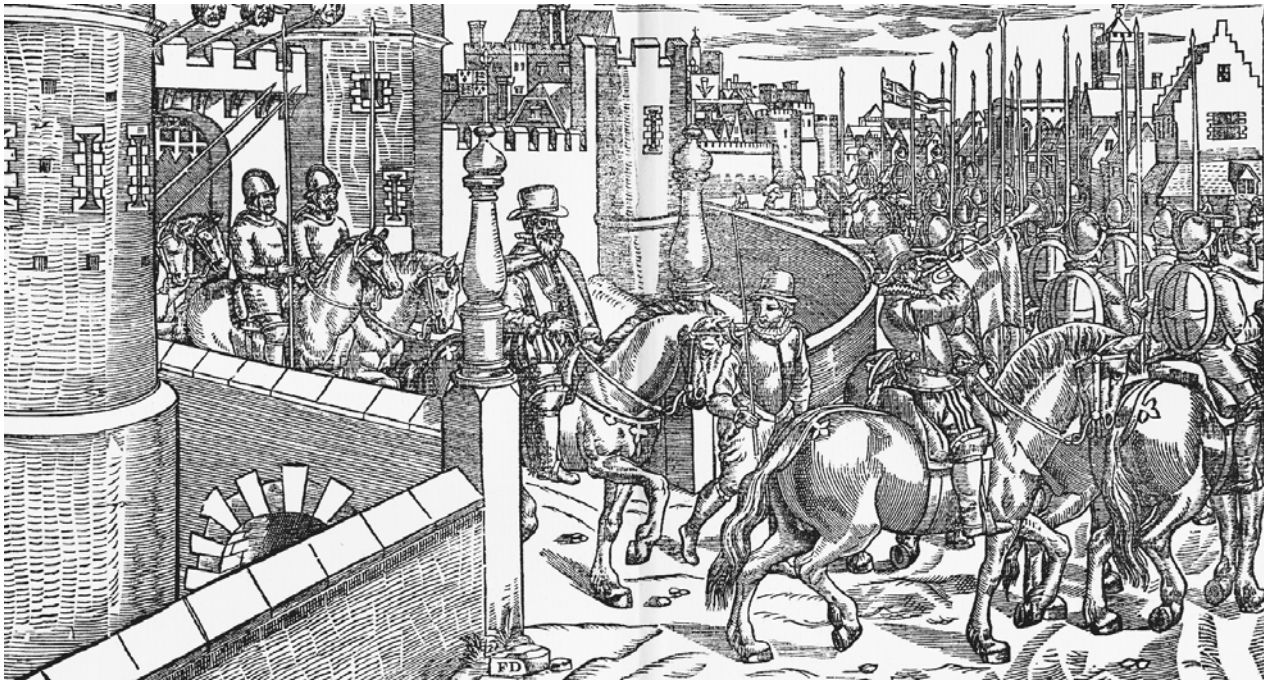
Frank Geary and Walford Johnson



Sidney, Henry

The Elizabethan administrator, diplomat, and courtier Sir Henry Sidney (1529–1586) was lord deputy of Ireland from 1565 to 1571 and from 1575 to 1578. Having made a promising beginning as one of the principal gentlemen of the privy chamber in 1550, and enjoying a particularly close relationship with King Edward VI, Sidney was one of a number of ambitious courtiers whose career declined steadily during the reign of Elizabeth through loss of favor, for which he himself believed his Irish service to have been primarily responsible.

Sidney's service in Ireland began in 1556 when he came to serve under his brother-in-law Thomas Rad-



Sir Henry Sidney (the lord deputy) setting out on a state progress through Ireland. The heads of several rebels are shown on poles over the gate of Dublin Castle. FROM JOHN DERRICKE'S *THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE* (1581).

cliffe, earl of Sussex, as vice-treasurer and treasurer-at-war. His first years in Ireland (1556–1559) were especially successful, and his careful administration of the army's finances made him popular with both the soldiers and the community of the Pale upon whom they were billeted. During two short terms as governor in Sussex's absence, Sidney established his reputation both as an effective commander and as a skillful diplomat, particularly in regard to his handling of affairs in Ulster. His success in Ireland secured him promotion in 1560 as lord president of Wales, a post he was to hold along with several other commissions until his death.

The collapse of Sussex's administration in 1564 to 1565 made Sidney a highly popular choice as the new governor in Ireland. But from the outset Sidney's first term in office was marred by the bitter court rivalries that attended on his appointment and by his perceived dependence on the powerful but deeply mistrusted favorite, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. Sidney sought to overcome such prejudices against him by devising a broad program of political and religious reform that incorporated the most orthodox prescriptions in every area. His attempts to implement it were obstructed by two imperatives that Elizabeth imposed on him: the reduction of the over-mighty Ulster lord, Shane O'Neill (1530–1567), and the resolution of the conflict between the great feudal lords of Ormond and Desmond. After a failed military expedition Sidney enjoyed unexpected

success in Ulster when O'Neill was assassinated by the MacDonalds of Antrim, probably with Sidney's connivance. But his perceived sympathy for Desmond and hostility toward Ormond marred this achievement, and when Sidney sought permission to commence the implementation of his reform program, he was ordered to bring both Desmond and his brother Sir John as prisoners to court. Delay ensued, and by the time Sidney returned to Ireland (August 1568) with power to inaugurate reform, this time under the auspices of an Irish parliament, Munster was in a state of open rebellion, and a new O'Neill overlord (Turlough Luineach, 1530?–1595) had risen to prominence in Ulster. While suppressing the rebellion in Munster (in an increasingly bloody manner) and containing disorder in Ulster, Sidney's reformist ambitions were again frustrated. His efforts to provide a new statutory basis for tenurial reform in the Gaelic lordships failed to bear fruit, and his attempt to establish a conventional provincial council in Connacht ended in fiasco.

The disasters of 1568 to 1571 taught him a lesson, however, and in the early 1570s Sidney, in collaboration with his adviser Edmund Tremayne, developed a radically new strategy that was to form the basis of his last administration in Ireland. He termed it simply "composition" (in effect, a deal). Accepting the failure of conventional legal and administrative means of bringing about change, composition posited that only the

threat of superior force would persuade the great lords to abandon their own methods of intimidation and protection. Thus a great army was to be introduced into Ireland, not to attempt conquest or dispossession but to enforce a series of permanent financial settlements between the lords and their vassals and between both sides and the Crown. These settlements would form the basis for transforming a social structure predicated on obligation and service into one predicated on rent.

The risks inherent in the radical nature of the new policy were deepened by a number of concessions in cost and duration that Sidney was required to make in order to regain office. But the most serious opposition to composition arose not in the Irish provinces where, though controversial, it made considerable progress, but within the English Pale, where it was seen, quite rightly, to entail dangerous implications of taxation without parliamentary consent. The Irish chancellor's acknowledgment that this was so, and Elizabeth's ultimate unwillingness to countenance an extension of the royal prerogative, caused the abandonment of the policy and Sidney's recall under the charge that he had sought "to take the land of Ireland to farm." Sidney's readiness to envisage an annual tax to be assessed and collected by royal provincial administrators with the support of the local nobility, who were to enjoy exemptions as the reward for their complaisance, is strongly redolent of the system that was to emerge in continental Europe under the *ancien régime*; it is tempting to speculate that in his thinking about Ireland, Sidney was less influenced by Spanish notions of colonization (as has sometimes been suggested) than by certain aspects of contemporary French constitutional thought. Such speculation in the absence of hard evidence must remain inconclusive, and it is equally arguable that in reaching his conclusions, Sidney was drawing simply on his own experience in Ireland.

SEE ALSO Desmond Rebellions; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Old English

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Ciaran Brady

Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922

The Sinn Féin Party dominated Irish nationalism between 1917 and 1922, but for many years it had been a marginal group in Irish politics. It was effectively the creation of Arthur Griffith, a brilliant and acerbic journalist who in 1907 formed a united party out of competing and overlapping groups. Under his influence its policy was to restructure the United Kingdom by establishing a dual monarchy similar to that of Austria-Hungary: Irish MPs were to abstain from the House of Commons and form a separate parliament in Dublin. By the standards of Irish nationalists he was obsessively concerned with economic issues, arguing in favor of industrialization and the protection of Irish products against foreign (specifically British) competition.

Griffith's first Sinn Féin Party made little impact. It was Dublin-centered, had no more than 128 branches at its greatest extent, and fought (unsuccessfully) only one by-election. Its inability to contest any seats in either of the general elections of 1910 illustrated its weakness, and it was moribund long before the outbreak of World War I.

However, Griffith remained an influential propagandist and, using the name of his party as that of his weekly newspaper, proved Sinn Féin to be popular and adaptable. When the paramilitary Irish Volunteers were formed in 1913, they were called the Sinn Féin Volunteers, often to the members' disgust. The Easter Rising, which was carried out largely by Volunteers, was similarly mistitled. The result was that an insignificant political party became closely identified with a heroic and romantic insurrection. As the rising acquired a retrospective popularity, Sinn Féin was able to benefit from the swing in public opinion against the British government and the Home Rule Party.

In early 1917 the Irish Volunteers, including former rebels who viewed politics with suspicion or disdain, realized that there was no possibility of another rebellion in the near future. Many of them drifted into political activity, often by chance or for lack of some-

thing better to do, and combined forces with the more moderate elements associated with Griffith. Together they led a grouping that in the course of the year became the second Sinn Féin Party.

THE SECOND SINN FÉIN PARTY

Even more than its prewar predecessor, this body was an alliance of political and military elements, of moderates and extremists. Some of its members believed strongly in democracy and political activity, while others regarded the tasks of contesting elections and converting public opinion as no more than an unwelcome prelude to another rising. But the members were able to cooperate effectively and to overcome differences that threatened to disrupt their efforts. They won a series of by-elections, thereby providing the movement with publicity and self-confidence. The new party was fashionable, acquired the glamour of success, and spread rapidly. By the end of 1917 it had more than 1,200 branches and probably over 120,000 members. Most of its supporters were former Home Rulers, with the result that the party inherited many of the skills and habits of its rival. Sinn Féin's constitution was changed so that it became a republican movement, abandoning the old policy of a dual monarchy, and Griffith was replaced as president by Eamon de Valera, the senior surviving leader of the Easter Rising.

In early 1918, Sinn Féin experienced three successive by-election defeats at the hands of the Irish Parliamentary Party, but it was able to play the principal role in organizing resistance to British plans for imposing conscription on Ireland. Irish nationalists flocked to join Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers. The arrest of de Valera, Griffith, and other prominent members of the party gave it the aura of martyrdom while also confirming the general belief that the Sinn Féin movement provided the only effective organized civilian resistance to conscription.

Despite the imprisonment of most of its leaders, Sinn Féin was able to wage a formidable campaign when a general election was held in December 1918. The Labour Party stood aside, and Home Rulers were so demoralized that they did not contest twenty-five nationalist constituencies. Sinn Féin won a total of seventy-three seats, the Parliamentary Party six, and the unionists twenty-six. One Sinn Féin candidate, Countess Markievicz, was the first woman to be elected to Parliament, although her resolve to abstain from Westminster guaranteed that she would not take her seat. Sinn Féin's political supremacy in nationalist Ireland was comparable to that of Charles Stewart Parnell in the late 1880s.

THE DECLINE OF SINN FÉIN

In January 1919 Sinn Féin MPs met in Dublin, proclaimed themselves Dáil Éireann (the Irish Parliament), and re-proclaimed the republic of Easter 1916. De Valera was later elected president, a cabinet was approved, and the new government attempted to take over the administration of the country. Ironically these actions, implementing Sinn Féin policies, which Griffith had outlined for almost twenty years, were among the factors that brought about the party's dramatic decline. Most of its aims had already been achieved; in particular, it had educated and organized Irish nationalism, defeated the Home Rule Party, and implemented a policy of abstention from Westminster. Its remaining objectives could better be achieved by the Dáil government or by its army—the Volunteers, who were now more widely called the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

As Ireland was polarized by the Anglo-Irish War of 1919 to 1921, the party often seemed to be superfluous, its members' enthusiasm dwindled, and it was banned by the British authorities. In many parts of the country it faded away, although it could be revived for basic electoral purposes. It was able to fight local elections in 1920 and a general election in 1921 (when seats were contested only in the newly created Northern Ireland and all its candidates were returned unopposed in the south). Only with the truce of July 1921 could Sinn Féin reemerge and resume its normal activities. In the course of the following months it was reconstituted. It enjoyed a brief Indian summer and became more popular than ever before.

This pattern was short lived. When the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in December 1921, the party split in two—like the rest of nationalist Ireland. The uneasy compromise between moderates and extremists negotiated in 1917 could not survive the compromises that were imposed by an agreement with Britain. Rival factions tried to seize control of Sinn Féin's machine, its assets, and its image. The party was patched together unconvincingly in May 1922 as part of the Collins-de Valera pact, under which pro- and antitreaty candidates were supposed to bury their differences and campaign together as a "panel." In theory Sinn Féin candidates won more than 60 percent of the vote, but the reality was that the electors' loyalties lay with either Michael Collins's provisional government or with the antitreaty republicans. Sinn Féin served only as a platform that could be used by the two "real" parties. Within weeks open warfare had broken out between the government and its republican opponents, and the second Sinn Féin Party promptly disintegrated. Its name was later appropriated by a series of minority republican groupings.

The party's ignominious end should not distract attention from its considerable achievements—above all its mobilization and radicalization of Irish nationalism and its maintenance of political traditions and values in the midst of what was largely a military revolution. The rapid consolidation of democracy in independent Ireland was eased by the activities of the Sinn Féin Party in the years after the Easter Rising.

SEE ALSO Civil War; Collins, Michael; Cumann na mBan; de Valera, Eamon; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Gonne, Maud; Great War; Griffith, Arthur; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Pearse, Patrick; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Redmond, John; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; **Primary Documents:** Address at the First Annual Convention of the National Council of Sinn Féin (28 November 1905); Resolutions Adopted at the Public Meeting Following the First Annual Convention of the National Council of Sinn Féin (28 November 1905); Proclamation of the Irish Republic (24 April 1916); Declaration of Irish Independence (21 January 1919); The “Democratic Programme” of Dáil Éireann (21 January 1919); Government of Ireland Act (23 December 1920); Proclamation Issued by IRA Leaders at the Beginning of the Civil War (29 June 1922)

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Michael Laffan



Smith, Erasmus

Erasmus Smith (1611–1691), merchant and educational philanthropist, was born at Husbands Bosworth in

Leicester, England, where he was baptized on 8 April. Admitted to the Grocers Company in London in 1635, his business was trade with Turkey, but he became involved in the supply of provisions to the Commonwealth armies in Ireland and Scotland in the early 1650s. His interest in Irish land began in 1643 when his father, Sir Roger, assigned to him the benefit of a 300-pound investment under the Adventurers' Act and the Sea Ordinance, which raised money for the suppression of the Irish rebellion on the security of land that would be forfeited as a result of it. After the war ended in 1653, Smith's speculative purchases of adventurers' shares at a discount raised his nominal investment to 2,995 pounds, for which he received 10,404 acres in Armagh, Down, and Tipperary. Subsequent acquisitions in the 1650s and thereafter extended his holdings to some 45,000 acres spread over nine counties.

In June 1655, Smith announced his intention to set up schools on his estates so that children could be raised “in the Fear of God and good literature and to speak the English tongue” (Barnard 1975 [2000], p. 191). In 1657 he vested 3,000 acres in trustees charged with establishing five schools and with providing for suitable students to receive scholarships to Trinity College, Dublin. The scheme was not implemented before the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, but in 1667 a modified proposal was authorized by letters patent that envisaged free grammar schools at Drogheda, Galway, and Tipperary, added an apprenticeship scheme, and required the trustees to pay 100 pounds each year to Christ's Hospital (the charity or “Bluecoat” school for orphans in London). Two years later, on Smith's petition, a royal charter confirmed the lands and the trust and appointed thirty-two governors, including the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh. Smith, whose original arrangements had favored nonconformist ministers as trustees and required the use of the Presbyterian 1646 Westminster catechism, had trimmed his sails.

Little else is known of Smith's life. He was briefly a London alderman in 1657 but withdrew after three weeks; he played an active part in the Adventurers' Committee in the late 1650s, when he visited Ireland; and he was elected to the Irish parliament for Ardee in 1665 but never attended. His trust prospered, and in 1723 an act of Parliament empowered it to use its considerable surplus income to found additional schools and to endow professorships and fellowships in Trinity College, Dublin.

SEE ALSO Education: 1500 to 1690; Restoration Ireland

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Aidan Clarke

Social Change since 1922

Ireland was divided into two separate states in 1922. The Irish Free State was overwhelmingly rural, agrarian, and Catholic; Northern Ireland was more industrialized, and two-thirds of the population were Protestant. Political change was not followed by a social revolution; rather, the social revolution predated it. In the decades between the Great Famine and World War I, Ireland experienced a long-term decline in population, mass emigration, a fall in the marriage rate; the near-extinction of both the landlords and the agricultural laborers; and the consolidation of a powerful farming class. The conservative values of these church-going small property-owners exercised an important influence on Irish society, North and South. Although they differed in politics and religion, the two Irelands had a common suspicion of change, modernity, and the outside world. The Irish Free State aspired to remain a Catholic, rural, and backward-looking Gaelic society, and for this reason it imposed a stringent code of censorship on film and printed materials that might expose its citizens to the values of a modern, secular, and urban society. Although the Northern Ireland state was less explicit about its cultural values, its ethos was likewise insular and conservative.

POPULATION, FAMILY, AND SOCIAL LIFE BEFORE 1960

The Irish population fell by almost half between 1841 and 1911, but in Northern Ireland the fall in population was reversed in 1891. In the Irish Free State the population continued to fall until 1961, because of a continuing high rate of emigration, which reached a twentieth-century peak during the 1950s when more than 400,000 people left the state. More than half of those who were born during the 1930s had emigrated by the 1960s. The rate of emigration from Northern Ireland was substantially lower because there were more jobs available outside farming.

By 1911 the Irish marriage rate was the lowest in Europe; one adult in four never married, and although the marriage rate was higher in Northern Ireland, it was also exceptionally low by international standards. Irish couples married at a later age than elsewhere, too, but families were large. In 1911 a woman whose marriage lasted twenty to twenty-five years had given birth to five or six children. Professional couples and Protestants had smaller families, indicating the beginnings of fertility control, but the decline in family size was one of the slowest in Europe. Marriages became more common during the 1940s and 1950s, in a faint reflection of the American and European marriage boom, but the Irish marriage pattern remained so out of line with that of Europe and the United States that it was regarded as eccentric and abnormal. This was attributed to sexual repression or other psychological pathologies, or to the power of the Catholic Church, but marriage statistics from Northern Ireland were not dramatically different.

Late marriages and permanent celibacy were most pronounced in farming households. Sons or daughters who worked on the family farm had no independent income, and they could not contemplate marriage unless their parent(s) gave them some security, by transferring ownership of the farm to a son or providing a dowry for a daughter; parents also had an effective veto over their child's choice of partner. But nonfarming families were much the same: in 1926 the percentage of Irish male teachers, clerks, and skilled workers who were married by the age of thirty was significantly lower than in England and Wales. Large families served to postpone and perhaps to prevent marriages. Farmers commonly delayed the marriage of the heir until all the remaining children had been provided for. Given the late age at which men and women married, it is not surprising that in 1926, 12 percent of children under fifteen in the Irish Free State had lost one or both parents; the figure was 10 percent in Northern Ireland. Older children commonly found themselves having to support widowed mothers, ailing fathers, and younger siblings, and many had to defer marriage until these responsibilities were at an end. Children were required to attend school until the age of fourteen, but only the children of prosperous parents and a tiny number of scholarship students attended secondary school or university. By the age of fourteen and often earlier, most children were expected to contribute to family income as farm laborers, domestic servants, messenger boys, or factory workers. Many teenage girls and older women, married and single, worked in textile and clothing plants in Belfast, Derry, and other Northern Ireland towns, but the most common employment for women in independent Ireland until the 1960s was domestic service. Jobs were scarce and many parents sent teenage sons or daughters



In the west of Ireland traditional thatched cottages have given way to modern houses, funded through generous government loans and grants.
COURTESY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND FOOD, IRELAND.

to England, some as young as fifteen years, with instructions to send money home; some fathers worked in England for part or all of the year, leaving their family in Ireland. Emigration eased the consequences of large families for both parents and Irish society.

Married women busied themselves raising large families, helping to run family farms or the pubs, groceries, and other businesses that dominated provincial Irish towns; it was highly unusual for married women to work outside the home, except in the Ulster textile towns. Housekeeping was onerous; most rural homes lacked electricity until the mid-1950s. Running water, bathrooms, and other modern amenities reached the Irish countryside only during the 1960s, but middle-class families, even those on modest incomes, commonly employed a domestic servant until the 1950s, when such workers emigrated en masse to England. By the 1930s the typical Irish family lived in a house with three to four rooms, but thousands of Dublin families continued to live in one-room tenements until after World War II. Housing standards in Belfast were significantly better, with most working-class families occupying a three- or four-room terraced house, supplied with gas and cold water.

Social life revolved around the home or the church; in rural areas the most common social activity was the *cuaird* or *céilí*—visiting a neighboring house in the evening to gossip, play cards, or listen to music. These visits were made only by men; women, married or single,

stayed at home unless there was a more formal social event such as a dance, a wedding, or a funeral. A lot of socializing was single-sex. Sport was extremely important. Every Catholic parish had a Gaelic football team and perhaps a hurling team; soccer was the sport of the urban working class; rugby was supported by professional men. Horse racing was popular with all classes; local race meetings were major social events. The pub was important for certain occasions—fair days and trips to the town—and it was the place where match-making and dowries were commonly negotiated. But for most people the pub did not form part of everyday life, because they could not afford it.

Religion had an important place in the lives of most Irish people, both Catholic and Protestant, uniting them and dividing them. Schools, charitable services, and many hospitals were denominationally based. Church attendance was almost universal, and in contrast to continental Europe, men and women were equally devout. The practice of religion commonly went far beyond attending church on Sunday; it involved additional devotions or charitable work. Sporting clubs, musical societies, bands, dramatic groups, and scout troops were based around the church; so too were seaside outings, weekly dances, and even foreign travel. Most Irish Catholics first traveled to Europe on a pilgrimage to Rome or Lourdes. Social activities strengthened religious divisions, as did attitudes toward the Sabbath. Catholics went to church on Sundays, but they also danced and traveled to Gaelic Athletic Association matches; they did

not dance on Saturday nights. Protestant Sabbatarianism ruled out social activities on Sundays.

SOCIAL CHANGE

While it would be incorrect to assume that nothing changed between the 1920s and the 1950s, nevertheless the pace of change was slow because of the lack of economic development and because Ireland, both North and South, was less affected by World War II than other European countries. In 1926 a majority of men (571 out of every 1,000) earned their living in farming; in 1961 the figure was 426. During the mid-1950s, soaring emigration forced a rethinking of economic policy and an acceptance that industrial development was essential to national survival. Although emigration may have reduced the pressures for change—by removing the discontented and the unemployed and by relieving the Irish state of the need to provide for the offspring of large families—it had a critical influence on aspirations and tastes. Reports of large pay packets, paid holidays, and a lively social life created dissatisfaction among servant girls who worked long hours in Irish homes for little more than their keep, and among farmers' adult sons who had to ask a parent for the price of a packet of cigarettes or admission to the cinema. Ireland was English-speaking, and British and American films were extremely popular. Thus, despite strict censorship, jazz and the fashions set by Hollywood permeated all parts of Ireland. British television reached Northern Ireland and its hinterland in 1955, but the remainder of the island remained a television-free zone until an Irish state service opened on 31 December 1961. The timing reinforces the sense that the 1960s was a decade of major change in Irish society.

EMPLOYMENT AND CLASS

During the 1960s the Irish Republic changed from a predominantly agrarian economy to a mainly industrial economy. By 1986 only one-fifth of male workers were engaged in farming; it has been predicted that by 2010 there will be only 20,000 full-time farmers. There has been a steady growth in the numbers employed in factory or service jobs in foreign multinational companies, and in government service. The proportion of the population in professional, white-collar, and skilled jobs has risen sharply, and there has been a corresponding fall in the numbers employed in family businesses. Recruitment is now primarily by merit; in the past it was commonly on the basis of kinship, family, or church connections. The traditional prejudice in farming families against factory jobs, especially for women, has been eroded by good pay and working conditions, while the

needs of multinational companies and equality legislation have forced the Irish government to abandon its policy of giving preference to industries that recruited men. Between 1971 and 1991 the number of women in paid employment in the Irish Republic increased by 40 percent. In the 1990s the participation of women in the labor force soared, and the proportion of married women at work is now close to the European Union (EU) average. In Northern Ireland the number of farmers has likewise fallen, but so too have the numbers employed in manufacturing industry, with the loss of jobs in traditional textile and shipbuilding plants. Public service is now the largest employer; the proportion of women in paid employment remains above that of the Irish Republic, although the gap is closing.

Irish voters have traditionally voted on the basis of religion and nationalism, not class. In 1920, Belfast was the only Irish city with a significant number of factory workers, but religious differences generally transcended class interests; workplaces and occupations were often demarcated by religion, and the trade-union movement in Northern Ireland has failed to establish itself as an effective alternative to the sectarian groupings. In Dublin and other Irish cities the working class was mainly employed in transportation and other service industries, and the dispersed and casual nature of the work worked against the emergence of a strong labor movement. Emigration, a common response to economic depression, also weakened workers' clout. Access to many skilled crafts was restricted to family members, further dividing the working class. There has been a substantial rise in trade-union membership since the 1960s, particularly among white-collar and public-service workers, but trade-union power has been reflected in quasi-corporatist bargaining with government and employers, not through the electoral process. This system began in the 1960s with the negotiation of national pay rounds. Since the late 1980s, "social partnership" involving government, employers, trade unions, and voluntary organizations has played a central role in determining policy on pay, healthcare, taxes, and welfare.

POPULATION

A sharp fall in the rate of emigration during the 1960s brought a century of population decline in the Irish Republic to an end. By the early 1970s returning emigrants outnumbered those who were leaving. The 1960s also brought a marriage boom and a fall in the age of marriage; family limitation became the norm, with many women using the contraceptive pill. The number of births peaked in 1980, twenty years later than in other developed countries; until then the decline in family size was offset by the increase in the number

of marriages. In 1980 the Irish birthrate was double the European average, but fertility fell sharply during that decade; in 1991 it was below replacement level and it remains so today. Throughout this time fertility in Northern Ireland was lower than in the Irish Republic, and this remains so.

Ireland is no longer out of line with European demographic trends: The birthrate is below replacement level in both parts of Ireland, although it is one of the highest in Europe; almost one-third of babies are born outside marriage. The Irish remain rather reluctant to marry; the marriage rate is below the EU average, and a growing number of marriages end in separation or divorce. Male and female life expectancy, both North and South, remains slightly below the EU average. Until the 1950s Irish women were almost unique in Europe in having a lower life expectancy than men, but this has been reversed. Since the 1990s the Irish Republic, traditionally a country of net emigration, has begun to attract increasing numbers of immigrants, both returning emigrants and migrants from eastern Europe and the Third World; immigration into Northern Ireland is now lower than into the Republic. The major distinction between Ireland and its EU partners is in the average age of the population; Ireland's belated baby boom, together with the high rate of emigration during the 1950s, means that the proportion of the population of pensionable age is well below the EU average.

CHURCH AND STATE

The influence of the Catholic Church on Irish society probably peaked during the 1960s. At that time there were sufficient male and female religious to staff an extensive network of schools, nursing homes, and other institutions, and a devout laity had not yet begun to question the authority of the church. But the sharp fall in the numbers entering religious life during the 1970s forced the Catholic Church to begin to withdraw from schools and other institutions. The rapid expansion in the number of men and women with second- and third-level education in the 1970s created an alternative cohort of community leaders, especially in rural Ireland, and a population that questions the views expressed by church leaders. Recent revelations of physical and sexual abuse by religious have further damaged the church's authority. The 1995 referendum permitting divorce and the defeat of the 2002 referendum that attempted to strengthen restrictions on abortion reflect a waning of the Catholic Church's influence on the electorate and on social policy. But while church attendance has fallen, it remains well above the European average, and pilgrimages or religious events, such as the 2001 tour of

the bones of Saint Thérèse of Lisieux, continue to attract large attendances.

It is more difficult to chart the changing role of the Protestant churches because their authority is more decentralized, but they too have suffered from falling church attendance and a shortage of ministers. Social life for both Protestants and Catholics no longer centers around the church. In the Republic of Ireland, where the Protestant community accounts for 3 percent to 4 percent of the population (compared with 7 percent in 1926), denominational divisions are fading, perhaps because of a growing indifference to religion. More than 5 percent of couples now opt for civil marriages, and a growing number of parents send their children to multid denominational schools. For the first time in the history of the state, no new Catholic or Protestant schools opened in 2002, although there were several new Moslem schools. In Northern Ireland religious loyalties continue to unite and divide communities, although many of those who make use of religion for political ends rarely attend church. Catholics accounted for one-third of the population of Northern Ireland in 1926, a figure that remained largely unchanged until the 1970s because a higher Catholic birthrate was offset by Catholic emigration. The proportion of Catholics has risen in recent decades, and it now stands at 43 percent to 44 percent. In 1911 Belfast housing was heavily segregated by religion, and it is even more so today. But fair-employment legislation has brought a marked reduction in segregated employment. Belfast Sundays no longer reflect the Sabbatarian strictures of the Protestant religion: Public parks, shops, and even public houses are now open.

The diminishing role of the church in Irish society has been partly filled by the state. In 1922 both Irish states provided old-age pensions for those seventy or older without means and insurance against sickness and unemployment for industrial workers. The poorest one-third of the population were provided with free medical treatment, and all children were entitled to free primary schooling. The expansion of social services in Northern Ireland was dictated by developments in Britain. The 1940s saw the introduction of a welfare state in Northern Ireland which provided universal insurance against sickness and unemployment, old-age pensions regardless of income, a health service that was available to everybody free of charge, and free secondary schooling. These developments were initially viewed with suspicion by the socially conservative politicians in Northern Ireland, who placed a high premium on self-reliance; the Catholic Church was likewise wary about the reforms in health and education. In time unionist politicians saw the superior social services as evidence of

squeezed in at number sixteen. Irish marriage and fertility patterns are no longer exceptional; the lifestyle of most Irish families—the suburban homes, long commutes, shopping malls, foreign holidays, and multichannel televisions—resembles that of other developed countries. Statistics on educational standards, material wealth, and other indices confirm that similarity. Irish pop music, literature, and sport have become part of a global culture, but they have not been swamped by it. Indeed, the international standing of Irish popular musicians such as Van Morrison and U2 is disproportionate to Ireland's population. Traditional music and distinctively Irish sports such as hurling have adapted to the global challenge and now thrive alongside pop music and soccer, often attracting the same supporters.

Ireland resembles other developed countries in one less happy respect: economic development has not eliminated social inequality. Although the numbers in absolute poverty have fallen sharply, poorer households remain at a considerable disadvantage in such matters as health, life expectancy, and education. Some of this disadvantage, such as the high rate of adult illiteracy, is a legacy of the past—the numerous children who left school at an early age because of family pressures. Irish cities, North and South, contain substantial numbers of working-class families who have benefited little from the expansion in education and job opportunities. But despite fears about the depopulation of rural Ireland, the actual facts are positive: in 2002 the population of every county increased, some for the first time since the Great Famine. Mayo, traditionally one of the poorest counties, has the highest rate of participation in third-level education. The pace of social change in Ireland was among the fastest in Europe at the end of the twentieth century, and this seems likely to remain the case for some time.



SEE ALSO Divorce, Contraception, and Abortion; Family: Fertility, Marriage, and the Family since 1950; Farming Families; Health and Welfare since 1950, State Provisions for; Industry since 1920; Media since 1960; Migration: Emigration and Immigration since 1950; Music: Popular Music; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Secularization; Sport and Leisure; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century; Women in Irish Society since 1800

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Mary E. Daly

Sodalities and Confraternities

Sodalities and confraternities were associations for lay people who wished to perform religious work and achieve personal sanctification by means of special devotional practices or charitable endeavors; their overall aim was to promote religious observance under ecclesiastical direction. There was a dramatic increase in the level of popular devotion to Catholicism in the latter part of the nineteenth century attributable to the impact of the Great Famine, among other things, but given the scale of prefamine church-building, it is likely that the upsurge was in train prior to the 1840s. In 1850 the Synod of Thurles, the first national assembly of the Irish

church for almost 700 years, established an up-to-date code of ecclesiastical law and consolidated reforms and discipline within the Catholic Church, making a contribution to a "devotional revolution," which was further strengthened by the appointment of the archbishop of Armagh, Paul Cullen, as archbishop of Dublin in 1852.

Politically conservative, Cullen was an upholder of Ultramontanism, or the exaltation of papal authority, and he sought to oversee a new discipline and devotion in the Irish Catholic Church. During this era the involvement of Irish Catholics in confraternities and sodalities was seen as an essential contribution to external piety, accompanied at the end of the nineteenth century by new publications with large circulations, such as the *Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, the *Irish Rosary*, and the *Irish Catholic*.

The promotion of this new piety was also helped by an explosion in the numbers joining religious orders. Nuns, for example, increased eightfold between 1841 and 1901. The greatest growth was recorded by the Irish Sisters of Mercy, founded in Dublin by Catherine McAuley in the late 1820s. In 1841 there were 100 nuns in this order; by the end of the nineteenth century there were 8,000. Priests anxious to improve the spiritual practices of their flocks inaugurated confraternities and sodalities in parishes and dioceses throughout the country, including confraternities of the Holy Family and Christian Doctrine, and sodalities focusing on the Virgin Mary and the rosary. Some of these organizations also had a role to play in combating the efforts of Protestant proselytizers.

By the end of the nineteenth century there was a huge variety of sodalities and confraternities to choose from. The number often depended on the enthusiasm and organizing skill of the parish priests. Their existence was also indicative of an emphasis on "externalism" in religious practice over interior spirituality. In the absence of a scriptural tradition in scholarship or popular piety, the Catholic Church proved itself capable of organizing mass public devotion, as exemplified by the gathering of one million Catholics in Dublin city for the Eucharistic Congress of 1932.

A precursor of the widespread institutionalization of Catholic piety was the attempt to inculcate temperance undertaken by Theobald Mathew, a Capuchin monk. Father Mathew inaugurated a relentless temperance crusade, through the Cork Total Abstinence Society, beginning in 1838 and quickly spreading to the rest of the country. Initially an attempt to address the serious issue of excessive drinking, it developed into a more populist crusade based on the idea of pledging among the masses. It was, superficially at least, a phenomenal short-term success, but it declined within a decade and

left no durable structures behind. Undoubtedly, the famine and the social disruption, emigration, and death toll that it left fatally undermined the temperance movement.

More successful and durable was the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, established in Dublin in 1898 by the Wexford Jesuit James Cullen, who devised a "heroic offering" in which people pledged to abstain completely from alcohol for life. It became the country's most successful Catholic lay movement, and its Jesuit directors vigorously decried the pervasive Irish drink culture. Its golden jubilee in 1949 attracted 90,000 people to Croke Park in Dublin. Membership peaked at nearly 500,000 in the 1950s, after which it went into decline.

Popular Marian societies seemed to reach their apex in Ireland in the 1950s, after which their membership contracted dramatically. By the end of the twentieth century the Legion of Mary, which was closely associated with missionary work, had a membership of 8,000, less than one-third the membership in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Another important Marian institution was the Jesuit-led Sodality of Our Lady. In 1958 there were as many as 823 local sodalities with a total membership of 250,000, but by 1975 only 82 sodalities remained. The Jesuits' attempts to transform these old-style sodalities into Christian Life Communities failed. Other significant religious activists included the prayer groups devoted to Our Lady of Fatima, Padre Pio, and Medjugorje. In recent decades members of these prayer groups have become political lobbyists against contraception, abortion, and divorce.

The collapse in the number of vocations to the priesthood and religious life, from 34,000 in 1967 to fewer than 20,000 by the end of the century, was also notable in the context of the waning influence of sodalities and confraternities. Their decline was further fueled by Vatican II reforms, which redirected activity toward dialogue with other churches and stressed the importance of inner spirituality and devotion to Christ rather than to Mary.

SEE ALSO Ancient Order of Hibernians; Devotional Revolution; Marianism; Orange Order: Since 1800; Religion: Since 1690; Religious Orders: Men; Religious Orders: Women; Temperance Movements; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

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Diarmaid Ferriter



Solemn League and Covenant

The Solemn League and Covenant was drawn up in Edinburgh by commissioners for the Scottish Covenanters and English parliamentarians in the late summer of 1643. The treaty was of fundamental military, religious, and constitutional significance for Ireland as well as Scotland and England. In the first place, the Covenanters, already victorious in Scotland, were committed to help the parliamentarians defeat the royalist cause in England and, by extension, provide potential support for Charles I in Ireland. In the second place, Presbyterianism was to be imposed as the religious establishment throughout the three kingdoms. Thus, not only episcopacy but also independent sects and, above all, Roman Catholicism, which was associated with the forces of the Antichrist, were to be swept aside. In the third place, confessional solidarity within the three kingdoms was to be underscored by the replacement of regal union, operational under the Stuart dynasty since 1603, by confederal union. The Solemn League and Covenant did result in a victory over the royalist forces in England, but it also led to an intensification of civil war in both Scotland and Ireland. This treaty of confessional confederation instigated what became the Wars for the Three Kingdoms, in which Oliver Cromwell emerged triumphant and both Scotland and Ireland were reduced to satellite states under the English republic by 1651.

The Scots provided the main ideological input for the Solemn League and Covenant, a compact based on the National Covenant of 1638, in which the Scots had justified their revolution against Charles I. There were two imperatives to which all signatories were commit-

ted. In religious terms a Presbyterian reformation was to be achieved by joining the covenant of works to that of grace for national as well as individual salvation. In constitutional terms the right to resist the Crown became a mandatory one to export revolution throughout the three kingdoms. Furthermore, the most radical aspect of the National Covenant was reiterated almost verbatim in the Solemn League and Covenant, notably in the oath of allegiance and mutual association, which upheld the corporate right of the people to resist a lawful king who threatened to become tyrannical. Monarchy limited by parliaments was non-negotiable. This concept of a coactive power, which the Scots had borrowed from the French and Dutch advocates of the right of resistance in the late sixteenth century, was maintained by the radical mainstream of the Covenanting movement throughout the 1640s.

Supported militarily and materially by Sweden, the Covenanters had created a centralized state to enforce ideological, military, and financial commitment within Scotland and to seize the political initiative throughout the three kingdoms. Having decisively won the Bishops' Wars of 1639 to 1640, the Covenanting movement insisted upon English parliamentary participation in the peace negotiations, which were eventually brought to a conclusion by the Treaty of London in August 1641. In the interim Scottish commissioners were invited by the English Long Parliament to instigate the prosecution of the lord-deputy of Ireland, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford.

Ever since the first sustained appeal to British public opinion in the prelude to the Bishops' Wars, the Covenanting leadership had aimed to secure a lasting alliance by a defensive and offensive league—that is, by a confederation (not a union) between Scotland and England. These negotiations were overtaken by the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in October 1641. The return from Ireland of planters and settlers in the wake of the rebellion there in 1641 had given a British resonance to Covenanting ideology. The refugees' presence was a continuous reminder of the Catholic threat not only from Ireland but also from the Counter-Reformation in continental Europe. The Covenanting leadership was not prepared to accept Charles I's invitation to protect the plantations without the consent of the English parliament. Fears of a "popish plot," reputedly organized by the hapless Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, to bring armed assistance from Ireland to the royalist cause throughout Britain, confirmed public opinion in favor of a federative treaty between the Scottish Covenanters and English parliamentarians in 1643. Ostensibly intending to supply the Scottish army in Ireland and to review the arrears of financial reparations due under

the Treaty of London, the Covenanting radicals summoned a convention of "estates" which cemented a formal alliance for armed cooperation between the Scottish estates and the English parliament on 26 August. Ireland was included within the remit of the Solemn League and Covenant only at English insistence. The Scots were reluctant to accord equal standing to a satellite kingdom whose dominant religion was manifest from the confederation which the Irish Catholics had established at Kilkenny in July 1642.

Despite the initial success of armed intervention in England, British confessional confederation was beset by difficulties. Internal divisions in the parliamentary forces between the Presbyterians and the Independents were compounded by tensions between the parliamentarians and Covenanters. These tensions in turn were aggravated by the hostility generated in the north of England by Scottish occupation. In Ireland the endeavors of the Scottish army to break out of Ulster were ended by the forces of the Catholic Confederation at Dundalk in June 1646. The British influence of the Covenanting movement had been further weakened by the outbreak of debilitating civil war at home. James Graham, marquis of Montrose, ran a brilliant guerrilla campaign for the royalists in 1644 to 1645, assisted by Alasdair MacColla and forces from Ulster sponsored by the Catholic Confederation. Although their cause was crushed by 1647, the intensity of their campaigning had obliged contingents of the Covenanting army to withdraw from England. The transfer of Charles I from the custody of Covenanters to the English parliament in January of that year had revived the movement's conservative element. Under the terms of an "Engagement" that came into force in 1648, Charles I was not obliged to subscribe to the covenants or to impose Presbyterianism on England for more than a trial period of three years. This effective rescinding of the coactive power over monarchy conceded that the Covenanters had lost the political initiative within Britain. Armed intervention in renewed English civil war in the summer of 1648 ended disastrously at Preston and enabled the radicals to stage a successful revolt with support from Oliver Cromwell.

News of the execution of Charles I on 30 January 1649 sundered this collaboration of the Covenanting radicals with Cromwell. Their immediate proclamation of Charles II as king of Great Britain and Ireland reasserted the supranational identity of the house of Stuart. Charles II's subscription to the National Covenant and the Solemn League prior to his coronation on 1 January 1651 underscored the old element of confessional confederation, but also provoked the occupation of Scotland by English forces. With Cromwellian armies triumphant in all three kingdoms, enforced union was

marked first by the Commonwealth and then the Protectorate of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This deliberate avoidance of a "Great Britain" was an emphatic rejection of both the Stuart dynasty and confederal union through covenanting. The Restoration of 1660 produced constitutional settlements that publicly abrogated covenanting, which a militant minority maintained as a movement of protest, but no longer of power, in Ulster as well as Scotland. Covenanting has retained a residual appeal for those intent on asserting Scottish independence of, and Ulster autonomy from, Anglican supremacy.

SEE ALSO Calvinist Influences in Early Modern Ireland; Cromwellian Conquest; Puritan Sectaries; Rebellion of 1641

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Allan I. Macinnes



Special Powers Act

The act, introduced in March 1922 and enacted in April, was initially intended as an emergency measure to deal

with widespread political violence. The Northern Ireland parliament debate on its introduction (attended exclusively by unionists, since nationalist MPs were boycotting the new institution) reveals widespread belief that the British regime in Ireland had failed through weak and indecisive government. The rulers of the new statelet were determined to impress their enemies with the statelet's determination to survive.

The act endowed the Northern Ireland government with most of the powers granted to the imperial government under the 1914 Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) and the 1920 Restoration of Order in Ireland Act (ROIA), except for the right to create courts-martial. It allowed "the civil authority," defined as the minister of home affairs, to "take all such steps and issue all such orders as may be necessary for preserving the peace and maintaining order"; the minister could delegate this authority, in whole or in part, to any police officer. (One later critic alleged that in theory the act authorized the minister to delegate his powers to a single police constable, who could then with perfect legality intern the whole population of Northern Ireland, including the minister.) It created courts of summary jurisdiction (composed of resident magistrates without juries) to try offenses against it. Offenses were punishable by two years' imprisonment and/or a fine of £100, with confiscation of goods or articles "in respect of which the offence has been committed." The act also allowed offenders to be flogged, which had not been provided for in its DORA or ROIA prototypes.

Thirty-five regulations contained in a schedule to the act gave the minister extensive powers, including the right to declare curfews; to prohibit or restrict assemblies; to enter, close, and take possession of property; to compel persons to supply information; to arrest and detain without warrant; to make membership of certain organizations a criminal offense; and to prohibit the circulation of any newspaper. Some of these regulations derived from DORA and ROIA and their associated regulations; others were completely new. Offences under the act were defined in extremely broad terms, which allowed almost any action to be declared illegal; most notoriously, Section 2(4) stated, "If any person does any act of such a nature as to be calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of the peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations, he shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence against the regulations."

The minister was authorized to make further regulations for the preservation of the peace and maintenance of order, and to amend existing regulations; over 100 regulations were made during the act's existence. Regulations did not require prior approval from the

Northern Ireland parliament and could not be amended or repealed by it, although a majority in either House could petition the lord lieutenant (later the governor of Northern Ireland) to annul a regulation within fourteen parliamentary days after the regulation was laid before that House. (No such petition was ever submitted.)

Regulation 23 was supplemented on 1 June 1922 to allow internment, and the minister's powers in this regard were progressively extended. Seven hundred thirty-two persons (mostly republicans) were interned in the period 1922–1924, and the regulation provided the basis for subsequent use of internment in 1938–1946, 1956–1961, and 1971–1973. Further amendments allowed the minister to impose restriction orders excluding persons from all or part of Northern Ireland. The enforcement of the act certainly contributed to the fall-off in violence from late 1922 (though this was also due to the outbreak of the Civil War in the Free State).

The act was initially to remain in force for one year. In November 1922 it was extended until 31 December 1923; thereafter it was extended annually until 1928, when it was renewed for five years. By this stage its rationale had shifted from restoring law and order to defending the state by suppressing the public expression of republican (and, to a lesser extent, communist) views; opposition to partition was equated with sedition. The act was rarely used against loyalists, though about twenty Protestant paramilitaries were interned and three were flogged in 1923. Loyalist publications and processions were never banned under the act, and its use to suppress nationalist processions and such activities as the flying of the tricolor were often justified in expressly communal and political terms.

In 1936 the British National Council for Civil Liberties issued a report criticizing the act and arguing that such powers were unnecessary in peacetime; the Northern Ireland government dismissed the report as unduly influenced by nationalists. Over ninety processions and meetings were banned under the act between 1922 and 1950 (after which the 1951 Public Order Act came into effect). In the period 1924–1971, 52 orders were issued banning over 140 publications.

The act was made permanent in 1933. In 1943 it was amended to increase penalties for offences under the act that might previously have been covered by the Treason-Felony Act (which required higher standards of evidence and, as a Westminster enactment, could not be streamlined by Stormont). The act was employed less frequently after World War II, partly because of the province's relative stability and partly because some of its functions were taken over by other legislation. However, it was used during the 1956–1962 IRA border campaign. In 1957 the powers given to the RUC under

the act were extended by regulation to soldiers. (This regulation provided the legal basis for the British army's role in maintaining law and order from August 1969. In February 1972 the regulation was declared *ultra vires* by the courts on the grounds that the Northern Ireland parliament could not legislate for the army, whose control was reserved to the Westminster parliament; as a result, Westminster introduced retrospective legislation to legitimize the Army's actions.)

Abolition of the act was one of the principal demands of the civil-rights campaign of the late 1960s, and some of the act's provisions were employed against civil-rights demonstrations. The Special Powers Act was repealed in 1973, but many of its provisions survived in the 1973 Northern Ireland Emergency Powers Act and subsequent antiterrorist legislation.

Contemporary and subsequent criticism of the act centers on its selective implementation, its cession of legislative powers to the executive, its institutionalization of emergency provisions as everyday legislation, and its vague and far-reaching terms. Defenders of the act stressed the ongoing existence of an armed conspiracy against the state and pointed to the harsh emergency legislation considered necessary by the southern state (including widespread executions by summary courts-martial during the Civil War and the deployment in the 1930s and 1940s of military tribunals entitled to impose the death penalty). The controversies surrounding the Special Powers Act ultimately reflected the ethnic division within the statelet (making conflict more intractable than in the post-independence south) and the majority-rule government's equation of opposition with a threat to the state's existence.

In 1963 the future South African apartheid Prime Minister Johannes Verster told critics of his own emergency legislation that he would gladly exchange it for the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act (Bell 1993, p. 45).

SEE ALSO Irish Republican Army (IRA); Royal Ulster Constabulary (including Specials)

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Patrick Maume

Spenser, Edmund

The poet Edmund Spenser (1552/3–1599) was a planter and provincial official in Ireland. Like much else concerning his experience in Ireland, the date of Spenser's first arrival remains uncertain and contentious. The claim that he visited there in the late 1570s has allowed for some speculation about the influence of the island on his work, but it rests on the questionable identification of Spenser with Irenius, the fictional interlocutor in his dialogue *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596), who claimed to have been present at an execution at Limerick datable to 1577. No other evidence for Spenser's presence exists before August 1580, when he arrived as the private secretary of Lord Deputy Grey de Wilton. The political influence he exercised in this position is indeterminate, depending upon one's assessment of his role in the composition of the state correspondence, of which he made fair copies. But independent evidence confirms his presence with Grey during the latter's bloody Munster campaigns (1580–1581) and at the massacre of the surrendered garrison at Smerwick, reported on approvingly by Irenius. Grey rewarded Spenser's service with a gift of 162 pounds and a free appointment to the lucrative post of clerk of faculties in the Irish chancery in 1581.

Spenser began early to speculate in Irish lands, acquiring and selling leases of monastic properties in County Wexford, purchasing the Dublin townhouse of the attainted Viscount Baltinglass, and leasing as his residence the substantial property of New Abbey, Co. Kildare. In the later 1580s Spenser began to invest in attainted lands in Munster, acquiring some small leases and a major estate of 3,000 (grossly underestimated) acres at Kilcolman, Co. Cork. He then resigned his chancery post, and on his appointment as clerk of the council in Munster (1588) he took up residence at Kilcolman. Spenser's investment was afflicted by organizational and tenurial troubles from the outset. An increasingly troublesome lawsuit with his Anglo-Irish neighbor David Roche caused him to visit London in 1589 to 1591 in the hope of securing a favorable outcome. But though he was granted a royal pension of fifty pounds per year, he made no progress with his suit, which was determined against him to his considerable cost in 1594. Spenser then resigned from the Munster council, and his writings during this period suggest that he had become severely embittered by his Munster experience.

Still, the depth and duration of his disillusion should not be overstated. His marriage to Elizabeth Boyle, niece of the rising Munster planter Richard Boyle,

is an indication of his determination to stay in Ireland and a sign that he was acquiring powerful friends in the region. By 1597 he was again investing in leases, and in 1598 he accepted appointment as sheriff of Cork. Within a month of his taking office, however, the entire plantation was overthrown in a massive rebellion fueled by the successes of the Ulster lords against the English government. Kilcolman was burned and Spenser was forced to take refuge in Cork city. Ben Jonson's claim that Spenser had lost a son in the fire, though possible, lacks corroboration. In December he was despatched to London by Lord President Norris with reports on the state of the rebellion on the understanding that he would return with instructions. But within weeks of his arrival in London he died, on 16 January 1599.

The importance of his Irish experience to Spenser's literary work is certain but difficult to evaluate. The greater part of Books II through VI of *The Faerie Queene* was composed in Ireland, and references to the country abound throughout the poem. The severe political and social attitudes struck in Book V have frequently been accounted for in relation to events in Ireland. But the complexities of his multilayered poem continue to defy reductionist interpretation. More readily explicable is Spenser's *View*. The radicalism of his analysis of the Irish problem (that no ordinary English policy could resolve it) and the ruthlessness of his proposed solution (cultural trauma through mass starvation) is undisputed (except by those who maintain that he never wrote it at all). But the internal coherence, representative character, and influence over contemporaries of a text that, though circulating in manuscript, remained unprinted until 1633 continues to stimulate scholarly debate.

SEE ALSO Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; Desmond Rebellions; English Writing on Ireland before 1800; **Primary Documents:** From *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596)

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Ciaran Brady

~ *Sport and Leisure*

Early Irish sporting rituals sit easily within a broad human heritage: The stories in myth and legend, the etchings of ball and stick on tombstones and elsewhere, and the rough-and-tumble football matches of village against village find echoes across the world. The eventual organization of communal, casual sports into the highly regulated sporting bodies that now dominate the Irish sporting world was also part of a global phenomenon, although the distinctive regional variations offer a unique perspective on sporting traditions.

For centuries sport in Ireland has been influenced by divisions of class. Conspicuous displays of leisure were an integral part of the lives of the aristocracy. Often, these rituals involved bloodsports including foxhunting, which was introduced from England in the eighteenth century, though the sport hunting of other animals was already long established in Ireland. Later sports such as tennis and polo were somewhat more genteel and were as much about courtship ritual as competitive endeavor. Among the peasantry sporting activity often took place in tandem with fairs and markets. Drink and gambling were an ever present feature at almost all sporting activities. Bullbaiting and cock-fighting were popular (the latter until the twentieth century), as were feats of strength and athletic prowess, which play an important part in Irish folklore. Throwing weights, in particular, was a favored pastime of the rural poor. Irish throwers won numerous throwing and running contests at British championships and at the Olympics before 1920, and local competitions often drew huge crowds to see amateur and professionals compete. Later, Irish athletes enjoyed occasional international success, but limited resources and the inability of athletic organizations to cooperate has ensured that success has been borne of individual brilliance rather than systematic design; most leading Irish athletes sought to progress through the U.S. collegiate system.

There has also been a huge interest in boxing, with fighters such as Dan Donnelly in the early nineteenth century and Jack Doyle in the mid-twentieth century earning mythological status, owing more to bluff than to brilliance. Often, contests were organized secretly to avoid suppression by the police. Amateur boxing still retains a strong hold in various towns and cities, bare-knuckle fighting is sponsored by the Traveller community (a separate ethnic group with a distinctive migrant lifestyle), and occasionally Ireland produces a world professional champion.

In sports such as horse racing the interests of all classes merged. The foundation by the wealthier classes

of the Turf Club in 1790 was predated by steeplechase racing, which began in Cork in 1752. Permanent courses were built across the country, and Irish-bred horses have enjoyed success in England and continental Europe. The sport has a large popular following among all social classes, and it is both a major employer and a revenue earner for the state.

Before the late nineteenth century even sports organized by the gentry were unstructured. This was altered profoundly in the Victorian era. Widespread changes in popular leisure were most pronounced in sport, and the intimate links between English and Irish society were crucial to this process. Many games were brought to Ireland from England. Cricket was the most widely played sport in Victorian Ireland. The first recorded game in the country was in August 1792. Although it was spread mainly by army officers, public schoolboys, and the upper classes, cricket was also adopted by the peasantry. Irish teams played international matches beginning in the 1880s and toured Britain and the United States. The game declined in popularity with the spread of football games and the opposition of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). Following the partition of Ireland in 1921, cricket was confined largely to the North and to middle-class enclaves in Dublin, although by the end of the twentieth century there were more than 100 active clubs.

Golf, on the other hand, has been popularized since its initial status as an elite sport. The first Irish club was established in Belfast in 1881, and although there were more than 150 courses by 1950, membership was limited by the costs involved. Increased average wealth and a proliferation of clubs to more than 350 by the year 2000 changed the golfer's profile—this was emphasized by the number of golf societies based in public houses. The huge volume of golfing tourists in the country is a testament to the quality of the courses.

Although there is little documentary evidence, most scholars agree that hurling and (Gaelic) football games were played across Ireland through the early modern era. Hurling was mentioned in twelfth-century manuscripts, the Statutes of Kilkenny, and the Sunday Observance Act of 1765. It received patronage from the gentry at least until the early nineteenth century but then fell into decline. Its early playing style was similar to that of hockey, and both games have enjoyed a presence on the island in their modern forms since the 1880s. Similarly, what has evolved as Gaelic football shared similar roots to other football games, including soccer, rugby, and Australian football.

Besides introducing games, the English influence was profound in terms of the organization of sports. The codification of field games in England in the latter

half of the nineteenth century was replicated in Ireland. Between 1863 and 1875 soccer, rugby, and hockey associations were established in Britain; this formal organization was enmeshed in notions of education, puritanism, and the prosecution of war, all of which brought a justificatory philosophy, at least in theory, to the playing of sports. These ideas spread across Europe and the Americas in the second half of the nineteenth century as sports were codified, and Ireland was inevitably bound into this revolution of games. Associations similar to those in England were established in Ireland between 1870 and 1890. The GAA was established in 1884, initially focusing on athletics but later concentrating on field games. In an important move, the GAA developed sets of rules that enabled the traditional Irish games of hurling and Gaelic football to be played in enclosed fields and in urban areas. By providing open, fast-moving team sports to the masses, the GAA prospered and by 1910 was drawing 25,000 people to its national finals. Rugby and soccer also drew large crowds. The Irish Rugby Football Union (IRFU) had been founded in 1879, provincial and interprovincial competitions were established, and internationals were played from 1875 on. Soccer matches were played in the north of the country from the 1860s, and the Irish Football Association (IFU) was founded in Belfast in 1880. Within two years a cup competition had been established and international games were being played. Following the spread of the game to Dublin, a league was established in the 1890s, and teams from all the provinces were represented in competition, though the game was largely restricted to urban areas.

The GAA, the IRFU, and the IFA did not enjoy harmonious relations. Interpretations of this have invariably focused on the supposed split of these associations along political lines—a split that, crudely put, sees Gaelic games as national and Irish, and all other field sports lumped into the category of “foreign games.” This is a gross simplification of matters. The GAA was not as intimately involved in the struggle for independence as is often suggested, and its role in preindependence Ireland was often similar to that of other sporting bodies. Furthermore, the development of the various sporting organizations in preindependence Ireland was more profoundly shaped by social and economic factors than by political ones.

Notwithstanding this, the partition of Ireland did have a significant impact on Irish sports. After unsuccessful attempts to remain united, soccer divided along the border, with separate domestic competitions and national teams representing North and South. Soccer enjoyed greater international success in the North—Northern Ireland reached the quarterfinals of both the

1958 and the 1982 World Cups (and thereafter fell into a slump). Its domestic league suffers from the tradition of players emigrating to play professionally in the English and Scottish leagues because local bodies are unable to maintain well-paid professional clubs. The domestic league in the South suffered from a similar inability to provide for squads of full-time professionals, though this began to change in the 1990s. The Republic of Ireland qualified for the World Cup for the first time in 1990 and reached the quarterfinals, then also qualified for the 1994 and 2002 competitions. In North and South, the Irish game has traditionally suffered in comparison to the English league, whose clubs enjoy huge support across Ireland. Every weekend, thousands of fans cross the Irish Sea to support English teams. A further dimension is added with support for Rangers and Celtic in Glasgow, given their traditional associations with Irish Protestant and Catholic emigrants, respectively.

Rugby sides continued to represent Ireland on an island-wide basis, but with the exception of Limerick city, it remained a minority sport for the middle classes. This lack of a broad playing base undoubtedly contributed to Ireland’s failure to win more than the one grand slam it has achieved in the Five (now Six) Nations Championship. Although rugby internationals emerged as a popular social outing, it is only since the mid-1990s with the advent of professionalization that the game has come to enjoy widespread support through the involvement of the provinces in the European Cup.

Gaelic games (hurling and Gaelic football) were organized on thirty-two-county basis, but in the North they remained the preserve of the Catholic minority. In the South such games were intimately associated with notions of an Irish Ireland, and the GAA was cited alongside the Catholic Church and *Fianna Fáil* as part of the Holy Trinity of orthodoxy in independent Ireland. It is the largest sporting organization in the country and has a presence in almost every parish. For many its value is as much social as sporting, and for many decades it offered one of the very few leisure opportunities in rural Ireland. The GAA was prominent in the *Tailteann Games*, “the Irish Olympics,” held in 1924, 1928, and 1932. These were the first official events organized by the Irish Free State, embracing sports from Gaelic games and athletics to shooting and handball. Conceived as a celebration of the Irish spirit and physique, they attracted foreign competitors before being abandoned because of lack of finance.

There are many sports which enjoy significant minority support in Ireland. Handball has been played in Ireland for more than 200 years and was exported by Irish emigrants, particularly to Australia and the United

States. At one point it was the subject of large wagers and had many professional players, but now it is an amateur sport played by more than 3,000 players. From 1968 on, the purpose-built Mondello Park in County Kildare offered a focal point for motor-racing enthusiasts. In the North, motorcycle racing enjoys huge popularity; the country's roads host the Circuit of Ireland car rally. Greyhound racing began in Ireland in 1927 and marks the adaptation of coursing to urban life. Tracks have been established across the country, and betting and breeding represents a significant industry.

The Victorian sports revolution and its aftermath are perceived as a mostly male affair, but as sports were codified, women became involved at various levels, and in the 1890s Ireland won several Wimbledon titles through Lena Rice. As tennis was traditionally associated with the wealthier classes, this suggests middle- or upper-class involvement. Similarly, women of those classes were involved in hunting and horse-riding, and in hockey, tennis, swimming, and camogie (hurling) clubs. Often, sporting activities for women were connected to schools, and female participation frequently ended at school-leaving age. In the latter decades of the twentieth century women's participation in sport grew enormously. Women's Gaelic football was the fastest growing of the field games, with soccer and rugby in close pursuit. Women's hockey also attracts many players, especially in Dublin, Cork, and the North. The Irish Ladies' Hockey Union was formed in 1894. In track and field Sonia O'Sullivan won a number of international titles, as well as a silver medal at the 2000 Olympics.

Just as in England, so too in Ireland, the understanding of sport has evolved from a narrow range of the bloodsports of the elite to an ever-expanding, eclectic assembly of pastimes. The number of sports organized in the country is growing, while traditional sports have largely retained their hold. Everything from ballroom dancing to bobsledding falls under the umbrella of sport, and the economic importance of sport—apart altogether from its emotional hold—continues to grow. Its symbiotic relationship with all forms of media gives it a central role in modern Irish life and expands its meaning and importance.

SEE ALSO GAA "Ban"; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic Athletic Association; Transport—Road, Canal, Rail

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Paul Rouse



State Enterprise

In 1957 over 5 percent of Irish workers were employed by state-owned companies, a situation which was common in western Europe. Elsewhere in Europe the growth in the number of state-owned companies was primarily due to the nationalization of declining heavy industries, such as coal and steel, and to the ideological wishes of socialist governments. In Ireland such companies emerged as a pragmatic response to economic and political circumstances. During the 1920s, former Sinn Féin members formed the Cumann na nGaedheal government, which espoused a noninterventionist economic philosophy and created the Electricity Supply Board, and an investment bank, the Agricultural Credit Company, to provide long-term capital for farmers. After 1932 when Fianna Fáil, the new party of Eamon de Valera, came to power, state enterprises played a critical role in the drive for economic self-sufficiency: producing sugar from Irish-grown sugar beet; providing capital for newly established industries; developing Ireland's peat bogs as an alternative to imported coal and oil, and making Irish steel. Irish Shipping was founded in 1941 to keep neutral Ireland supplied with essential imports during World War II.

The postwar years saw the formation of a state tourism board, Bord Fáilte; an export board, Córas Tráchtála; the Industrial Development Authority to encourage foreign investors; and companies to promote development at Shannon Airport and in Irish-speaking areas. State enterprises helped to transform the Irish economy in the 1960s: they were more dynamic and more flexible than the civil service; state investment was a means of overcoming the lack of private investment within Ireland; and these companies encouraged a new,



The blessing of the aircraft St. Patrick before the first transatlantic flight by an Irish airline, 1958. State companies like Aer Lingus played an important role in developing the Irish economy until recent times. COURTESY OF AER LINGUS.

meritocratic class of businessmen at a time when most private businesses were conservative and family controlled. But in time the benefits of state ownership were increasingly offset by the drawbacks: decisions on employment and investment were often determined more by political than economic considerations, and the security of state ownership encouraged militant demands from workers and a resistance to change. By the 1980s losses in state companies were a major drain on state finances, and, spurred on by the example of Thatcher's Britain, the Irish government began a gradual process of privatization, disposing of the Irish Sugar Company, Irish Steel, two investment banks, and the state telephone service. The privatization of others is under consideration. Irish state enterprises may well be entering the twilight years; early-twenty-first-century thinking

favors either private enterprise or partnership between government and private business (public-private partnerships).

SEE ALSO Investment and Development Agency (IDA Ireland); Lemass, Seán; Tourism

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Founder of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and a key figure in the creation of the transatlantic Irish revolutionary republican movement, James Stephens (1824–1901) was born in Kilkenny in 1825. Early in his life, Stephens worked as a civil engineer on the Limerick and Waterford railway and later served as aide-de-camp to William Smith O'Brien in the 1848 insurrection, a brief and somewhat halfhearted attempt to secure Irish independence. After this unsuccessful rising Stephens escaped to Paris, where he lived with fellow '48 veteran John O'Mahony amid large numbers of exiles from other failed revolutions across Europe.

In 1856 and 1857 Stephens toured Ireland to gauge public opinion on a new uprising. Convinced that he could build a substantial following, in 1858 Stephens founded the IRB, a secret, oath-bound organization dedicated to establishing an independent Irish republic through armed force. Shortly thereafter, O'Mahony founded a sister organization in the United States, the Fenian Brotherhood, which eventually lent its name to the entire international movement. From its earliest days, Fenianism wanted more for money and arms than for recruits. The movement was strongest in urban areas, though it had members in every part of Ireland as well as within the British army.

In 1863 Stephens launched the *Irish People*, a popular newspaper that featured political writings and nationalistic ballads, in an effort to raise money for the movement and unite the U.S. and Irish organizations. The movement peaked in terms of manpower and morale in 1865, which Stephens promised would be the "Year of Irish Liberty." But before any rising could take place, the offices of the *Irish People* were raided and several leading Fenians, including Stephens, were arrested. Stephens was briefly imprisoned but escaped in a dramatic rescue operation and then made his way to the United States, where the movement was beginning to fracture. In the United States Stephens declared that 1866 would be the year of Ireland's freedom, but took few concrete steps to fulfill this promise. Irish-American Fenians, now led principally by veterans of the Civil War, became convinced that Stephens was no longer willing to risk open revolt and imprisonment. At a turbulent meeting in December 1866 the founder of the Fenians was removed as head of his own organization.

While Stephens continued to remain involved in Irish revolutionary circles, he no longer wielded any influence. After years of exile in Paris, he returned to Ireland in 1891 and died on 29 March 1901. Stephens is

often remembered for reviving the tradition of Irish revolutionary republicanism, but his most important contribution was harnessing the resources and Anglophobia of postfamine Irish America.

SEE ALSO Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Newspapers; **Primary Documents:** Two Fenian Oaths (1858, 1859)

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Stone Age Settlement

Because of its length the European Stone Age is usually divided into three stages. The Paleolithic period represents the archaeology of Stone Age hunter-gatherer communities in the Pleistocene period (often popularly referred to as the Ice Age). In Europe the Paleolithic may have lasted for a million years until the planet finally warmed up about 11,000 years ago. The Mesolithic period began after the end of the Pleistocene and continued until farming was introduced. In the Neolithic period it is generally accepted that Stone Age communities relied on a mixture of arable farming and domesticated animals. Many of these communities used pottery.

In northern Europe there was no continuous settlement, especially during some of the colder stages of the Pleistocene, but at various points in time, perhaps as far back as 700,000 years, human settlement took place in Britain. But in Ireland the earliest known settlement dates to only about 10,000 years ago, to the Mesolithic period. The absence of an Irish Paleolithic is often explained by the fact that Ireland was usually isolated as an island, thus inhibiting initial settlement, while numerous phases of extensive glaciation would have destroyed any of the ephemeral traces of Paleolithic settlement. In the last 40,000 years, however, many other mammals managed to get to Ireland and successfully lived there. They include a diverse range of species such as reindeer, mammoth, red deer, and horse, which raises the possibility that one day traces of an Irish Paleolithic will turn up.

MESOLITHIC PERIOD

The earliest known evidence of human settlement in Ireland dates from about 8000 B.C.E. The Irish Stone Age ended probably just after 2500 B.C.E., which means that it represents half of the known human history of Ireland. The earliest reliable evidence is based on excavations at Mount Sandel, where remnants of several small huts were recovered on the edge of an escarpment overlooking the estuary of the river Bann. Ireland may have been an island for the last 13,000 years, so only a limited range of mammals, freshwater fish, and plants appear to have existed on the island in the early part of the post-glacial period. Fortunately at Mount Sandel traces of the burned remains of food refuse occasionally survived in fireplaces and pits, and from their examination it was possible to see that these people lived by catching fish such as salmon and eels, hunted animals such as wild boar, trapped hares, and in season gathered berries and hazelnuts. The site at Mount Sandel suggests that rather than following a migratory lifestyle, the people appear to have chosen to live at a spot where, as the seasons changed, they could obtain different sources of food, and they may also have stored some food for leaner times of the year.

At this period most Mesolithic communities lived in a forested environment and would have made extensive use of wood and bark for a range of utensils and weapons. In Ireland very little of this material survives, and as a result, much greater reliance has to be placed on the stone tools and manufacturing debris they discarded. The most common form of stone artifacts found at Mount Sandel are the small, geometrically shaped pieces of flint called microliths. These would have been inserted in wood or bone to act as edges on knives or barbs on arrow shafts. A range of axes, including some polished stone axes, shows how much they relied on woodworking. Many of these distinctive tool types have been found throughout Ireland, as far away as on the banks of the Shannon in County Limerick or the Blackwater in County Cork. As this early technology only lasted about a thousand years, this suggests that Mesolithic peoples spread very rapidly throughout Ireland.

Sometime after 7000 B.C.E., the stone-tool technology based on the use of microliths was abandoned and replaced by a local development using large flakes and blades of stone as knives and woodworking tools. The people who lived in this later part of the Mesolithic period continued to follow a somewhat similar lifestyle, with many of their tools being found on lake and river bottoms and banks. Numerous sites have also been found along the seashore, where sea fish, sea mammals, birds, and shellfish were exploited. A good example of

this type of settlement was excavated at Ferriter's Cove on the Dingle peninsula in County Kerry.

Unfortunately the Irish Mesolithic period has not produced any art objects or examples of personal ornament, although these items have been found elsewhere in Europe. Usually, human remains are represented only by a scattering of bones and teeth, but a recent excavation at Hermitage in County Limerick has uncovered a number of pits containing human cremations, two of which had substantial posts also placed in the grave and one contained a large polished stone axe.

BEGINNING OF THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

The Irish Later Mesolithic period saw a very successful local adaptation to insular conditions, one that reflected a slightly different way of life from that in the rest of Europe. There is, for example, very little evidence that the uplands were used at this time. This way of life might have continued indefinitely were it not for the introduction of farming. By about 5000 B.C.E. an economy that had originated in Southwest Asia, evolving as it spread across Europe, appeared along the western edge of Europe. This economy, usually associated with the Neolithic period, was based on the keeping of domesticated cattle, sheep, and pigs as well as the planting of crops such as wheat and barley. By 4000 B.C.E., at the latest, a variant of this economy was present in Ireland. How it got there is still the subject of debate. Was it brought in by small bands of farmers looking for new lands? Or did indigenous communities see advantages in this new way of life and adapt it to Irish circumstances? This change in lifestyle and equipment (material culture) was so great that most Irish archaeologists believe that the change would have necessitated some movement of people.

Besides bringing in a new lifestyle, these first farmers brought in the first ceramics and a new range of tools including carefully made, piercing arrowheads. Much more attention was paid to the manufacture of polished stone axes, and many of the axes made during the Neolithic period in Ireland used materials that had been extracted from sources of metamorphosed rock found at two locations in northeast Antrim, Tievebulliagh near Cushendall, and Brockley on Rathlin Island. These products were distributed throughout Ireland and even into parts of Britain. Besides being used for everyday purposes such as chopping down trees and building timber structures, some large, highly polished axes may also have been made for prestige and ritual purposes. The most famous of these is the hoard of eighteen axes found on the Malone Ridge in Belfast. These are all nearly 300 millimeters in length.

NEOLITHIC WAY OF LIFE

Shortly after 4000 B.C.E. little farmsteads were springing up across Ireland. It is impossible to be sure if these houses were grouped together in small villages, but it is possible that a number of houses were built in the same general area. The members of several households probably worked together to clear forests or build monuments. Many of the houses were large rectangular timber structures around 6 meters in width and often more than 10 meters in length. In some cases walls were made of vertically set split-oak planks; in others the roof was supported on a framework of large posts.

The landscape that these first farmers would have faced was mostly covered with forests, so any cultivation of crops required an initial opening up of the woodlands. Traces of these activities show up in many parts of Ireland. It is thought that areas adjacent to the farmsteads were cleared of trees by chopping down the smaller trees, ring-barking larger ones, and burning the remaining scrub. In these clearings wheat and then barley would have been planted.

In Ireland, however, it is probable that the keeping of cattle may have been more important than growing crops. Cattle and sheep then were much smaller than modern breeds and kept mainly for their meat. Specialized dairying, for example, did not begin until perhaps the first millennium C.E., while the weaving of wool does not appear to have begun until the Bronze Age. Of course, these peoples continued to fish and to gather wild plants and shellfish, but the core of their diet was provided through one or another form of farming.

There was obviously a period of pioneering farming, but Neolithic farmers were not primitive, shifting agriculturists, and some areas were used for periods of 300 to 500 years. One area that shows clear indications of sedentary Neolithic farming is Céide Fields in coastal north Mayo, where Professor Séamus Caulfield has explored a landscape buried beneath the blanket peat bog that had developed before the end of the Neolithic period. Here an organized series of field boundaries was laid out, covering an area that may have been 2 by 2 kilometers. A series of strips of fields ran from the coast up onto higher ground. Within or associated with most of these strips was a stone circular enclosure that would have surrounded a circular farmhouse. Some megalithic tombs were also incorporated within this field system. Although there is some indication of arable farming, these fields were mostly used for pasture—probably for grazing cattle.

It would be quite wrong to think of these societies as idyllic and peaceful. There is evidence in Ireland and elsewhere that violent death was common during the

Neolithic period. The fact that some of the burned Neolithic houses have a number of arrowheads associated with them suggests that violence often occurred.

MEGALITHIC TOMBS

During the Neolithic period a significant amount of energy was devoted to the construction of megalithic tombs. The term itself—*mega* (large) and *lithos* (stone)—refers to the use of large stones, some weighing many tons, particularly as structural members (orthostats) or capstones in the building of the tombs. Megalithic tombs can be found concentrated in certain parts of western Europe from the Iberian peninsula to central Sweden, and a particularly large concentration (more than 1,500) has been found in Ireland. Some cannot be classified, but three different types are known to have been built in the Neolithic period: passage tombs (230), court tombs (more than 400), and portal tombs (roughly 175). More than 500 other tombs fall into the wedge tomb class that may have been built just after the end of the Stone Age.

Normally megalithic tombs were built out of locally available stone and used in an unaltered state. Some feature massive stones, such as the capstone at Brownshill in County Carlow, which is estimated to weigh up to 100 tons. Others were built using dry stone-walling techniques. The size of the tombs varies from almost 100 meters in diameter (such as those at Newgrange and Knowth) to others only 10 meters across. In some cases these stone monuments postdate timber structures and continued to be used after the Neolithic period. On occasion, material was placed within them later, and recognition of their significance at a much later time can be seen in the fact that they often have names like the Druid's Alter or Ossian's Grave. The term *tomb* might suggest that these structures were simply monumental graves, but their positioning, the manner in which human bones were placed within the burial chambers, and evidence of other activities having taken place around the tomb suggest that these structures should best be seen as "tombs for the living." They were used for burying only a tiny proportion of the population, and burial rites often entailed placing inside a small handful of cremated bone or some individually selected unburned bones inside. Few complete skeletons were placed in megalithic tombs during the Neolithic period.

Passage tombs are the most spectacular examples of megalithic tombs. In this type of tomb the burial chamber is usually accessed by a passage that runs in from the edge of the cairn or mound. The mounds are usually curvilinear, with their edges defined by a kerb of orthostats. Passage tombs are often found in groups or

Central chamber from Newgrange, Co. Meath (c. 3000 B.C.E.). Note the spirals and other carved ornamentation on the stone surfaces, possibly solar symbols. © DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT, HERITAGE & LOCAL GOVERNMENT. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cemeteries. They are frequently placed apart and on higher ground. About 60 percent of the passage tombs in Ireland occur in four cemeteries: the Carrowmore and Carrowkeel cemeteries in County Sligo, and at the Loughcrew and Bend of the Boyne cemeteries in County Meath. The last of these is centered on the three large mounds of Knowth, Dowth, and Newgrange. Newgrange is 85 meters across, with a 30-meter-long passage leading into a cruciform burial chamber made up of a central chamber 6 meters in height and three ancillary cells. In the case of Knowth, where the main mound is of a similar size, a passage running from the western edge terminates in a simple chamber, but another passage that runs from the eastern edge finishes in a cruciform chamber similar to that of Newgrange. Knowth is surrounded by a series of other smaller tombs, some of which may have been built before the main mound was

constructed. In the inner chambers of a number of tombs there are large stone basins. One particularly fine example from the eastern chamber at Knowth 1 is highly decorated. The burial rites associated with these tombs mostly consisted of the placement of small patches of cremated bone, but this apparent simplicity is balanced by the presence of exotic "grave goods," such as a spectacular carved-flint mace head from Knowth. Many of the passage tombs have produced pendants, long pins of bone and antler as well as polished stone balls made from nonlocal materials. Indeed it is even suggested that many of the raw materials used in building Newgrange were imported. The kerb stones, for example, which are greywacke, may have been brought some distance from the coast. Of course, Newgrange is famous for the fact that the passage is positioned so that as the sun rises on the day of the mid-winter solstice its



Court-cairn from Creevykeel, Co. Sligo (c. 2500 B.C.E.), a Neolithic tumulus originally covered by a wedge-shaped mound. © MICHAEL ST. MAUR SHEIL/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

light passes through a box in the roof of the passage and shines into the burial chamber.

The Bend of the Boyne and to a lesser extent the Loughcrew cemetery have the largest concentration of passage tomb art in Europe. This geometric art is made up of such motifs as chevrons, lozenges, spirals, and circles, etc. It is either incised or pecked onto the surface of the orthostats. This, of course, would have been done without access to metal tools. The most famous example is the entrance stone at Newgrange, which is over 2 meters in length and covered in a coherent pattern dominated by spirals. Other stones, often in prominent positions, have this “plastic” art style, but many others have less coherent patterns that may have been built up through the placement of individual motifs.

Of the other two tomb types, the vast majority of court tombs are found north of a line from Clew Bay to Dundalk Bay, whereas portal tombs tend to occur slightly farther into the midlands and also in some numbers in the southeast of Ireland. Both these forms are usually found on their own or in very small groups.

In some areas, such as in the south of County Armagh, a portal tomb and a court tomb can be found in close proximity to each other.

Court tombs tend to have rectilinear, wedge-shaped cairns where an open court area is placed, usually, though not always, at the broad end of the wedge. Burial chambers—usually two or four—are placed one behind the other to form a gallery that runs off the court farther into the body of the cairn. Numerous variations on this theme are found throughout the northern part of Ireland. Simple examples of a court tombs are at Ballyalton, Co. Down, and at Creggandevosky, Co. Tyrone, whereas larger and more complex versions are at Creevykeel and at Deerpark in County Sligo. In the latter case the court was placed at the center of the cairn, with burial chambers running off the court in different directions. Portal tombs, also called dolmens or cromlechs, often consist of one chamber and are among the most striking prehistoric monuments in Ireland. Often the cairn that surrounded them has been removed in more recent times, although in some cases the cairn may

never have been extensive. Classic examples of portal tombs are Poul nabrone, Co. Clare, and Legananny, Co. Down. In many cases a large capstone is balanced on two portal stones and on a backstone. Although some aspects of the burial rites are similar, the ritual associated with these forms usually did not include placement of the same range of exotic items found in the passage tombs.

Many other forms of ritual occurred in this period. Across the south of Ireland a number of smaller round cairns have stone boxes (cists) at their center. These usually contain one or two complete skeletons. In certain areas a number of caves have also produced both complete skeletons and scatterings of bones that can also date to the Neolithic period.

With such a proliferation of monument types there is always a tendency to put them in a chronological sequence, but it is possible that at least some of the major types were in use at the same time. Court tombs and portal tombs were in use by 3800 B.C.E., whereas the earliest convincing dates for passage tombs suggest that they may have begun to be built by 3400 B.C.E. or possibly slightly earlier.

FINAL NEOLITHIC

Sometime after 3000 B.C.E. the megalithic tomb tradition seems to have gone out of fashion, and ritual instead centered on the building of large banked enclosures ranging in size from about 50 to 180 meters across. These enigmatic structures are usually referred to as henges on the basis of their similarity to monuments of that type in Britain. Groups of henges can be found in areas that are rich in other Neolithic monuments, such as the Bend of the Boyne cemetery or at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick. In some cases, as at Newgrange or at the Giants Ring on the Malone Ridge near Belfast, there were also large circles or curvilinear enclosures of posts that may have been up to 6 meters in height.

The Stone Age did not, of course, end on a neat chronological horizon, and many of the tools used for everyday purposes continued to be made from stone. It is probable, however, that sometime after 2500 B.C.E. copper artifacts such as axes and then daggers began to be made from the rich copper sources found especially in southwest Ireland.

SUMMARY

The archaeological record shows that the Irish Stone Age is not just a marginal period lost in antiquity. Not only was farming introduced, but it may be that these

peoples, representing the beginning of a continuous 10,000 years of human settlement, form the foundation of the current makeup of the people of Ireland. Stone Age peoples cleared areas of forest and opened up the landscape, perhaps bringing about for the first time significant ecological changes. Through its monuments, the Stone Age has left one of the most abiding images from Ireland's past.

SEE ALSO Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland; Bronze Age Culture

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Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921

The combination of Ulster loyalist resistance to Home Rule and the outbreak of the First World War brought the gun back into Irish politics, shattered John Redmond's hopes of Anglo-Irish reconciliation, and began the final collapse of British administration in Ireland. Any early enthusiasm for supporting Britain in the war had evaporated by the time that plans were made for a rising to take place at Easter 1916.

THE EASTER RISING

The Military Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and the leadership of the Irish Citizen Army secretly plotted to bring about a national revolution backed by German aid. There was hopeless failure of communication between Ireland, the United States, and



To put down the Easter Rising of 1916, the British used artillery fired from a gunboat in the river Liffey. The shelling destroyed much of central Dublin and especially Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street). © UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Germany, and a planned landing of arms off the Kerry coast ended in the scuttling of the German boat and the capture of Sir Roger Casement, the republican emissary to Germany. It was decided to proceed with the rising a day later than planned, that is, on Easter Monday, with virtually no expectation of any military success.

The Rising was almost entirely confined to Dublin, supported by only around 2,000 Irish Volunteers and handicapped by the decision to occupy various public buildings around the city center. The rebellion, which amounted to little more than a blood protest, accorded with nineteenth-century notions of a romantic revolution and was totally unsuited to resisting a modern army with heavy artillery and armaments. The resistance heroically held out for five days and seriously embarrassed the British administration while it was almost entirely preoccupied with European events at the height of the First World War. It was the British government's decision to execute in stages most of the Irish leaders and to intern a considerable number of the participants that

altered popular attitudes to the rebellion. Many internees told of being barracked by the populace on their way to British prisons and then being feted by big crowds on their release some months later.

The power of the events of the Rising and its aftermath therefore led to a resurgence of militant nationalism. Nonetheless, Easter 1916 had some negative consequences for Irish nationalism. Much of the leadership was either dead or temporarily removed from the scene, and many criticized the secrecy, lack of planning, and naiveté of the tactics used. The almost mystical quality of the actual proclamation of the Republic would make it very difficult to win acceptance in nationalist ranks for any necessary compromise with the British in the future.

The Rising was only one of the elements that undermined the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) and the British administration in 1917 and 1918. The abortive British attempts to achieve an immediate settlement, the talk of partition and of the extension of conscription to



In the 1918 general election the Sinn Féin Party routed the Home Rulers and took seventy-three seats. But instead of taking their seats at Westminster in London, the victorious Sinn Féin candidates met in Dublin and set up Dáil Éireann, thus proclaiming Irish independence. This photograph of 21 January 1919 shows those members of Dáil Éireann who were not in prison. COURTESY OF THE GRADUATE LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Ireland, the sundry acts of pin-pricking coercion—all these served to further the interests of a more advanced form of nationalism which was institutionalized by the new Sinn Féin Party and the resurgent Irish Volunteers. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's crusade on behalf of self-determination and the rights of small nations enabled Irish nationalism to recover from the pro-German associations of 1916 and placed the British administration on the defensive. This culminated in the Sinn Féin triumph in the 1918 general election, which saw the virtual obliteration of the IPP outside the northeast.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In accordance with Arthur Griffith's ideas Sinn Féin refused to take its seats at Westminster and set up an alternative parliament, Dáil Éireann, and counterstate. To begin with, faith was put in an appeal for international recognition to the Paris Peace Conference, and there was some hope among moderates that passive-resistance methods might achieve independence. On the same day, 21 January 1919, that the Dáil met publicly for the first

time, two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) were killed by a column of Volunteers at Soloheadbeg near Tipperary town. This coincidence of political and military action is usually seen as the start of the War of Independence. Though relationships between the political and military sides of the movement were fraught, much of the Irish success in the next two years was dependent on the impression that a mandate had been given for physical-force measures to achieve a republic.

The appeal to the Paris Peace Conference produced nothing, and the political leader Eamon de Valera's eighteen-month stay in the United States beginning in June 1919 raised considerable funds but little political support beyond sympathy resolutions in state and federal legislatures. In Ireland some success was gained in the establishment of republican courts and in local-government institutions, but the counterstate was unable to perform with any credibility owing to British opposition and lack of financial resources. The Dáil was quick to authorize the boycott of the RIC that began in local areas in 1917 and 1918.

During 1919 military actions consisted of isolated attacks on RIC men and Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) detectives. By the autumn of that year RIC stations were being evacuated in large parts of the rural south and west. This began the process by which the mechanisms of British rule collapsed. Beginning in 1920 the Volunteers, now the Irish Republican Army (IRA), were emboldened to attempt many attacks on barracks. In an improvised way guerrilla warfare was applied and implemented. The success of Michael Collins's intelligence network of spies, double agents, and informers was a complete turnaround from the British infiltration of nationalist movements in the nineteenth century.

By the time in July 1920 that the British government made the first wide-ranging review of Irish policy since the end of the First World War, the British writ no longer ran in most parts of the Twenty-Six Counties. The offer of separate parliaments and devolved Home Rule to Dublin and Belfast in the Government of Ireland Bill, which eventually passed in Parliament in December 1920, had no relevance to the South. From the late summer of 1920 the British government followed a coercive policy based on the militarization of the police. The notorious Black and Tans were formed from unemployed ex-servicemen recruited from the end of 1919. The Auxiliaries were another force, consisting of ex-officers sent over from July 1920. Both forces acted without an effective disciplinary code and became infamous for their association with a wave of unauthorized reprisals, burnings, and shootings in the second half of 1920. The whole character of the war then dramatically intensified with a series of defining events: the seventy-four-day hunger strike and death of Terence MacSwiney, lord mayor of Cork; the execution of the eighteen-year-old Kevin Barry on All Saints' Day; the killings of Bloody Sunday, 21 November, in Dublin; the IRA triumph against a convoy of Auxiliaries at Kilmichael a week later; and the burning of much of Cork city center on the night of 11 December by the Auxiliaries.

The conflict continued to escalate until the truce of 11 July 1921, when a military stalemate was admitted on both sides. On the Irish side it was recognized that lack of resources, chiefly arms and ammunition, prevented any outright victory, while the British realized the acute unpopularity, both at home and abroad, of their methods and the extreme difficulties of countering guerrilla warfare in the long term.

The British decision to negotiate in July 1921 with men previously dismissed as gunmen and to offer dominion status in the Anglo-Irish Treaty seems to represent a triumph for the IRA. However, the aim of an all-Ireland republic had not been achieved, and therein lies the main reason for the Civil War that followed. The

continuation of the constitutional and partition issues plagued Irish politics and Anglo-Irish relations for the rest of the century.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Civil War; Collins, Michael; Connolly, James; Cumann na mBan; de Valera, Eamon; Gonne, Maud; Great War; Griffith, Arthur; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Markievicz, Countess Constance; Pearse, Patrick; Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Redmond, John; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Women in Nationalist and Unionist Movements in the Early Twentieth Century; **Primary Documents:** "What Is Our Programme?" (22 January 1916); Proclamation of the Irish Republic (24 April 1916); "Easter 1916" (1916); Declaration of Irish Independence (21 January 1919); Government of Ireland Act (23 December 1920); The Anglo-Irish Treaty (6 December 1921); Proclamation Issued by IRA Leaders at the Beginning of the Civil War (29 June 1922)

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Michael A. Hopkinson

Subdivision and Subletting of Holdings

Though closely connected, subdivision and subletting of lands were two different things. By the early seventeenth century, English tenure had been adopted everywhere in Ireland. The major landowners all subdivided their estates into smaller holdings, which provided them with rental income. In many cases the occupying tenants rented directly from the landowner, but some owners—especially absentees with property remote from markets or difficult to manage—preferred until

the later eighteenth century to let large amounts of land to a few wealthy tenants who could guarantee them a steady income without much trouble. These middlemen, as they were called, lived by subdividing their holdings and subletting, at a higher rent per acre, to undertenants, some of whom sublet in turn to undertenants of their own. For example, the lands belonging to Trinity College had three or four layers of middlemen. Up to a point, subdivision suited both landlords and tenants and was not necessarily harmful.

Carried to extremes, however, it created on many estates a host of uneconomic small farms. Excessive subdivision of this kind had several causes, apart from careless management and the activities of middlemen. The population explosion during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, combined in the years before 1815 with high prices for agricultural produce, created an insatiable demand for land. This tempted anyone with a long lease to subdivide in order to accommodate family members or to make an easy profit. A typical eighteenth-century lease, for the life spans of three named persons and a concurrent term of years, lasted, on average, for up to half a century or more—what one landowner called “eternity in parchment.” During all that time the head landlord could neither raise the rent nor easily prevent a tenant from subdividing and subletting. Some landowners themselves encouraged subdivision for political reasons, by giving small tenants the type of lease that (until 1829) qualified them to vote in parliamentary elections.

The report of the Devon commission (1845) shows the change that gradually took place after 1815. Landowners granted fewer leases, resisted subdivision, and began to reverse the process by consolidating small farms into larger units. Middlemen’s leases were not renewed when they ran out. For most of the surplus population, emigration was the only answer. The Great Famine completely ruined the poorest smallholders. Actively encouraged by landlords who wanted to clear their estates, the survivors joined the exodus in huge numbers. The tenants who remained had a more cautious attitude to subdivision and subletting.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Famine Clearances; Great Famine; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Poor Law Amendment Act of 1847 and the Gregory Clause; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Population Explosion; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1690 to 1845

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W. A. Maguire



Sullivan Brothers (A. M. and T. D.)

Nation editors and MPs Alexander Martin (A. M.) Sullivan (1829–1884) and Timothy Daniel (T. D.) Sullivan (1827–1914) were born and educated in Bantry, Co. Cork. After contributing to various newspapers, A. M. purchased part of the *Nation* in July 1855. When A. M. assumed complete control of this famed nationalist weekly in 1857, the poetic T. D. became his co-editor. The devoutly Catholic brothers gave the previously nonsectarian paper a decidedly Catholic tone. In 1859 A. M. established the *Evening News* and the *Morning News*, Dublin’s first penny morning paper. Though popular, both papers folded in 1864 because of legal problems.

During the early 1860s the Sullivans, who were constitutional nationalists, feuded with the physical-force Fenians, but after the 1867 Fenian rising failed, the Sullivans capitalized on Fenian-inspired political excitement. The *Weekly News*, a cheap paper founded by A. M. in 1860, became the most popular Irish newspaper by running political cartoons sympathetic to the Fenians. In addition to their newspapers, the Sullivans published *Speeches from the Dock*, a collection of courtroom orations by earlier Irish nationalists and the recently convicted Fenians; the book was an instant best-seller and remained so for years. When three of the Fenian prisoners were hanged in November 1867, T. D. responded by writing “God Save Ireland,” which served as the unofficial national anthem for over fifty years. The *Weekly News*’s criticism of the hangings resulted in A. M. serving three months in prison for seditious libel in 1868.

A. M. helped to found the Home Rule movement in 1870 and was elected MP for Louth in 1874. Two years later he became a lawyer and sold the *Nation* and *Weekly News* to T. D., who in 1875 had founded the literary magazine *Young Ireland*. After moving to London, A. M.

won acclaim as a parliamentary speaker and lawyer before ill health forced him to retire in 1881. Meanwhile T. D.'s newspapers promoted Charles Stewart Parnell's leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party and supported the Land League. In 1880 T. D. joined Parnell's party as MP for Westmeath. In the next year the launch of Parnell's new weekly, *United Ireland*, severely hurt the circulation of T. D.'s papers, so in 1888 T. D. turned the floundering *Weekly News* into the *Irish Catholic*, a weekly organ of Catholic opinion. Finally, in 1890 T. D. sold all his publications. During the Parnell split in 1890 and 1891, the moralistic T. D. opposed Parnell's continued leadership of the party, and he served as an anti-Parnellite MP until 1905. The Sullivans and their papers kept constitutional nationalism alive, turned their Fenian opponents into folk heroes, and laid the basis for an explicitly Catholic Irish nationalism.

SEE ALSO Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Literacy and Popular Culture; Newspapers; **Primary Documents:** "God Save Ireland" (1867)

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Patrick F. Tally

Surrender and Regrant

The policy of "surrender and regrant" was an integral part of the "Tudor revolution" in government and religion. Its aim was to anglicize Ireland and to bring both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lordships under English sovereignty without resorting to a military conquest. The revolt of Silken Thomas (Thomas Fitzgerald, tenth earl of Kildare) in 1534, though brutally suppressed by English forces, demonstrated that a rebellious Ireland could pose a serious threat to England's security. Though the rebellion was a reaction to efforts to limit the independence of the Irish lords, rather than an act of opposition to Henry's religious policies, the rebels' efforts to secure

assistance from Catholic Spain and the papacy added a grave new dimension to relations between the two islands. The need to bring Ireland under English control and into religious conformity with England was recognized as pressing.

Prior to the accession of Henry VII in 1485, England's involvement in Irish affairs had been minimal. Having failed to make Ireland a source of profit and not wishing to spend any more money than was absolutely necessary to maintain a semblance of order, English kings had allowed Ireland a kind of self-rule. The government was entrusted to the island's leading Anglo-Irish lords. They and their followers maintained and commanded a small military force in the Pale (the area around Dublin). In return they agreed to protect the king's subjects and enforce his law. The Anglo-Irish lords also used their position and the resources at their disposal to increase their own influence. When the powerful Butlers of Ormond fell from royal favor during the English Wars of the Roses in the late fifteenth century, they were supplanted by their rivals, the Fitzgeralds of Kildare and Desmond. By the end of the fifteenth century Garret Mor Fitzgerald (1478–1513), eighth earl of Kildare and lord deputy of Ireland, had used his office and a series of alliances with the country's most powerful Gaelic and Anglo-Irish families to make himself the de facto ruler of Ireland. Fearful of allowing so much power to rest in the hands of men whose loyalty was questionable, the monarchy appointed only Englishmen as Irish lord deputies in the aftermath of the 1534 revolt.

A major source of the tensions that plagued Ireland before and after the suppression of that rebellion (called, after its instigator, "Silken Thomas"), was that both Anglo-Irish lords and Gaelic chieftains were insecure in possession of their titles to land and in their relationships with the Crown. Warfare was endemic between the two communities, and internecine strife within the Gaelic lordships added further tension. The authority of the Gaelic chieftains was based on Brehon (i.e., Gaelic Irish) law; their titles were elective. This custom meant that more than one member of a family might claim a title, with the result that titles were often won in battle and retained only by the maintenance of an army. Many Anglo-Irish lords, though inheriting their lands by primogeniture and holding their titles in accordance with English law, were able, in the absence of a strong government presence, to rule their lands independently and to make use of Irish or English law as it suited their purposes. Others, often those descended from the first Norman settlers in Ireland, did not have legally recognized titles to their lordships and feared losing both their lands and their local influence. All resented the govern-

ment's increasing interference in their affairs. These "English rebels," like the "Irish enemies," as these troublesome subjects were known to their English contemporaries, were fiercely independent and resisted any government intervention that encroached upon their privileges and lifestyles.

England's religious reformation and its growing involvement in continental politics necessitated control of Irish affairs and the submission of those lords who remained loyal to Rome. Since England could not afford costly military intervention in Ireland, diplomatic means were sought to defuse a potentially explosive situation. Following the counsel of his Irish advisors, Henry VIII sought to win over the Gaelic lords by "sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions." It was hoped that if the Irish lords were given secure titles to their lands, the protection of English law, and a role in government, they could be persuaded to abandon their uncivilized manners, customs, and language and become sober, loyal servants of the Crown. This policy of conciliation, by which Gaelic chieftains and "English enemies" alike were enjoined by consent to become part of a fully anglicized Ireland, has come to be known as "surrender and regrant."

In July 1540 Sir Anthony Saint Leger replaced the unpopular Sir Leonard Gray as lord deputy of Ireland. Under his supervision a new direction was taken to win the allegiance of the king's Irish subjects and to restore order in Ireland. In the first stage the Irish chiefs and Anglo-Irish lords whose titles and/or allegiance were in question were invited to submit to the king by signing an indenture "surrendering" their lands and title in exchange for a royal patent and an English title. The title carried with it the full weight of English law and the right to be summoned to parliament. In short, the Irish earls and barons were offered constitutional equality with their Anglo-Irish peers—both would be vassals of the English king. In addition to surrendering their lands and titles, the Irish lords agreed to practice inheritance by primogeniture rather than the customary Gaelic system of elective succession, or tanistry. They also renounced papal supremacy in favor of royal authority. The policy made a major contribution to establishing peace and security in Ireland. Equally important was the passage of the Act for the King's Title, approved by the Irish parliament in 1541. Prior to this, Henry, like all monarchs since Henry II in the twelfth century, held the title lord of Ireland, granted by Pope Adrian IV. The new act dispelled any claim that the real overlord of Ireland was the pope. Now all Irishmen, Gaelic and Anglo-Irish, owed their allegiance to the king of Ireland; gone (in theory) were the distinctions and tensions created by the existence of two separate peoples—loyal Englishmen and Irish enemies.

The Crown's program was attractive to the Gaelic chiefs for a number of reasons. They were tired of war and fearful of the Crown's power, as evidenced by the fate of the 1534 rebels. Many of the rebels had been executed and much Kildare property had been confiscated. Under English law the land of a lordship became the lord's personal estate. This offered the Irish rulers greater control of their territories, and primogeniture promised greater internal peace within Gaelic lordships. By Henry's death in 1547 forty of the important Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lords had submitted, and Ireland enjoyed a measure of peace unknown in years. Not all Irish clans, however, were willing to abandon Brehon law, and some continued to elect their chiefs in defiance of English law. A disputed succession to the earldom of Tyrone and the violence that followed revealed that Henry's program of conciliation had not been entirely successful in Ulster. Surrender and regrant would cause as many problems as it solved, and it ultimately failed to provide an inexpensive alternative to military conquest.

SEE ALSO Monarchy; Politics: 1500 to 1690

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Monica A. Brennan

Swift, Jonathan

Political pamphleteer, Irish patriot, dean of Saint Patrick's Cathedral (Church of Ireland) in Dublin, Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) is now remembered for writing "A Modest Proposal" and *Gulliver's Travels*. His parents were Anglo-Irish colonists, and Swift devoted himself to the interests of that class. He earned his B.A. from Trinity College in 1686, an M.A. from Oxford in 1694, and launched his career as an Anglican priest in Ulster in 1695. During the next decade he nursed his prospects in



Wood engraving from Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, c. 1865.
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church and state. Like most of the Anglo-Irish, he was a Whig, and his first great satires, *Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*, both published in 1704, established him as a propagandist for the Whig cause. But at his core he believed that Britain was best served by safeguarding Anglican privilege, so he switched allegiance, lending his wit, in the periodical *Examiner*, to leaders of the conservative Tory ministry, the earl of Oxford and Viscount Bolingbroke, when they rose to power in 1710. When the Tories fell in 1714, Swift was suspected of treason and was spied on. He returned to Ireland feeling himself an exile and hardly comforted by the dean-ship of Saint Patrick's—meager spoils of his brief political eminence.

He conducted a love affair with Esther Johnson (whom he called Stella), whom he first met when he was twenty-two and she was only eight years old. He kept the relationship secret and most likely platonic to satisfy his idiosyncratic notions of intimacy, but he may have married her clandestinely. Though they lived in separate houses, their peculiar friendship continued until her death in 1728. His letters to her comprise the famous *Journal to Stella*, which was published in 1766.

Eventually, Swift began to think of himself as an Irishman and to resist the dependency that England had imposed on Ireland. His wildly popular series of *Drapier's Letters* (1724) attacked England's deliberate corruption of Irish coinage and excited much of the Irish citizenry to national consciousness. "A Modest Proposal," written five years later, upbraided all classes of Irish for the moral and material poverty of the country. In what is probably the most famous example of irony in Irish literature, Swift's proposer suggests that the poor father their children like cattle to fill the plates of the rich. Swift's greatest work, *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), satirized not only his contemporaries but all humanity. Even as the episodes among the Lilliputians and Brobdingnagians continue to delight readers today, Gulliver's last sojourn on the island of philosophical horses and bestial humans have earned Swift the reputation of a misanthrope. Later generations of Irish writers such as James Joyce considered Swift the fountainhead of an irreverent, satirical, vital stream in Irish literary history.

SEE ALSO Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Literature: Anglo-Irish Literary Tradition, Beginnings of

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Joseph Kelly



Táin Bó Cúailnge

Táin Bó Cúailnge (*Cattle Raid of Cooley*) is the central narrative in the Ulster cycle of tales, which depict the heyday of the Ulster kingdom and its pagan heroic culture, dated by the medieval Irish scholars to the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. The oldest version of the tale is preserved in an early twelfth-century manuscript, *Leabhar na hUidhre* (*Book of the Dun Cow*); the tale consists largely of a ninth-century core, amplified by extensive passages in later language.

The story line of the *Táin* is deceptively simple: Ailill and Maeve, king and queen of Connaught, long-standing enemies of the Ulster people, and their rivals for political supremacy, lead an army of the other Irish provinces into Ulster to raid their cattle, and in particular to seize a prize bull. In an economy based on livestock, where political submission is expressed by the imposition of cattle tribute, this amounts to a declaration of war. The Ulstermen cannot resist, as they are suffering from a strange recurring debility, and the single-handed defense of the province falls on their youthful seventeen-year-old champion Cú Chulainn, an avatar of his divine father Lug. When the Ulstermen finally emerge from their weakness, they give battle to the invaders and ward off the danger, but at a heavy cost of life and material wealth.

If the plot is relatively straightforward, the analysis is less so, and the variety of interpretations advanced testify to the underlying complexities of the tale. Since Eugene O'Curry first introduced the *Táin* to a wider public in the mid-nineteenth century, parallels have been drawn with the Classical epics, and Cú Chulainn has been compared with the youthful heroes Achilles and Aeneas. The idea that the *Táin* originated in dispa-

rate short tales drawn together to create an Irish *Aeneid* received the support of the great Thurneysen (1921). Alternatively, the Ulster cycle in general may reflect an old inheritance, being less an imitation than a late-attested congener of the heroic literature of ancient Greece (Chadwick and Chadwick 1932).

As the supremacy of Ulster did not persist into the Christian period, it has been suggested that the tales celebrating its days of glory derive from pagan times. If this were so, much reliance could be placed on the contents as a record of events, persons, and customs, and the *Táin* would be a precious repository of information about a pre-literate society. O'Curry, for one, believed that the *Táin* was "all through founded upon authentic historical facts" (O'Curry 1861, p. 33). Yet some features of the tale, such as the role of Otherworld denizens, the extravagant behavior especially of Cú Chulainn, the flights of exaggeration, are far from realistic. A number of characters, including Maeve, Cú Chulainn, and Fergus the Ulster exile, show superhuman traits which reveal them to be semi-divine figures. The plot itself, which culminates in the fight of the Ulster bull against his Connaught counterpart, places the narrative in the realm of myth. T. F. O'Rahilly (1946, p. 271) held that tales such as the *Táin* have no historical basis whatsoever, being in origin pure mythology.

A more subtle case for historicity in the *Táin* was made by K. H. Jackson (1964). Acknowledging that the characters and events in the tales may be in part mythological, and are certainly wholly legend, he argued that the lineaments of society, the material culture and customs described therein could be a genuine record of ancient times in Ireland, as they offer impressive corroboration of the Greek and Roman accounts of the Celts of the continent and Britain. The "window on the Iron Age"—in Jackson's vivid phrase—need not be projected back too far into prehistory, since the lack of Roman

occupation allowed an Iron Age La Tène culture to flourish up to the threshold of the Christian era in the fifth century. According to Jackson, tales composed at this time could have been recounted orally until captured in writing in the historical period.

The theory that Early Irish literature in general is indebted to an orally transmitted pre-Christian inheritance has since been widely challenged. Some aspects of the material culture in the Ulster tales also appear on closer scrutiny to owe more to early Christian times (Mallory 1992), suggesting that the *Táin* is at least in part a historical fiction. There is a striking discrepancy, for example, between the written and the archaeological record of the function attributed to Emain Macha: in the *Táin* it is the location of the royal residence, whereas excavation has shown no evidence of occupation, only of ritual use. Another divergence, the contrast between repeated references to chariots in the Ulster cycle and the lack of archaeological evidence in Ireland for such vehicles, is often cited against Jackson's theory, but could equally be adduced for an even greater antiquity, reaching back to the Continental Celts, for the traditions depicted in the *Táin*.

Modern approaches to early Irish tales focus less on their ultimate putative origins than on their significance for the society in which they received their final written form. An allegorical reading of the *Táin* explains the prize bull of Cúailnge as code for the wealthy monastery of Armagh, and the warring Ulster and Connaught armies as the ecclesiastical factions and families competing for its control in the ninth century (Kelleher 1971).

Themes of more general import in the *Táin* are the destructive impact of war (Radner 1982) and the dangerous potential of the practice of cattle-raiding to escalate into major conflict. A very specific contemporary relevance for the latter is perhaps indicated by the early ninth-century re-promulgation of a law against cattle-raiding (Kelly 1992). These themes could plausibly be seen as the contribution of a clerical redactor.

Notwithstanding such pacifist overtones, the *Táin* celebrates the heroic age by providing a showcase for the supreme prowess of the youthful Cú Chulainn. His glory is magnified primarily by his own spectacular exploits but also by contrast with the shortcomings of his main adversary, Queen Maeve. She is depicted throughout as a strong but headstrong woman, whose efforts to excel in male domains are ridiculed. Her military invasion is thwarted, and her army disparaged by her Ulster ally and lover Fergus as "a herd of horses led by a mare" (O'Rahilly 1976, p. 237). This animal image recalls the pagan belief in the sovereignty goddess in equine form and evokes the divine figure of which Maeve is a euhemerization. Yet her affair with Fergus

does not validate any aspirations of his to kingship, as other narratives using this convention would lead us to expect; it merely exposes him to dishonour and contempt. Thus the tale thematizes not just the appropriate codes of conduct for the sexes but also the enduring literary appeal of the sovereignty-goddess trope. Here, too, in the unmistakable misogyny, one might discern a clerical input.

The *Táin*, then, affords more than a "window on the Iron Age." In recalling or imaginatively reconstructing the heroic Ulster society of pre-Christian Ireland, it weaves together a stratum of myth and the legendary history of competing dynasties and peoples into a multi-layered tapestry of themes of local, general, time-bound and timeless resonance and appeal. Its literary and artistic success may therefore be greater than is at first apparent from the disjointed form in which it has come down to us.

SEE ALSO Cú Chulainn; Emain Macha (Navan Fort); Literature: Early and Medieval Literature; Myth and Saga; Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland

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Patricia Kelly

Tandy, James Napper

A celebrated radical in Dublin politics in the 1770s and 1780s and a prominent United Irishman in the 1790s, Napper Tandy (1740–1802) was born in Dublin, the son of a merchant. He entered municipal politics in the 1770s and quickly became known for his reformist views. He was outspoken in his support of the American revolutionaries beginning in 1775 and became very active in the Volunteer movement, a movement intended initially to mobilize the general population to defend the country in the event of a French invasion during the period 1778 to 1783. Tandy was also enthusiastic about the French Revolution. He was among the founding members of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen in 1791 and its first secretary. He fled the country in 1793 for fear of being charged with taking the Defender oath, and he made his way to the United States. In 1797, with United Irish emissaries active in France, he went to Hamburg, Germany, and thence to Paris. An intense personal rivalry had developed between Tandy and Theobald Wolfe Tone; partly because of this the French government became less enthusiastic about an expedition to Ireland. At the same time Tandy's letters to his brother in Ireland led some United Irishmen there to assume that a French landing was imminent. Tandy was among the United Irishmen in France who were given commissions late in the summer of 1798 and assigned to the various small expeditions dispatched to attempt to link up with the Irish rebels. Arriving on the Donegal coast on 22 September, after both the Rising in the eastern counties and the campaign of French General Jean-Joseph-Amable Humbert in the west had come to an end, Tandy left the country a day later, realizing that all hope of success was lost. He and several comrades made their way to Hamburg, where they were arrested; they were finally handed over to British authorities in September 1799 after a diplomatic standoff involving Britain, France, Prussia, and Russia. Tandy was tried and convicted of treason in Ireland but was released by British General Charles Cornwallis as a result of French pressure. He left Ireland for the last time in 1802 and sailed to Bordeaux, where he died (of dysentery) on 24 August of that year.

SEE ALSO Defenderism; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803; **Primary Documents:** United Irish Parliamentary Reform Plan (March 1794);

Grievances of the United Irishmen of Ballynahinch, Co. Down (1795); Speech Delivered at a United Irish Meeting in Ballyclare, Co. Antrim (1795); The United Irish Organization (1797); Statement of Three Imprisoned United Irish Leaders (4 August 1798)

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Daniel Gahan

Tara

Like Dún Ailinne in Leinster, Cruachain (Rathcroghan) in Connacht, and Emain Macha (Navan) in Ulster, Tara (Old Irish *Temair*), Co. Meath (ancient *Midhe*), is one of the preeminent “royal sites” in Ireland. Today Tara is composed of a set of earthworks scattered almost 3,000 feet along a ridge rising to a maximum of about 430 feet above sea level. Some monuments are well preserved while others have long since disappeared, now being recognizable only from the air (Raftery 1991). The often fanciful names derive from an early eleventh-century text.

Dominating the ridge is a large enclosure, about fourteen and a half acres in size, known as *Rath na Ríogh* (Fort of the Kings), containing several notable monuments. An earthen rampart with an internal ditch surrounds it; this is a feature also found at Emain Macha and Dún Ailinne. Excavations in the 1950s revealed that the ditch was formed from a careful V-section cut ten feet into the bedrock. “Along its immediate inner edge was found a vertical-sided trench which must once have supported the timbers of a substantial palisade” (Raftery 1991).

Inside the enclosure is located *Dumha na nGiall* (the Mound of the Hostages), a Neolithic passage grave (ca. 3000–2500 B.C.E.). The tomb (about 13 feet × 3 feet) was subdivided into three compartments that originally contained the cremated remains of the dead along with their grave goods. Two adjacent structures, *teach Cormaic* (Cormac's house) and *fórradh* (the royal seat), a pair of conjoined, high earthen banks with raised, flattened interiors, are of unknown date and purpose



The Stone of Destiny and summit of Rath na Riogh, Tara (c. 3000–2500 B.C.E.). Tara was the inaugural site of the O'Neill high kings of Ireland during the Middle Ages. PHOTOGRAPH REPRODUCED WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND, W29/01/32.

(Raftery 1991). The standing stone known as *Lia Fáil* (Stone of Destiny), erected on *Teach Cormaic* around 1824 to honor those who died in the 1798 skirmish at Tara, may once have stood in front of the entrance to the passage grave and may be contemporary with the tomb. According to medieval Irish tradition, when the rightful heir to the kingship sat on *Lia Fáil*, the stone would shriek.

More mounds and enclosures are found north and south of the Fort of the Kings. These include *Rath na Seanaid* (Rath of the Synods), a triple-ringed earthwork badly damaged in the early twentieth century by British Israelites who thought they would find the Ark of the Covenant there (Harbison 1979). Later excavations indicate that *Rath na Seanaid* was inhabited and used as a burial site at various times, including the first to fourth century C.E., as indicated by the discovery of

Roman pottery, glass, and other items. About 245 feet north of the Rath is *Teach Míodhchuarta* (the Banqueting Hall), a pair of straight, parallel banks that are about 100 feet apart, extending down the slope for about 590 feet (Raftery 1991). Medieval writers viewed this as a large roofed structure; a detailed description of the seating arrangement is found in the twelfth-century *Book of Leinster*.

Clearly identified in ancient times as the “capital” of the kingdom of Brega, Tara later gained fame as the inauguration site of the High Kings of Ireland, generally members of the Uí Néill dynasty, though they did not actually reside there. Its cultural significance even in modern times is demonstrated by the fact that Daniel O’Connell held a “monster meeting” on the Hill of Tara in 1843 to reinforce his demand for repeal of the Act of Union.

SEE ALSO Cruachain; Dún Ailinne; Emain Macha (Navan Fort); Prehistoric and Celtic Ireland

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James E. Doan



Temperance Movements

The government first criticized the level of whiskey consumption in Ireland as early as the 1550s, and state efforts to control the sale of drink through licensing laws began in the 1630s. By the 1790s the Irish parliament was voicing considerable concern at the quantities of illegal whiskey, known as poteen, being produced and sold in illicit drink shops, known as shebeens. Despite such long-standing complaints, an organized temperance movement did not appear in Ireland until the 1820s. Societies were established in Belfast and Dublin in 1829 by Protestant clergy, doctors, and merchants. Following the example of the influential U.S. temperance movement, these societies campaigned against drinking spirits and encouraged moderate consumption of other forms of alcohol. In 1835 total-abstinence societies reached Ireland from England, although some temperance advocates resisted this innovation.

Whether in the form of temperance or teetotalism, however, the antidrink movement at first made little headway since it was viewed in Ireland as foreign, fanatical, and a front for Protestant proselytization—which indeed to a large extent it was. But when an obscure Cork Capuchin named Father Theobald Mathew (1790–1856) joined a local teetotal society in 1838, the campaign took off spectacularly. By 1841 Mathew was claiming to have administered some five million abstinence pledges at a time when the total Irish population was a little over eight million.

Historians have debated why so many flocked to take the pledge from Mathew. H. F. Kearney, writing in

1979, suggested that the crusade was the product of modernizing, urban groups, but Elizabeth Malcolm countered in 1986 by stressing its roots in rural millenarian expectations, with Mathew being perceived as a messianic figure heralding the restoration of the Catholic ascendancy in Ireland. In 1992 Colm Kerrigan, while acknowledging that popular beliefs played a role in the crusade's success, followed Kearney in characterizing it as forward-looking rather than backward-looking. Further studies appearing in 2002 by Paul Townend and J. F. Quinn offered differing interpretations. Townend in particular saw the crusade as an indication of the pre-famine Catholic Church's failure to meet the spiritual needs of the Irish people. All agreed, however, that the crusade's success was short-lived; even before the Great Famine, a serious decline had begun. Mathew's opposition to repeal, his financial and administrative incompetence, and the hostility of some of the Catholic hierarchy undermined the movement. After the Great Famine, Mathew's crusade was widely perceived, not least by the Catholic Church, to have failed. The church therefore decided to promote temperance rather than total abstinence and to do so through church organizations rather than through secular temperance societies.

Meanwhile, Protestant-dominated societies, which were especially strong in Ulster, continued to operate, but in the wake of Mathew's failure they switched from trying to curb the drinking of individuals through persuasion to imposing restrictions on society through legislation. Most favored prohibition. When it became clear that this was unlikely to be passed by the British parliament, they campaigned for measures like Sunday closing (the total closure of pubs on the Sabbath), local option (communities having the power to vote to exclude pubs from their neighborhoods), and more rigorous enforcement of the licensing laws. Some limited successes were achieved, such as the introduction of Sunday closing outside the major cities in 1878. But with the demise of the Irish Liberal Party in the 1870s, the temperance movement was deprived of a solid political base in Ireland. The Home Rule Party had close links with the drink industry, as did the British Conservative Party, with which most Ulster Unionist MPs were affiliated. As the issues of land and sovereignty came to the fore of Irish politics in the 1880s, the temperance question declined in significance.

The Catholic Church, however, revived the issue of teetotalism in the 1880s, culminating in 1898 with the establishment by the Jesuit Father James Cullen (1841–1921) of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart. The Pioneers quickly became the most influential temperance organization in the country, and



A medal of the type distributed during the temperance campaigns of Father Theobald Mathew during the late 1830s and 1840s. FROM MR. AND MRS. SAMUEL CARTER HALL, *IRELAND: ITS SCENERY, CHARACTER, ETC.* (1841–1843).

they remained so throughout the twentieth century. By 1925 the Pioneers claimed to have 250,000 members in Ireland; by 1945, close to 350,000 members; and by 1960 (when the population of the Republic was less than three million), 500,000 members. At the same time there were also thousands of members in Britain, the United States, South America, Australia, and various parts of Africa. By the middle of the twentieth century the Pioneer Association was arguably the largest temperance society in the world.

The Pioneers were more than just a temperance society, and their complex character ultimately proved to be problematical. Father Cullen believed that Father Mathew had failed because his crusade did not have the support of the Catholic Church and was poorly organized. Cullen therefore laid down very precise rules for the Pioneers and structured the association as a pious sodality dedicated to the Sacred Heart rather than as a secular welfare organization. He saw the association's agenda as primarily personal and spiritual, not social and ameliorative. This made it difficult for the Pioneers to engage in political lobbying. Thus they could not persuade the new Free State to introduce more draconian licensing legislation in the 1920s (although temperance groups in Northern Ireland had considerable success in this regard), nor were they able to prevent the Fianna Fáil government from ending Sunday closing in 1959. The Pioneers' impressive growth in membership during

the 1950s was in fact outstripped by per capita alcohol consumption, which increased by 60 percent between 1948 and 1970.

By the 1960s, with the emergence of new approaches to problem drinking and new organizations, the Pioneers were beginning to appear decidedly old-fashioned. Alcoholics Anonymous reached Ireland in 1946, and the view that alcoholism was a disease, not a moral or religious failing, gained ground in the 1950s. In such a climate of opinion, prayers and hellfire sermons, pledge taking, and the display of Pioneer pins all seemed inappropriate. Some investigators of Irish drinking practices in the 1970s even went so far as to suggest that the puritanical and authoritarian nature of Irish Catholicism, which the Pioneers very much represented, promoted rather than discouraged heavy drinking. At the end of the twentieth century the Pioneer Association remained a significant and distinctive expression of traditional Irish Catholic piety, but the belief that such an organization could transform Irish drinking habits had long since evaporated.

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Evangelicalism and Revivals; Methodism; Presbyterianism; Religious Orders: Men; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891; Sodalities and Confraternities

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Elizabeth Malcolm



Tenant Right, or Ulster Custom

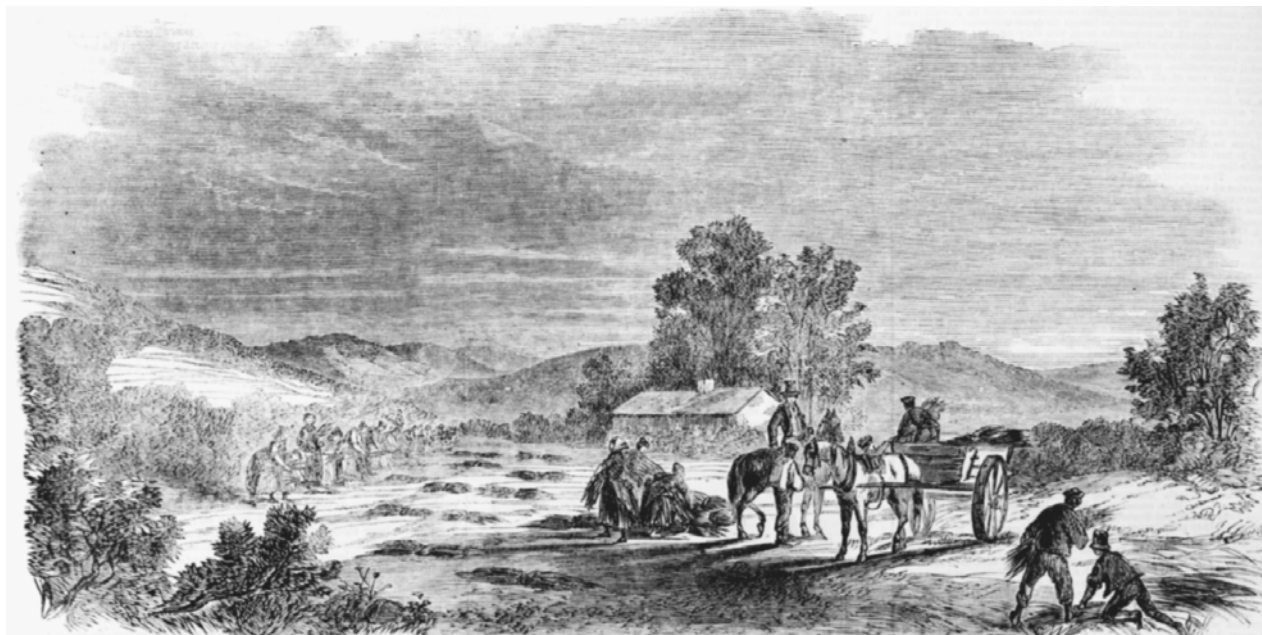
The custom of tenant right, commonly referred to in Victorian Ireland as the "Ulster custom," was a practice by which rural tenants claimed property rights above and beyond their contracts with landlords, allowing departing tenants to exact a payment well in excess of the yearly rent from those who wished to replace them in their farms. In practice the payment of tenant right served two purposes: it compensated the seller for investments made in the farm, and it granted to the purchaser the "goodwill" of the seller, allowing the purchaser to enjoy the "peaceable possession" of the farm. The new tenant would of course also have an agreement with the landlord, occupying the farm under the conditions of a lease or, more commonly, at the will of the landlord. The inevitable tension between these two sets of relationships was a fundamental characteristic of rural property relations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Though leases and other contracts delimited the legal rights of tenants with regard to the occupation of land, the custom of tenant right existed anterior to these, supplementing the private property system established by the plantations. Like other earlier forms of customary tenure in Scotland and the north of England, tenant right signified the tenant's place within a community, his or her way of belonging to its history and development, and, crucially, the right of the tenant's family to continue in possession in the future. In

Ulster the custom of tenant right came to signify the place of the tenant within a troublesome colonial history, the development of a commercial economy in a new property system, and the visual transformation of the landscape.

ORIGIN

The term *tenant right* was first used in Ulster during the second half of the seventeenth century, during a period of deep uncertainty about the stability of the colonial property system and the economy that underpinned it. As the colonial land system began to gain stability in the mid-eighteenth century, the contractual agreements governing the occupation of land became more varied and complex. There were head tenants holding leases of various kinds directly from landowners, middlemen holding large tracts and letting them in turn to undertenants under a variety of different contracts, and below these the mass of smallholders who sublet farms from other tenants or held land without lease at the will of the landlord. In these circumstances, the actual occupiers of the land began to assert that the very stability that had been obtained was the result of the historic efforts of their families to occupy and improve the land. Tenant right came to represent the historical right of planters to continuous occupation. Emphasizing the continuity of their families on the land through the wars and political upheavals of the seventeenth century, the houses and fences they built and maintained, and their consistent political allegiance to their landlords, they asserted their tenant right of renewal of expired leases and the right to keep their families in continuous possession of farms. With the passing of decades and the attenuation of these historical claims in the face of more severe economic competition for land, the urgency of these claims intensified. Claims for the right of renewal in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries often made reference to one's ancestor's participation in, for example, the "memorable siege of Derry" or the "wars of Ireland." These claims were occasionally renewed or updated with reminders of one's electoral allegiance to the landlord or other deferential behavior.

In addition to long histories of occupation, the custom was also strengthened and given meaning by reference to the landscape itself. The colonial estate system, based on a capitalist and individualist model of agricultural production that required clear demarcation of the boundaries of farms and of the property rights between the tenants of those farms, was clearly distinguishable from the pastoral and collective economic life of Gaelic Ulster and the rundale system of redistributing strips of tilled land among members of a community. The rapid commercialization of the eighteenth century had never-



The linen industry strengthened the economic position of tenants in east Ulster. Direct profits from flax cultivation often raised farm incomes. Such income could increase the value of the tenant right of a holding when that was sold under the "Ulster custom." Flax was harvested by hand until the 1940s and was spread on dry ground in sheaves, as in this 1859 sketch. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 24 SEPTEMBER 1859.

theless steadily eroded the old pattern, as enterprising tenants stepped out from their collectives to agree to individual contracts with their landlords, severing themselves from the variety of duties and benefits of the rural village. Tenant-right payments served to compensate former partners in rundale communities and to clarify their new status. The subsequent processes of enclosure and the "improvement" of enclosed farms became powerful justifications for the claim of tenant right.

ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

In the end, one's right to occupation depended fundamentally on the ability to pay a competitive rent. Though landlords consistently preferred Protestant tenants, who were in any case granted clear privileges in law over their Catholic competitors, there remained a resilient anxiety about being displaced. In practice, the ability to compete with the native population depended on developing new outputs and strengthening markets. Participation in the diversified components of the rural linen trade was one of the keys to success. The booming linen economy of the rural north allowed for the proliferation of small but independent farms, each with a separate claim to have developed the productivity and profitability of an estate. By the early nineteenth century it

was widely understood that the expanding linen economy was deeply implicated in the growth of the custom of tenant right. Although there is scattered evidence of its use in other parts of Ireland, the custom was not to become part of the social and economic fabric of rural society outside of the north. Its unique development there is bound up with economic and demographic developments that distinguish the north from the rest of the island. These were the successful plantation of an immigrant population, the advanced development of rural industry, and the dramatic transformation of the landscape of Gaelic Ulster.

In the period after 1815 the economic landscape and the meaning and function of tenant right began to change rapidly. A century-long upward trend in farm prices began to reverse itself in the more open post-Napoleonic economy, cutting into small-farm profitability. In addition, the mechanization of flax spinning and weaving and the changing nature of demand for textiles undercut a rural industrial sector that had served as a crucial girder of the economy. Ulster rural society began a long and painful transition from the heterogeneous mixture of cottiers, small-holding weavers, and middling to large capitalist farmers to the more stratified and less densely settled pattern of the post-famine period.

Sales of tenant right in the Limavady district of Londonderry from 1873 to 1880

Date	Seller	Townland	Acreage			Rent			Buyer	Amount £	Landlord
			a.	r.	p.	£	s.	d.			
3 Dec. 1873	John M'Loskey	Leek	41	0	0	19	10	0	James Feeny	435	Wm. Cather
15 Aug. 1873	James M'Ateer	Ballyhargan	8	0	0	3	3	0	Henry Deany	60	Mr. Wray
7 Dec. 1876	John Aull	Ballyscullin	2	1	18	1	15	6	Joseph Aull	31	Sir F. W. Heygate
11 Feb. 1878	Wm. Carlin	Ballymoney	10	0	0	6	5	0	James Kane	127	John M'Curdy
23 Jan. 1878	Jas. Douglas	Boveva	22	0	0	20	0	0	Wm. Laughlin	108	J. S. Douglass
19 Feb. 1878	Dennis Brolly	Gortnaghmore	12	0	0	9	0	0	Michael Doherty	106	John Quigley
31 Jan. 1877	Wm. Stewart	Termaquin	23	1	26	17	15	2	Robert Simpson	270	Samuel Pollock
15 Feb. 1878	Alex. Lytle	Gortgarn	16	3	9	10	0	0	Geo. Stewart	200	Lord C. Beresford
1 Sept. 1877	Paul Kane	Killywill	14	0	0	10	10	5	Wm. M'Kinney	290	Rev. Maxwell
14 Dec. 1877	Ed. Hampsy	Boley	5	0	0	6	6	0	Jas. Murray	105	Ditto
16 Nov. 1876	Robt. Ogilby	Tullyvery	14	0	0	13	8	9	Wm. Mullen	360	Ditto
31 Aug. 1876	Roseau Divine	Faughanvale	23	0	0	13	0	0	James King	500	Ditto
4 Jan. 1878	John Hargan	Muldooney	18	0	0	9	10	0	Michael Carten	210	Major Brown
24 Jan. 1877	James Kane	Margymonaghan	137	0	0	64	10	0	Edward Conn	650	Sir F. W. Heygate
23 Mar. 1876	Jas. Hutton	Derynaflaw	54	0	0	19	8	8	Jas. Fallows	406	Mr. Boyle
25 Feb. 1875	Wm. Latten	Drumballydonaghy	9	0	0	11	3	0	John Patchell	183	Ditto
27 Jan. 1876	Tho. O'Hara	Killywill	6	0	0	4	4	0	Wm. Mullan	180	Rev. Maxwell
4 Jan. 1878	Robt. Kane	Ballymoney	9	0	0	4	12	0	Thos. Murphy	120	John M. Curdy
17 Jan. 1879	Henry Donaghy	Mulkeeragh	26	0	0	14	0	0	John Steel	520	Michael King
9 Dec. 1879	Wm. Millikin	Straw	30	0	0	23	11	0	William Dale	425	John Semple
2 July 1879	Patrick Carten	Tartnakelly	25	0	0	5	5	0	Michael Bryson	140	James Ogilby
5 Mar. 1878	Henry Deany	Feeney	13	0	0	9	13	7	Jas. M'Kendry	275	J. C. F. Hunter
6 Nov. 1878	Sarah Atkinson	Broharris	33	1	14	41	5	0	James Thompson	880	Fishmongers' Company
27 Aug. 1879	William Steel	Ballymore	7	0	23	8	0	0	James M'Clelland	120	Henry Tyler
6 Feb. 1879	Pat. Heaney	Drum	34	0	0	14	9	4	John M'Losky	450	Miss C. T. D. Nesbitt
16 Dec. 1879	James Mullen	Killywill	9	0	0	5	11	4	Jas. Donaghy	151	Rev. Maxwell
7 Feb. 1879	Samuel Young	Drumraighland	10	0	0	4	4	0	Wm. Hopkins	160	Robert Ogilby
26 Dec. 1879	Wm. M'Closkey	Kilunaght	18	0	0	10	10	0	Henry M'Closkey	270	Captain Bruce
28 June 1879	Thomas Young	Killywill	6	0	0	2	17	9	John Hara	90	Rev. Maxwell
5 Sept. 1879	John Miller	Drumraighland	Ho. & Grdn.			0	0	6	James White	54	Robert Ogilby
13 Nov. 1879	John Donaghy	Cool	26	1	30	12	0	0	John Baird	400	Fishmongers' Company
26 Apr. 1879	Susan Tower	Glack	26	0	0	14	15	0	Robt. Ferguson	775	Ditto
3 Apr. 1879	Thomas M'Closkey	Gortnaghy	7	3	0	3	13	0	John Quinn	59	Michael M'Cartney
15 Apr. 1879	Margaret Heany	Drum	17	0	0	7	4	8	James M'Cully	254	Miss C. T. D. Nesbitt
18 Jan. 1879	Eliz. Rosborough	Ballyhanedin	46	0	0	25	10	0	Edward Rea	360	Fishmongers' Company
22 Jan. 1880	Jas. Stewart	Turmacoy	24	0	0	18	10	0	John Hopkin	540	Ditto
24 Dec. 1878	Henry Mullan	Lenamore	127	0	0	28	18	0	Peter Conway	340	Marquis of Waterford
22 Feb. 1879	Ed. Rea	Ballymoney	28	0	0	14	12	0	Henry M'Closkey	320	John M'Curdy
14 Nov. 1878	John L. Horner	Burnfoot	17	3	24	16	0	0	James Connor	307	John Semple
4 Mar. 1880	Wm. Connor	Magheramore	35	0	0	13	9	0	James Holmes	366	James Ogilby
9 Apr. 1879	N. M'Kennery	Gortgarn	16	2	0	11	0	0	Neil M'Kennery, jun.	156	Marquis of Waterford
28 Feb. 1879	Nancy Heany	Templemoyle	8	0	0	5	10	0	John M'Intyre	122	T. Heany
13 Feb. 1880	John Kelly	Coolagh	20	0	0	18	4	0	Joseph Mackay	480	R. P. Maxwell
19 Jan. 1880	John M'Kinney	Boley	20	0	0	16	2	10	John Jamieson	360	Ditto
3 Jan. 1880	Jos. Ferguson	Killybleught	17	0	0	20	0	0	John Quigg	200	Jacob Jackson
23 Feb. 1880	James Ross	Killylane	54	0	0	41	0	0	Edward Coyle	805	Fishmongers' Company
24 Feb. 1880	P. Hampson	Gortnaghy	8	1	7	7	0	0	James Kane	100	Adam Wray
25 Mar. 1880	Robt. M'Elree	Moneyshinare	70	0	0	60	0	0	Robt. Jno. Nelson	970	Rev. M. M'Causland
26 Mar. 1880	Michael Kane	Terrydreen	24	0	0	6	0	0	William Evans	172	J. B. Beresford
13 Jan. 1880	Jane Magill	Moyse	43	0	0	15	15	0	Joseph Neely	310	James Ogilby
31 Aug. 1880	Jas. M'Greelis	Tyrglasson	8	2	0	3	15	0	Hugh Miller	200	Fishmongers' Company

(1) In acreage, a. = acres, r. = roods, p. = perches.

(2) In rent, £. = pound, s. = shilling, and d. = pence.

SOURCE: Adapted from Finlay Dun, *Landlords and Tenants in Ireland* (1881), pp. 130–131.

From the viewpoint of estate managers the most serious issues revolved around the decreasing economic viability of small-holders, their mounting debts, and their often impenetrable economic interconnections. In

coming to terms with these problems, they recognized the lack of sufficiently effective managerial and legal tools. Intractable enough on their own terms, these problems were exacerbated by the existence of a cus-

tomary right to property that had developed, in many cases without the knowledge of absentee or inattentive landlords, over the course of a century.

The two available legal remedies against defaulting tenants were the distraint of goods or chattels for arrears of rent and eviction for nonpayment of rent. Legislation in the 1820s that made these far more efficient and effective legal weapons notwithstanding, most estate managers still regarded distraint and eviction as blunt, overly antagonistic, expensive, and unpredictable weapons. The Hearts of Oak and Hearts of Steel rebellions of the previous century were only distant memories in the 1820s, but the threat of violent and organized resistance to blunt enforcement of contracts was constantly alive in the minds of estate managers. As agents began to discover the technicalities, difficulties, and inadequacies of distraint and eviction, they were simultaneously discovering something else: The practice of tenant right on their estates, while posing a definite threat to their property rights, held out for them the potential of more effective management. Progressive estate managers, such as James Hamilton of Strabane or Henry Miller of Draperstown, clearly saw the advantages of accepting the custom and attempting to manipulate it, rather than courting open rebellion by strictly enforcing legal contracts. By the 1850s an increasing number of estate managers had obtained some control over the tenant-right system by restricting the prices paid, by asserting a power of veto over purchasers, and by actively promoting the sale and subsequent amalgamation of farms.

LEGISLATIVE RECOGNITION

The advance of estate management opened a new era of uncertainty and tension with regard to the meaning of tenant right. The year 1835 marked a critical turning point in the history of the public understanding of tenant right. In that year the liberal County Down landlord William Sharman Crawford introduced the first of many land bills that attempted to give the custom of tenant right legal recognition. His indefatigable advocacy of tenant right was based on economic ideas that defended the continued viability of the small farm within agrarian capitalism. Also in that year the first-ever public meeting urging legislative recognition of the custom took place in Comber, Co. Down. In the following decades the meaning of tenant right was no longer only a matter for tenants, land agents, and landlords on a particular estate. It was now the subject of massive parliamentary inquiries and widely read tracts by leading political economists. In short, the custom of tenant right was rapidly becoming a nationwide question, though not yet implicated in the question of nationhood.

In the 1850s an interpretation of the meaning of tenant right that denigrated historical claims to property and allowed only for a restricted conception of "compensation for improvements" held sway at Westminster. Two acts of land legislation were passed in 1860: Caldwell's Act, which endeavored to regulate compensation for improvements, and Deasy's Act, which reiterated the very fundamental aspect of the private property system that the Ulster custom usurped, namely, that the relation of landlord and tenant be founded on contracts and contracts only. Neither of these acts accomplished the goal of clarifying the meaning and practice of customary tenure. By the late 1860s, in the wake of the Fenian rising, a change in the mentality of legislators had taken place. In his introduction to a land bill that was to become law in 1870, Prime Minister Gladstone told Parliament that the Irish people "have not generally embraced the idea of the occupation of land by contract, and the old Irish notion that some interest in the soil adheres to the tenant, even though his contract has expired, is everywhere rooted in the popular mind." The Land Act of 1870 gave ambiguous legal recognition to the Ulster custom of tenant right, and in so doing, it placed the Irish land question on a new and uncertain footing.

SEE ALSO Butt, Isaac; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land Questions; Oakboys and Steelboys; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930

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Martin W. Dowling

Textiles

See Factory-Based Textile Manufacture; Rural Industry; Women and Children in the Industrial Workforce.

Theater

See Arts: Early Modern Literature and the Arts from 1500 to 1800; Drama, Modern.



Tithe War (1830–1838)

The tithe war was a popular uprising in the southern provinces of Leinster and Munster, with widespread disturbances in Connacht and some in Ulster, against the payment of tithes to the Protestant Established Church. The burden of tithe—theoretically, the tenth part of one's income given in kind or money in support of the church—had long been a complaint in Ireland. Ever since the sixteenth century when Henry VIII transferred the ownership of tithes from Catholic priests and monasteries to the reformed Protestant clergymen and laymen, the Catholics of Ireland—the overwhelming majority of the population—were left in the unusual position of having to finance a church to which they did not belong and which was in fact hostile to them. Irish Presbyterians, who had their own church to support, objected to the payment as well. This basic injustice was heightened by the uneven distribution of tithes upon the land. Grasslands, often kept by wealthy Protestant graziers, were exempt from tithes after the early eighteenth century. Conversely, the fields of the lowly potato, an increasingly important food for the Catholic peasantry, were assessed at a high rate throughout the southern half of the country, ensuring that the grasping hand of tithes would reach all the way down to the humblest laborer's potato patch. Annual disputes over what was tithable, how tithes would be valued and collected, and the notorious misbehavior of aggressive and dishonest tithe agents ensured that tithes would remain a constant and contentious issue in the Irish countryside.

By 1830 Ireland was primed for its biggest battle over tithes. Parliamentary investigations into the rampant abuses and severe structural problems of the Established Church left it with few defenders, while the ranks of tithe opponents swelled with the addition of large farmers and graziers after legislation in 1823 increasingly extended tithes to their previously exempt grasslands. Sectarian relations were seriously strained in the 1820s, poisoned by the aggressively anti-Catholic Second Reformation, and inflamed by the popular and successful struggle for Catholic Emancipation, which left in its wake a more politically aware Catholic people and a cadre of experienced local middle-class Catholic

activists willing and able to handle the reins during the tithe war.

The spark igniting the tithe war was struck in the autumn of 1830 in Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny, when the parish priest, Father Martin Doyle, counseled his parishioners to withhold their tithe payment from the unpopular Protestant curate. The strategy of passive resistance first recommended by Doyle was remarkably simple and extremely effective. If anyone's animals were seized for nonpayment of tithes, the entire parish should attend the resulting auction but no one should bid for the animals, thereby thwarting the legal process by which tithe owners were allowed to recover their money. It was an ingenious strategy that took advantage of the large number of small sums that tithe owners had to collect, and effectively rallied the entire parish. Everyone was called upon to shun anyone who dared either to bid for the animals or to assist the tithe owners in their legal proceedings. Using these easily implemented tactics, the agitation spread quickly from its base in Kilkenny so that by the end of 1831 the concerted refusal to pay tithes was well established throughout most of Leinster and eastern Munster.

Increasing the effectiveness of the campaign was the constant threat of violence against Protestant clergymen and their agents should they attempt to proceed with the collection of tithes. Beginning in early 1831 tithe agents were routinely chased off property, frequently assaulted by large crowds, and in a number of cases even murdered. At Newtownbarry (Bunclody) in County Wexford, fourteen people were killed when the police and yeomen, who were protecting three heifers seized for tithes, fired into a stone-throwing crowd. More worrisome for the Irish government was the brutal slaughter of a process server and twelve constables who had been sent out to protect him while he served tithe subpoenas at Carrickshock, Co. Kilkenny, in December 1831.

In some respects this combination of passive and violent resistance reflects the various social classes involved in the anti-tithe agitation. Tithes cast a wide net, maddening the small farmers and laborers with potato plots, who were prone to Whiteboy tactics of violence and intimidation, as well as large farmers, who were anxious to make the most of legal resistance. But it would be wrong to assume that the tithe war was two separate but parallel movements—a violent Whiteboy agitation and a peaceful middle-class campaign of petitions. In truth, violence was an integral component of the entire agitation, creating the atmosphere of intimidation needed to enforce the community sanctions against those who profited from tithes. The dual pattern of passive and violent resistance continued in 1832 as



Among the commonest forms of collective action during the tithe war of the 1830s was the attacking of process-servers by large crowds. These functionaries had the unenviable task of delivering notices of default and warnings of the seizure of goods to those resisting payment of tithes. During the land war after 1878, tenants who resisted the payment of the customary rents often resorted to the same tactics, as this 1881 sketch shows. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 21 MAY 1881.

the agitation infected the rest of Munster, much of Connaught in the west, and finally Ulster, where the greatest resistance appeared in the heavily Catholic counties of Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan. The tithe war never seized hold of Ulster because the large number of Protestant payers, the exemption of potato lands, and the historically lighter rates made the injustice less pressing there.

Angry tithe owners blamed Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, the Reverend James Doyle, for the loss of their incomes. In fact, O'Connell took surprisingly little interest in the agitation, preferring to highlight the tithe issue only when it could be safely harnessed to promote his causes of emancipation and repeal. Tithe owners were closer to the mark in pointing the finger of blame at Bishop Doyle. In the summer of 1831, in a blistering public letter, Doyle denounced tithes as a grinding and insulting injustice and resolutely endorsed the strategy of passive resistance. His concise exposition of the case against tithes was widely disseminated as a penny pamphlet and dutifully read to Catholic parishioners from the altar during Sunday mass. Doyle's dramatic closing line, "May their hatred of tithe be as lasting as their love of justice," became the rallying cry of the campaign. But while he provided the moral underpinning of the movement, Doyle played no role in directing it.

Dublin Castle and police officials were probably accurate in their frequent descriptions of the agitation as leaderless, for there was no one leader or national organization similar to those formed during the campaigns for emancipation and repeal. Instead, as the resistance fanned out from Kilkenny, it was warmly received by prominent local Catholic leaders who had first cut their political teeth on emancipation. Included in this group were middle to large farmers, shopkeepers, newspapermen, and many parish priests who, while condemning episodes of violence, nevertheless publicly condemned the tithe system and promoted the campaign against it.

Initially responsive to tithe owners' demand for protection during tithe collection, Dublin Castle's willingness to provide police escorts waned considerably after the murder of the constables at Carrickshock. Tithe owners were instead encouraged to accept the money offered to them by acts of Parliament in 1832 and 1833 to help defray their arrears while more substantial legislation aimed at permanently resolving the issue was under consideration. Unfortunately, parliamentary action was delayed for the next five years, leaving hardy tithe owners free to continue collecting payments under the old system with its rampant opportunities for violence, such as the murderous affray at Rathcormac in December 1834, when twelve men

were killed protecting the Widow Ryan's forty shillings against seizure. The tithe war finally quieted down after the spring of 1835 when the weapons available to tithe owners were sharply curtailed by the new Whig government and especially the new Undersecretary at Dublin Castle, Thomas Drummond, who refused to allow police escorts for tithe business. Tithe opponents resorted to holding meetings to petition Parliament to abolish tithes until the 1838 Tithe Act effectively ended the hostilities.

The tithe war marked an important intersection in the fortunes of a resurgent Catholic Church and a crumbling Protestant one that was well on its way toward disestablishment thirty years later. The tactics used during the tithe war would reappear during the land war of the late 1870s and 1880s, when passive resistance would be directed toward rent and the ostracizing of collaborators received its *nom de guerre* courtesy of Captain Charles Boycott.

SEE ALSO Defenderism; Irish Tithe Act of 1838; Land Questions; Oakboys and Steelboys; Protestant Ascendancy; Decline, 1800 to 1930; Whiteboys and Whiteboyism

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Toland, John

John Toland (1670–1722), freethinker, was born into the Irish-speaking Catholic community of Inishowen, Co. Donegal. After receiving primary education locally, he entered Glasgow University and became identified with Presbyterianism and student discontent. Graduat-

ing with an M.A. (Edinburgh) in 1690, he moved first to London and then to Leyden (1692–1693). During a year at Oxford, he began work on a never-to-be-completed Irish dictionary. In 1696 he published *Christianity Not Mysterious*, which caused great scandal, alarming even John Locke, whose influence was discernible in its argument. Toland had to cut short a visit to Dublin in 1697 when the commons ordered that his tract be burned and its author arrested. Back in London he wrote a biography of John Milton (1699) and pamphlets questioning Anglican and Tory pieties. Over the years his religious views became increasingly divorced from mainstream Christian orthodoxy. The controversy over *Christianity Not Mysterious* in 1697 was a foretaste of the dismay that his later works would cause. The term *pantheist* was apparently coined by Toland, whose developing ideas on religion can be traced in *Socinianism Truly Stated* (1705), *Adeisdaemon* (1709), and, most shocking to contemporaries, *Nazareus* (1718) and *Pantheisticon* (1720).

A strong advocate of the Hanoverian succession, he was on the delegation to Hanover that presented the Act of Settlement (1701) to the Electress Sophia. Funded by wealthy patrons, he made his living as a Whig propagandist, though he was not to be rewarded with office or emolument after the Hanoverian succession. His only interventions in Irish affairs in the last decade of his life were expressions of anxiety about Catholic revival and criticism, in *Reasons Most Humbly Offered* (1720), of the British Parliament's Declaratory Act (6th George I). In his last years he depended on the patronage of the Whig radical Robert Molesworth, and he died in relative poverty in London on 11 March 1722. He once described himself as "avowedly a commonwealth's man" (Simms 1969, p. 312), to which might be added William Molyneux's assessment: "a candid free-thinker and a good scholar" (Simms 1969, p. 310).

SEE ALSO Church of Ireland: Since 1690

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James McGuire



Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763–1798), prominent member of the Society of United Irishmen. © HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Tone, Theobald Wolfe

Revolutionary leader and founder of the Society of United Irishmen, Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763–1798) was born in Dublin and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Called to the Irish bar in the summer of 1789, he grew tired of the law and soon became embroiled in radical politics. He was an ardent supporter of Catholic Emancipation and acted as an agent and then secretary of the Catholic Committee. It was during this time that his gifts as a polemicist and organizer became evident. Indeed, his pamphlet *An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland* was considered to be one of the most influential of the 1790s.

Growing disillusioned with the pace of reform, he founded the Society of United Irishmen in 1791. This was initially an organization committed to peaceful agitation, but it became radicalized in 1794 after the British government made it illegal. With the suppression of the United Irishmen, Tone dedicated his life to overthrowing British rule in Ireland and uniting Catholics, Protestants, and Dissenters in an independent Irish republic. In 1794 he emigrated to America but found it difficult

to adjust to life in that country. From there he moved to France, where he became involved in various schemes to liberate Ireland. The abortive Bantry Bay invasion of 1796 did not deter him, and he sailed to Ireland in October 1798 with a French army to take part in the 1798 rebellion. Captured at Buncrana in County Donegal on 3 November, he was taken to Dublin and charged with treason. Proudly admitting his guilt, he committed suicide in prison to avoid execution by hanging. However he botched the job and it was three days before he died on 19 November. Because of his inspirational legacy Wolfe Tone has been called the father of Irish republicanism.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803; **Primary Documents:** United Irish Parliamentary Reform Plan (March 1794); Grievances of the United Irishmen of Ballynahinch, Co. Down (1795); Speech Delivered at a United Irish Meeting in Ballyclare, Co. Antrim (1795); The United Irish Organization (1797); Statement of Three Imprisoned United Irish Leaders (4 August 1798)

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P. M. Geoghegan



Tourism

For centuries the main reasons for travel to Ireland were religious and political. In the early medieval period students from Britain and continental Europe received educational training at Irish monastic foundations, and sites like Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg were

European places of pilgrimage. The political travellers followed later in the wake of the Anglo-Norman and Tudor conquests and were generally concerned in their accounts with justifying military takeover and economic expropriation. The defeat of the Jacobite army at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 meant the end to the military threat from the native Irish, and Ireland was perceived in the eighteenth century as a safe country to visit. Improvements in the road system, the introduction of coaches, and the extension of the canal system from Dublin made traveling quicker, more comfortable, and less hazardous. Later in the century, George Taylor and Andrew Skinner's *Maps of the Roads of Ireland* (1778) and *The Compleat Irish Traveller* (1778) provided practical assistance to the foreign traveler in Ireland.

The eighteenth century saw the emergence of a form of scenic tourism in Ireland. The interest in the Irish landscape was symptomatic of a much wider romantic attentiveness to remote landscapes, which would be further strengthened in the late eighteenth century by a revival of interest in the Celtic world. This revival was fueled by the instant success of James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language* (1760). The Celtic spirit was seen to be closely bound up with the physical setting in which the remaining speakers of Celtic languages lived. The taste for rugged, dramatic landscapes in isolated areas meant that by the 1780s and 1790s, Killarney in the southwest of Ireland had established itself as a popular scenic resort for aristocratic and well-to-do travelers. The United Irish rebellion of 1798, the Great Famine of 1845 to 1851, and the political unrest accompanying the activities of the Land League and the move toward Home Rule and eventual independence did little to favor the growth of tourism to Ireland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the dramatic growth in the rail network in the late 1830s did encourage the development of domestic tourism, and the century saw the emergence of notable seaside resorts such as Bray on the east coast and Kilkee on the west coast.

In 1925 the Irish Tourist Association (ITA) was established to promote the development of Irish tourism. The membership of the ITA was made up of hoteliers and prominent business people, but in the early years the association was hampered by a lack of state funding. Under the Tourist Traffic (Development) Act of 1931 the ITA was designated as an official beneficiary of finance at local-government level. In 1939 the Tourist Traffic Act allowed for the creation of an official Irish Tourist Board to provide accommodation and other amenities for visitors to Ireland. The effectiveness of the board was severely constrained by a lack of finance. The

absence of adequate funding was related not only to the economic difficulties of the period and the onset of war, but also to a profound reluctance in the Irish body politic to involve the country too heavily in the tourism sector. For the veterans of the Irish War of Independence on both sides of the Treaty divide, but more particularly among members of the governing party, Fianna Fáil, tourism was perceived as a somewhat degrading activity. The connotations of subservience attached to tourism were still too vivid for those who had rebelled against the subordinate role of the Irish under the earlier imperial dispensation.

The 1940s and 1950s witnessed the development of two significant initiatives that would have far-reaching consequences for Irish tourism. First, an agreement signed by the Irish and U.S. governments ensured that all U.S. aircraft in transit over Irish territory would stop at Shannon. The Irish government hoped that such a move would not only bring tourists directly to Ireland's economically depressed western seaboard but also encourage "roots" tourists (i.e., U.S. citizens of Irish extraction) to vacation in Ireland. Second, the U.S. government through its Marshall Plan aid put pressure on the Irish government to be more proactive in the development of the tourist industry. The outcome of what was known as *The Christenberry Report*, a synthesis of six separate reports produced in Ireland and the United States in 1950, was the establishment of a new board of tourism, *Bord Fáilte*, under the 1952 Tourist Traffic Act. Though funding did not substantially increase, there was an important change in attitude to tourism: It was increasingly seen as an important factor in economic growth and job creation and as a way of strengthening rather than undermining national identity. One market that was targeted by the new board was the diasporic market, and a decision was made to organize and promote an annual festival of Irish music, dance, and other cultural activities for Irish emigrants returning as visitors, which was known as *An Tóstal* (The gathering). The festival, which was launched in 1953, was not a success and was discontinued after a number of years. The initiative was premature and emigration was too painful a reality in 1950s Ireland to be a source of celebration.

The passing of eight Tourist Traffic Acts between 1952 and 1970 did point to a new commitment to tourism development in Ireland, with the acts mainly targeting accommodation and other areas of tourist infrastructure. Tourism numbers grew in the 1960s, but Irish tourism received a serious setback with the outbreak of political unrest in Northern Ireland beginning in 1968. The violence and the negative publicity particularly affected Ireland's most important source for

tourists—Britain. To avoid overdependence on any one single market, Ireland was promoted more aggressively in North America and on the European continent. Overall, in the period from 1960 to 1987 visitor numbers rose from 941,000 to 2 million. As the 1980s saw a sharp downturn in manufacturing employment and an overall decline in agricultural fortunes, it was decided that tourism should be actively promoted as a source of job creation, particularly in less developed regions. The White Paper on Tourism (1985) set out a number of objectives for tourism development, but it was the first Operational Programme for Tourism (1989–1993) and the second Operational Programme for Tourism (1994–1999) that provided specific goals and measures for the sector. In addition, substantial funding was made available through the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund. The introduction of airline competition in 1986, the impact of charter liberalization in 1988 and 1989, and the ending of the sea cartel with the privatization of the two major carriers between Ireland and Britain led to greater competitiveness, which made access more affordable for greater numbers of people. The combined effect of these different factors was an unprecedented growth in visitor numbers to Ireland. The rate of tourism growth between 1986 and 1995 was twice the average of other member countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Between 1988 and 1999 tourist arrivals increased from 2.1 million to approximately 6 million. The foreign-exchange earnings from tourism in the same period rose from 841 million to 2.5 billion Irish pounds.

Rapid growth in tourist numbers and broad changes in Irish society generally pose problems for tourism development in the long run in Ireland. When tourists outnumber the inhabitants, there is not only the danger of saturation, with certain regions receiving an excessive number of tourists (particularly Kerry and Connemara), but locals may become indifferent or even hostile to a presence that is increasingly felt as intrusive. Concerns have been raised about negative environmental impact and the excessive commodification of elements of Irish culture, such as music and dance, for external consumption. Furthermore, the accelerated modernization and enrichment of Ireland at the end of the twentieth century often had negative consequences for certain aspects of Irish culture (friendliness, attitude to time, sense of history) that have traditionally attracted visitors. In an increasingly competitive tourism environment Ireland has to find the right mix between tradition and modernity to remain a preferred tourist destination for the world's travelers.

SEE ALSO Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; Industry since 1920; Marshall Aid; State Enterprise

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Michael Cronin



Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century

From the late seventeenth century to the early twentieth century Ireland had few cities or towns of real consequence, but some of them were important in their own right. By 1690 Dublin, the capital city, had already become the second largest city in the British Isles, with a population of about 50,000. As the seat of government and the law courts, it proved a social magnet for the gentry, especially during the parliamentary seasons. Its port dominated the Irish Sea region. Cork was also a considerable city, with 41,000 people by 1750. Its port serviced the Munster provision trade, victualling European fleets on the Atlantic trade routes. Other ports, notably Waterford, Limerick, and Belfast, were expanding rapidly to dominate their hinterlands. Drogheda and Galway had both been important ports in the early modern period. Kilkenny was the most influential inland city.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Irish towns were all products of the English legal and administrative system even when they were significantly different in economy, culture, and society. Granted charters of incorporation by the English Crown, they had fallen under the control of the new Protestant landlords and merchants during the Crom-

wellian period. These landlords promoted their welfare, represented their interests in Parliament and on county grand juries, and championed them against interference from government, clergy, and neighboring landlords. To provide local government, they devised or adapted various agencies such as market juries, manor courts, and parish vestries. Many corporations, however, could not cover everyday expenses. In Ulster, for example, the town of Strabane attempted to apply fees paid by residents to become freemen (to trade in the town), quarterage (a charge on those who were not permitted to become freemen or full citizens, usually Catholics), and any other fines to provide basic services such as lighting and employing watchmen. When Catholics in many towns refused to pay quarterage, the judiciary ruled that it was not lawful, and so by the 1780s town corporations had to abandon their demand. Two decades later, Belfast was advised against raising money to finance secular projects through the local parish vestry of the Church of Ireland. In the last resort, then, the quality of town government depended on the interest of the patron in the welfare of his town and often on his generosity.

It depended also on the readiness and ability of a middle class made up of merchants, professionals, and craftsmen prepared to share some of the burden of local government. As every town needed regular supplies of provisions from the surrounding countryside, weekly markets had to be properly organized and administered by market juries and local courts, both for farm produce and for textiles. In the first half of the eighteenth century the landlords and their agents struggled to cope with bad harvests and epidemics, but in the second half of the century better harvests of cereals and potatoes (originally described as “the winter food of the poor”) and improved communications by road and canal eased the supply problem. As seasonal fairs attracted dealers from a distance to purchase local surpluses, notably cattle and other farm stock, many towns provided facilities for monthly “fair days.” These occasions generated excitement among the local populace, with horseracing, sport of all kinds, dancing, and faction fighting. In the county towns innkeepers relied for some of their custom on the excitement generated by the twice-yearly assizes and the quarter sessions. They provided accommodation for horses as well as for their riders, and toward the close of the eighteenth century they began to hire out not only horses but postchaises for travelers, and provided regular stops for mailcoaches. A great network of roads was constructed throughout Ireland under the supervision of the county grand juries, linking the market towns and attracting the poor to raise cabins on the town approaches.

The Irish parliament adapted reforms from London to cope with the social problems of the rapidly expanding city of Dublin. The best-known institution, which survived for almost a century, was the wide-streets commission in 1757, armed with sufficient powers and funds to drive long, straight thoroughfares through the maze of streets. In all the provincial ports gentry and merchants speculated in acquiring and developing building property. In 1786 Parliament instituted a police force of 750 men for Dublin, and in 1792 it allowed the majority of the county grand juries to form their own. These grand juries already maintained county jails. In 1765 Parliament made initial grants to three Dublin hospitals and encouraged grand juries to establish county infirmaries and dispensaries, laying the foundations for the Irish medical system. In 1772 it ordered them to erect houses of industry to provide work for the destitute. Dublin and Belfast followed the lead of Edinburgh in establishing chambers of commerce to promote their commercial policies. The middle classes, tradesmen, and craftsmen became active in founding voluntary charitable societies and community enterprises for the care of the old and sick, the provision of clean water, and the maintenance of fire brigades. The hallmarks of this urban society were the assembly room, the theater, and the Masonic lodge.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By 1800 the populations of Dublin and Cork were about 180,000 and 60,000, respectively. Hearth-money returns for the same year record that Limerick, Waterford, Drogheda, and Belfast each contained about 3,000 houses and were twice the size of Kilkenny and Newry. Only ten other towns contained more than 1,000 houses each.

By the Act of Union in 1800 the London parliament had assumed responsibility for dealing with the social problems of Ireland. The removal of restrictions on the civil rights of Catholics by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 involved them in politics and local government. A year previously, an act had given the middle classes in Irish towns the opportunity to elect commissioners responsible for paving, lighting, and cleaning their towns and providing a fire service and a night watch. At first, many of the smaller towns rejected it, not wishing to undergo any additional taxation, but they were finally induced to elect town commissioners and undertake improvements by an act of 1854. The London parliament, tackling poverty, sickness, ignorance, and faction fighting, gave new powers and responsibilities to the new town commissioners. It was significant that the headquarters of the new poor-law unions, the new model schools for training teachers,

and the new main constabulary barracks were based in the provincial towns. Dublin and Belfast became the twin hubs of the new railway and shipping networks.

A characteristic development in many nineteenth-century Irish towns was the growth of the institutional sector of the Catholic Church, which established chapels, schools, hospitals, seminaries, and convents, especially in the diocesan centers such as Thurles, Killarney, Mullingar, and Ballina that had great new cathedrals. These institutions were staffed by members of religious orders. Many of the clergy organized religious confraternities to instruct their people in the tenets of the faith. They were active also in politics and in the Gaelic Athletic Association, whose growth paralleled the rise of non-Irish spectator sports such as soccer, rugby, and athletics.

By 1900 the towns were setting the new agenda in Irish life. They provided their communities with cheap entertainment and information in popular and local newspapers, theaters, and music halls. The poor had acquired a taste for tea with sugar, white bread, and margarine. Both Dublin and its rival, Belfast, attracted many people from the country, but their death rates matched those of any British city. The task of making them fit for their inhabitants was left to the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO American Wakes; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Indian Corn or Maize; Migration: Emigration from the Seventeenth Century to 1845; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Population Explosion; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Towns and Villages

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William H. Crawford

Towns and Villages

The towns and villages spread over Ireland give the country its intimacy and charm. Any countrywide traverse will yield only a handful of larger settlements of above 1,500 inhabitants; small towns and villages are the norm.

Urban genesis in Ireland came in fits and starts, unlike the more stable evolutionary experience of continental Europe. It was closely correlated with colonization and with expansive epochs in the Irish history. Three pronounced phases of town and village creation are evident: during the heyday of Anglo-Norman settlement, in the plantation era of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and under landlord influence in the eighteenth century. Native roots reach back to the monastic “towns” of the early Christian period. Continuity as well as change may therefore illustrate the Irish town and village tradition. Early monastic settlements that left an enduring mark include the present-day towns of Kildare, Cashel, Armagh, and Kells. The last yielded the famous *Book of Kells* as testimony to its sophistication as an early cultural hub. It developed marketplace functions and by the eleventh century had paved streets and artisan quarters, along with carefully differentiated sacred and secular sectors.

From the ninth century the Vikings brought the radically new idea of the trading station, the rationale of which was long-distance maritime trade. Thus they shifted the center of gravity away from inland locales, and their most successful settlements Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick were all sited at the head of tidal estuaries. The trading and maritime impulses are well shown by the position of the town of Wexford (Weisfiord, “the harbor of the mudflats”). Defined by waterfront and earthen rampart, Viking Wexford was one of the principal trading stations in Ireland by 892 C.E., and was later expanded in the high medieval period.

The establishment of towns picked up decisively in the Norman period when another major innovation proved crucial. This was the town charter, bestowing a measure of autonomy within the limits of the town walls, and the rapid adoption of such charters led to a surge of urban development. The fittest of the towns survived mainly in the east and south, to furnish a well-articulated network, set in a prosperous countryside. County Kilkenny, often taken to be the Norman stereotype, provides the walled towns of Callan, Inistioge, Gowran, Thomastown, and Kilkenny. However, for a bird’s eye view of a medieval town in mature form, there is no better plan than that of Kilmallock in about

1600. Several of the recurring features introduced by the Normans as part of the urban institution are evident, including tomb walls, gates, castellated houses, church, abbey, and an Irish suburb outside the walls. The plan’s great boon is that it shows in close-up the spatial arrangement of these items.

In Normanized country outside the towns, small manorial villages also developed. These villages featured the nuclei of castle, church, and mill, and were most prominent in south Leinster Province and the metropolitan region about Dublin. One of the best known is Newcastle Lyons on the Dublin-Kildare borderland, which lays claim to fame as a royal manor in the medieval period. It was presided over by a village with a motte (a mound where a Norman castle might be situated), a parish church, tower houses, and long open-field strips, such as were common in the manorial villages of medieval England.

Plantation brought a vigorous phase of town and village formation. Altogether, some four hundred new settlements were established by grantees and proprietors as foci for their estates in heavily colonized parts of the Provinces of Munster, Ulster, and Leinster. Strategic considerations were paramount. Towns and villages acted as military bastions and as stimuli to infrastructural growth, market germination, and were a state and church presence. A sign of the villages’ insecurity of their genesis was their frequent formation around a triangular green. Examples range from places as diverse as Donegal town, Geashill, Co. Offaly, and Dromcolliher, County Limerick. A fetching case is Malin village in the Inishowen peninsula of County Donegal.

Towns and villages continued in episodic formation. The first wave of estate towns dates to the 1660s. County Cork alone saw the germination of several new towns. Among them was Charleville, where on 29 May 1661 the earl of Orrery laid the foundation stone of a new town as the centerpiece of his estate. Other waves followed in the eighteenth century, upon the effective conquest of Ireland. Then peace and prosperity combined with fashion and a new proprietorial class to generate a more expansive and aesthetic approach to the urban project. Formally planned estate villages began to appear, as at Summerhill, County Meath, Sixmilebridge, County Clare, and Stradbally, County Laois. Wide streets and market squares now become the design foci, cast between the landlord’s mansion and demesne at one end and the Anglican Church at the other. One landlord’s wishes are instructive. He ordered that his new town of Kenmare, County Kerry, “may be begun by laying out two capital streets, fifty feet wide.” It was to be “known by its industry and order” and its success to be predicated upon trade. Industry too contributed to

new town foundation, not only in Ulster's proto-industrial region but also in the south and west where linen manufacture was the mainstay of settlements, such as Dunmanway in County Cork, Mountshannon in County Clare, and Monivea in County Galway.

The final phase saw new landlord-sponsored settlements in the far west. Roads were the enabling development; landlords provided patronage; trade did most of the rest. Examples of new growth points include Dunfanaghy in County Donegal, Louisburgh in County Mayo, Clifden in County Galway, and Cahirciveen in County Kerry. These western villages were also helped by tourism, which was developing by the time that the impetus for estate-village creation finally faded in the 1840s.

By then the network of Ireland's towns and villages had become established. Yet the overall weakness of that network must also be acknowledged. In 1841 only one fifth of the population lived in towns and villages—1,655,000 out of 8,175,000. The Irish domestic world was overwhelmingly rural, and in that world the town was at the heart of the rhythms of life in the countryside.

SEE ALSO Belfast; Cork; Dublin; Landscape and Settlement; Markets and Fairs in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries; Town Life from 1690 to the Early Twentieth Century

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Patrick J. O'Connor

Trade and Trade Policy from 1691 to 1800

Overseas trade became a central component of Irish economic life in the period between the Treaty of Limerick (1691) and the Act of Union (1800) in spite of the constraints imposed on Ireland by English mercantilist policy. In 1660 the English Acts of Navigation placed English and Irish colonial trade on an equal footing. In 1663, however, a modification to the law limited Irish exports across the Atlantic to horses, victuals, servants, and (in 1705) linen. In 1671 Parliament prohibited Irish importation of certain enumerated goods (articles such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, and dyestuffs) directly from the colonies. The ban was extended in 1696 to encompass all colonial produce. Another set of acts, collectively known as the Cattle Acts, at first restricted (in 1663), then prohibited (in 1671) English imports of Irish livestock, beef, pork, and bacon, and (in 1681) mutton and cheese. Later, the Woolen Act of 1699 prohibited Ireland's export of woolens to markets other than England, where they already faced prohibitive duties. Most of this legislation was modified or reversed in the eighteenth century. An act of 1731 opened Ireland to those colonial imports not specifically prohibited in 1671; the ban on meat exports to Great Britain ended in 1758, as did that on live cattle in 1759; but the Wool Act and Glass Act (1746) remained in force until 1780, the same year that the British parliament removed restrictions on Irish colonial trade.

Contemporary politicians and pamphleteers (and a later generation of historians) exaggerated the negative impact of these laws. The regulations did limit the scope of Irish trade, but they were motivated by broad mercantilist goals rather than anti-Irish sentiment. For example, restrictions on the wool trade were balanced by encouragements to Ireland's linen industry (linen exports rose from less than 20,000 yards in 1700 to about 45 million by the mid-1790s), and the Cattle Acts fostered Ireland's preeminence in the production and marketing of Irish salted provisions (exports of salted beef reached over 200,000 barrels per year by the American Revolution, and butter exports totaled nearly 300,000 hundredweight in the same period). Limits on Irish trade were further compensated for by access to London financial services, direct and indirect entrée to colonial markets, and the protection of the Royal Navy.

The volume of Irish trade expanded dramatically between 1691 and 1800, with exports growing about fivefold and imports increasing more than sevenfold. Irish overseas trade passed through three distinct

phases. The first (1691–1730) began with a promising recovery from the setbacks of the Williamite War (1689–1691), but depressed export prices and bad harvests contributed to indecisive growth in the early decades of the eighteenth century. There were difficulties as well in the second phase (1731–1775), but it was a time of broad and sustained expansion for Irish overseas trade, particularly from mid-century to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Although periods of expansion and wartime disruption characterized the third phase (1776–1800), these years were distinguished by Great Britain's increasing dominance of Irish imports and exports.

Great Britain was Ireland's largest trading partner. About half of Irish exports went to England and Scotland in the early decades of the eighteenth century, a share that rose to over 85 percent by 1800. Irish imports from Britain experienced similar growth. Before the readmission of Irish salted provisions (1758) and live cattle (1759) into the English market, exports to Britain had consisted mostly of raw wool, woollen and worsted yarn, linen cloth, and linen yarn. Exports broadened further in the final three decades of the century with increased shipments of Irish grain, flour, and oatmeal. Irish imports from Great Britain were far more varied and included coal, dyewoods, hops, sugar, rum, silk, tea, tobacco, wheat and flour (in times of harvest failure), woolens, and a variety of manufactured goods.

On the European continent Irish commodities faced high tariff barriers, but salted beef suitable for reexport to the West Indies enjoyed a virtual monopoly. Irish butter (much of it for reshipment to the Caribbean) found markets in southern Europe in exchange for wine, brandy, and cognac, as did Irish wool, an article long traded illegally outside the bounds of British commercial legislation. Much of the smuggled tea and tobacco that entered Ireland in this period, the golden age of smuggling, came via the Continent. Trade with Europe is most closely identified with Nantes, Bordeaux, Cadiz, and Lisbon, but Ireland also maintained strong ties to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hamburg, and Copenhagen.

In its trade with British America, Ireland sent vast quantities of beef, butter, pork, herring, and linen to the West Indies in exchange for sugar (meant for ports in Great Britain) and rum (sent directly to Ireland after 1731). Much of this trade was managed by commission houses in London associated with the sugar trade. The 1731 modification of the navigation laws that allowed Ireland direct importation of colonial barrel staves, flaxseed, iron, lumber, rum, and wheat and flour gave rise to a significant trade with the middle colonies of the North American mainland. By the time of the American

Revolution, New York City, Philadelphia, and other colonial ports were sending Ireland about 300,000 bushels of flaxseed per year, or about 98 percent of its total imports of that commodity.

Overseas commerce and Irish economic development were intertwined. Foreign demand for Irish provisions, linen, and wool brought employment to the countryside, encouraged investment, and stimulated the growth of Irish seaports and inland market towns. Dublin, the second-largest city in the British Isles, was Ireland's busiest port, followed by Cork, its most cosmopolitan center of transatlantic commerce, and by mid-century, Belfast, the principal trading town of the North. London also played a vital role in Irish commerce. Besides providing a ready supply of capital, credit, and maritime insurance, London was home to a large and sophisticated Irish merchant community that managed much of Ireland's long-distance trade. Enclaves of expatriate merchants scattered throughout the British Isles, continental Europe, and British America formed a distinctly Irish commercial network held together by ties of kinship, faith, and identity.

SEE ALSO Economy and Society from 1500 to 1690; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1714 to 1778—Interest Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Government from 1690 to 1800

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Thomas M. Truxes

Trade Unions

Trade unions in southern Ireland have undergone ten phases of development, characterized by illegality up to 1824; violent militancy; atrophy after the Great Famine; three waves of agitation influenced by new unionism from 1889, Larkinism from 1907, and syndicalism from 1917; internecine strife from 1923 to 1945; national free collective bargaining from 1946; centralized bargaining from 1970; and social partnership from 1987. The story of unions in Ulster conforms more to the British periodization.

The 1841 census enumerated 240,000 male artisans and 1.2 million male unskilled workers, the bulk of them agricultural laborers. (There were also more than one million working women, mainly in clothing and domestic service, who were not members of trade unions.) Despite the enactment of anticombination laws prescribing trade union laws beginning in 1729, journeymen artisans formed secret societies as the guilds lost their role in trade protection. With the repeal of the combination acts in 1824, local craft unions formed in the main cities. These new unions had a militant conception of their role initially, but following violent episodes and an economic slump in the late 1830s, they adopted a "moral force" strategy in the 1840s and pursued their demands through campaigns for public support. Unskilled rural laborers were afforded some protection by the Whiteboy movements that emerged in 1760 to defend tenant farmers and others. In Leinster in particular, Whiteboyism extended to unskilled urban workers through Ribbon lodges, another variant of the secret societies which used violence or intimidation to protect laborers from employers or landlords.

After the famine, unions in southern Ireland were weakened by demographic and economic decline. In the industrializing north, craft unions developed with the growth of engineering and shipbuilding. In the textiles and clothing industries, unions of skilled and semi-skilled men emerged in the 1870s, and some progress was made in organizing women in the 1890s. Although unions in Ulster remained secular, victimization of Catholic workers regularly accompanied political crises from the 1860s to the 1920s.

The waves of industrial unrest between 1889 and 1923 called attention to the difficulty of building bargaining power for a movement in an undeveloped economy with a craft elite too small to take the lead in trade unionism. Though new unionism was largely crushed by 1891, it gave rise to the Irish Trade Union Congress (ITUC) in 1894. Modeled on its British namesake, the

ITUC was an inappropriate form of confederation for Ireland, as it was based on industrial organization, where labor was weak. The alternative of creating an essentially political confederation linked to the national movement was rejected. The only rationale for the ITUC format was the British example, and it reflected labor's mental colonization. British unions, often called "amalgamateds," had been extending themselves to Ireland since the 1840s. By 1900, out of some 900,000 Irish waged workers, fewer than 70,000 were organized, and 75 percent of these belonged to British unions. The ITUC provided no leadership to unions until 1918 (O Connor 1992).

Anglicization affected labor politics profoundly. From the repeal movement in the 1830s until the fall of Parnell in 1890, trade unions had endorsed successive nationalist movements in the hope that self-government and tariffs would reverse the de-industrialization that accompanied Ireland's integration into the British economy. The ITUC, however, took the view that unions should restrict themselves to purely labor politics. Despite the reverence accorded to James Connolly after his execution in 1916, labor leaders never lost the sense of socialism and nationalism as dichotomous.

Anglicization was partially reversed by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU), which was founded in 1909 by James Larkin as "an Irish union for Irish workers." In addition, Larkin and Connolly encouraged the ITUC to constitute itself as a Labour Party in 1914. After traumatic defeat in the 1913 lockout, ITGWU membership mushroomed from 1917. The ITUC was radicalized by revolution at home and abroad, and Labour assisted in the struggle for Irish independence without allying with Sinn Féin, a policy variously interpreted as skillful or a wasted opportunity to shape the new Ireland. When the boom years of 1916 to 1920 yielded to a slump, Labour's radicalism was gutted in a series of major strikes. The Labour Party entered parliamentary politics in 1922 but averaged only 11.4 percent of the vote until 1987. Congress and the Labour Party separated in 1930, though many unions continued to affiliate with the party. By 1923 Irish labor had assumed its modern form: The southern movement was substantially Irish-based, and unions in the North were overwhelmingly British. By default the ITUC retained its all-Ireland jurisdiction because the British Trades Union Congress was reluctant to engage with Ulster.

Unions were not important to Irish state policy until Fianna Fáil's industrialization drive in the 1930s; henceforth, the state would be an increasingly significant determinant of trade union strategy. Interunion

disputes in the 1930s led the government to press for an end to the multiplicity of unions. The ITGWU especially wanted to replace sectionalist trade unionism with industrial unionism, and blamed the ITUC's failure to reform on resistance from British-based unions. Union membership in the North grew substantially during World War II, especially among general workers and women. The ITUC redressed its neglect of the North by establishing in 1944 a Northern Ireland Committee—in effect, a regional congress. Mounting friction between Irish- and British-based unions culminated in a split in 1945, when many private-sector Irish unions formed the Congress of Irish Unions. Their expectations of a more positive relationship with the state and of legislation to eliminate the British unions were disappointed. The two congresses united as the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) in 1959.

Nineteen forty-six marked a watershed in labor history with the introduction of the Labour Court, which enabled workers to win wage increases without first establishing bargaining power through militancy, and with the introduction of national rounds of wage bargaining. Membership rose significantly from 1946 to 1951 and again in the 1960s. Renewed industrialization, accelerating inflation, and strikes in the 1960s brought government calls for centralized bargaining, and the first National Wage Agreement was struck in 1970. During the mid-1970s the government became a partner in the agreements, turning employer-labor bipartism into tripartism. Tripartite “national understandings” followed in 1979 and 1980. The failure of tripartism to address rising unemployment, inflation, and unofficial strike actions prompted a return to free collective bargaining in 1982, but the government brokered a deeper tripartism in the Programme for National Recovery in 1987. Four more social partnership programs were signed between 1990 and 2000.

Centralized bargaining became the most controversial issue in trade unionism in the 1980s and 1990s. Craft and British-based unions usually opposed central agreements, arguing that they eroded union democracy and amounted to wage restraint. General unions, which included all grades but represented a high proportion of low paid workers with a weak bargaining power, were the most supportive, claiming that the agreements contributed to the “Celtic Tiger,” the label often given to the Republic's high economic growth rates since 1994. They kept the Republic free of the anti-union policies adopted by many other European countries. While union density (the proportion of employees that belong to unions) shrank in the early 1980s, and the number of unions was reduced through mergers, density in the Republic in 2001 was relatively high, at almost 50 per-

cent. By contrast, union density in Northern Ireland fell from a peak of 61 percent in 1983 to 36 percent in 2001 (ICTU 2001; Labour Force Survey 2001).

After 1968 the Northern Ireland government's traditional suspicion of unions gave way to a friendlier understanding between the unions and the state. Partly because unions were valued as allies in the propaganda war against paramilitarism, the Conservative government's labor legislation, which weakened trade unions by, for example, making the “closed shop” and secondary picketing illegal, was not fully applied to Northern Ireland until 1993. In 1972 the ICTU decided that it would be “inappropriate” to comment on Northern Ireland's constitutional question, and in addressing the “Troubles,” unions gave priority to avoiding controversy, citing the absence of serious workplace sectarian conflict to justify their stance; critics accused them of reticence on oppression and inequality. In the 1990s, the consensus behind the peace process encouraged the ICTU to become more assertive, and it campaigned for the Belfast Agreement.

SEE ALSO Celtic Tiger; Conditions of Employment Act of 1936; Connolly, James; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920; Irish Women Workers' Union; Labor Movement; Larkin, James; Lockout of 1913; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Whiteboys and Whiteboyism

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Emmet O Connor



Transport—Road, Canal, Rail

By the end of the twentieth century transport infrastructure in Ireland was proving entirely inadequate for the needs of a modern economy. The country's waterways had long ceased to carry much beyond the barges and boats of tourists; the rail service had been reduced to the extent that it connected only the major urban centers and such areas fortunate enough to fall in between; and the road network was unable to cope with the volume of cars attempting to travel on it. The sense of gridlock on the country's roads was heightened by extensive roadwork in every region—the result of unprecedented amounts of EU and public funding redressing many decades of underinvestment. Although funding was also extended to reforming the rail service, transport policy essentially focused on facilitating the journeys of private car users, and public transport initiatives ran a poor second.

The primacy of the road was intimately related to patterns of population and employment. Canals and railways enjoyed their own particular golden ages, but neither gathered a hold as firmly as the road, whose antiquity stretches back across the expanse of Irish history. By the early Christian period, Ireland had primitive roads paved with large stones, linking religious and other settlements. These roads included five major routes which held the Hill of Tara, seat of the high kings of Ireland, as their focal point. The increased internal commerce of the Viking and Norman eras reshaped the road network, and a statute passed by the Irish parliament in the early seventeenth century carried enduring significance by placing responsibility for the upkeep of roads on individual parishes. The pattern which emerged consisted of numerous small roads, varied in quality, maintenance, and scale. An act of 1729 established turnpikes that provided further funding for maintenance, with users paying a toll for their travel. By the nineteenth century turnpike roads were probably the best in the country and remained operational until their demise in 1857. Even at their peak, though, turnpikes were never as prominent as in England and comprised only a small percentage of the entire road mileage on the island, which was estimated at more than 8,000 by the closing decades of the eighteenth century.

By then, canals had also extended across the countryside. Partly financed by successive governments and by progressive landowners to increase industry and commerce, by 1830 almost 500 miles of canals had been constructed in Ireland. The first undertaken was the

Newry navigation connecting Carlingford Lough with the River Bann, and was intended to facilitate the transportation to Dublin of coal deposits found in Tyrone. The first section opened in 1742 and was followed by completion in 1769 of the Newry ship canal, which was capable of taking ships up to 150 tons in weight. Further canals in Ulster linking collieries, mills, and other industrial ventures included the Lagan navigation, the Tyrone navigation, and the Ulster Canal, which reached from Belfast across to the River Shannon at a cost of more than £250,000.

The principal canals constructed in the south of Ireland were the Grand and Royal canals. The Royal ran from Dublin to Mullingar, with offshoots running to the Shannon at Cloondara and to Longford. It was bankrupted before its completion around 1817 and never proved as profitable as the Grand Canal, which linked Dublin to Shannon Harbour in 1805. Together with its offshoots to Ballinasloe and Kibbegan, the Grand Canal stimulated commerce along its routes. As well as facilitating a string of hotels, it facilitated the development of breweries, distilleries, and other industries. Initially, canals provided for more efficient transport of goods and passengers than existing modes of transport. Later, this trade would be lost to the railways, but even at their peak, Irish canals struggled due to the lack of industry in the country. While Ulster was more suited to canal usage than the rest of the country, there was a general insufficiency of passengers, little coal, and few commodities. Ultimately, canals were unable to compete with the arrival of rail and an improving road network.

That improvement was partly related to the granting of power to grand juries in 1765 to raise money for the repair or provision of roads and bridges. This set in place the basis of a system which endured until late in the nineteenth century. Roads were now mandated for construction to a certain standard. A further important feature of the road networks from the early eighteenth century until the spread of the railways in the middle of the nineteenth century was the stagecoach. By 1750 there were regular services connecting Dublin with provincial towns and cities, and by 1800 there were more than a dozen centers linked to the capital by scheduled and advertised coaches serviced by teams of horses, staged at coaching inns along the route. Coaches could carry up to twenty people, as well as mail, and were escorted by armed guards to protect against highway robbery. The importance of mail is indicative of the growth of commerce in the country. Indeed, so important was the mail service to the growth of commerce that the Post Office was given extensive powers of road design in an act of 1805. By the 1840s the journey by



This exotic horse-drawn train continued to transport passengers in 1937 from Fintona railway junction, Co. Tyrone, to the nearby town.
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coach to Belfast had been reduced to twelve hours, but the arrival of the railway soon undermined the viability of the service.

The first railway line had opened on 17 December 1834 when the Dublin city center station of Westland Row was linked to the coastal port of Kingstown (later renamed Dún Laoghaire), which, in turn, was served by ferry to Wales. The route was constructed and financed by William Dargan, who eventually built over 600 miles of railway before his death in 1867. Despite the success of the Dublin-to-Kingstown railway, there were merely thirty-one miles of track open or under construction in Ireland by 1842. By the end of the 1840s, that figure had risen to some 700 miles. By the end of World War I there were over 3,500 miles of railway in Ireland. This phenomenal growth was deeply influenced by a similar explosion in England, by substantial government and private funding, and by the availability of cheap land and labour. Journey times between Irish urban centers were greatly reduced, with the trip from Dublin to Belfast halved to under six hours. The landscape was transformed with the appearance of tunnels,

bridges, and tracks in the most remote of areas. The effect on Irish business was mixed. In theory, Irish agriculture and industrial products could more readily access the British market, but British manufacturers were also able to send their goods more cheaply into the stores of provincial Ireland. This benefited the consumer but not the local producer who was not always able to compete. Farmers and industrialists consistently complained that transport costs were excessive, and it is unlikely that railways greatly assisted firms already hindered by their peripheral locality to increase their export earnings. The railways enjoyed a modest prosperity, however, and became one of the biggest employers in the country.

A mutually beneficial leisure industry also developed in tandem with the railways. As the expanding middle class adopted a culture of travel and day-tripping, seaside resorts grew and race meetings were established, along with a whole host of other sporting events such as regattas and galas. Daily newspapers were now able to penetrate across the country, and in addition to the railways' industrial impact, they also in-

fluenced the standardization of time. The development of railway timetables lent greater urgency to the acceptance of Dublin Mean Time following an act in 1880. Previously, clocks in Cork were eleven minutes behind those of Dublin while those in Belfast were one minute and nineteen seconds ahead.

By 1916, when Greenwich Mean Time was extended to Ireland, the decline of the railway was underway. Ireland did not hold a large enough population in its urban centers nor produce enough industrial goods to sustain its railway network. Low population density and light traffic gave road transport a comparative advantage over rail. Railways had been planned for a population of more than seven million but served only half that number. Furthermore, by 1921, there were forty-six competing railway companies in operation. Following partition, attempts were made in both north and south to rationalize railways by merging the numerous companies. Many lines and stations were shut down, and by the 1980s there were merely 1,500 miles of rail on the island. Underfunded, nationalized rail companies in both jurisdictions lurched through a series of financial crises, but were largely unable to compete with their nemesis—the motor car.

The spread of private motor cars, of buses, and of haulage firms transformed Irish society. Since the First World War, and particularly since the Second World War, cars and buses have underpinned the growth of suburban Ireland. Commuters increasingly travel large distances to work, most usually from provincial towns to Dublin. The upgrading of roads to dual-carriageways and, by the last decades of the century, to motorways, has radically altered the countryside. Roads in the north have traditionally been of a higher standard than those in the south as a result of greater investment. In the south the establishment of the National Roads Authority in the 1990s signaled the pursuit of a hugely ambitious program of road building that, if completed, would transform the Irish road network. This was welcomed by the commercial interests of provincial Ireland, which has undoubtedly suffered through the overconcentration of industry in the Dublin area. Nonetheless, a growing movement opposes the building of roads as excessively damaging to the environment through its destruction of green-field sites and its attendant pollutants. For all the opposition, and despite the relatively high cost to buy and to run, car numbers in Ireland continue to grow. Patterns of settlement and public-transport policy suggest that this growth will continue unchecked for the foreseeable future.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; Agriculture: 1845 to 1921; Agriculture: After World War I; Bank-

ing and Finance to 1921; Brewing and Distilling; Industrialization; Industry since 1920; Rural Industry; Shipbuilding; Sport and Leisure

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Paul Rouse



Trimble, David

Born on 15 October 1944, the politician David Trimble was educated at Bangor Grammar School and the Queen's University of Belfast, where he read law, and subsequently lectured in that subject. His early political activity was with Vanguard (a short-lived unionist party founded to oppose Terence O'Neill), which strongly distrusted British machinations—to the point of considering independence for Northern Ireland. Trimble played an important part in organizing the successful loyalist strike against the Sunningdale Agreement in 1974.

Trimble was no mere naysayer, however, and followed Willam Craig, Vanguard's leader, in advocating voluntary coalition with the SDLP. The organization split on this issue, however, and rapidly declined. Trimble rejoined the Ulster Unionist Party mainstream in 1978. From 1990 he was reactive in politics, winning the Upper Bann Westminster constituency and in 1995 catching attention by provocative coat-trailing following the forced passage of Orangemen down the Catholic Garvaghy Road in Portadown.

Mostly by virtue of his flinty reputation, Trimble won the leadership of the UIUP in 1995 when James

Molyneux resigned. To general surprise he now showed considerable tactical flexibility. He was particularly concerned not to lead unionists out of the political process for fear that the British and Irish governments would then impose a settlement influenced by nationalist lobbying. Realizing that Britain would not accept unionist stonewalling, he and his party agreed to sign the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. This, he believed, secured the principle that Northern Ireland's constitutional status could not be changed without majority consent in the province. Evidently he found many other changes objectionable, notably toleration for the continued existence of paramilitaries, but thought them best dealt with by subsequent pressure.

In 1998 Trimble won election to the post of first minister of the new devolved government. As leader of the single largest party he experienced a slippage of votes to anti-agreement parties, but this only added to his determination to highlight the IRA's violation, as he saw it, of the spirit of the agreement. He was accused of failing to sell the agreement's positive virtues with sufficient enthusiasm.

At first the "de-commissioning" of paramilitary weapons was Trimble's touchstone, and in fall of 2001 the IRA conceded a token act of decommissioning. Attention now focused on alleged violations of the IRA's ceasefire, and Trimble increasingly pressed for a form of IRA disbandment. In the fall of 2002 he prevailed upon the British to suspend the devolved government. Trimble's primary concern now was to preserve the UUP vote against anti-agreement rivals in subsequent elections.

SEE ALSO Adams, Gerry; Hume, John; Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: The United States in Northern Ireland since 1970; O'Neill, Terence; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

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Trinity College

Trinity College, Dublin, the only college of the University of Dublin, was the first Irish university, founded in 1592. From medieval times there had been repeated efforts to establish an Irish university—an obvious need in a land devoid of higher education—but in a divided island it proved difficult to agree on a site or secure financial backing. During the sixteenth century there were a number of "paper universities" proposed that never got beyond the drawing board. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that a proposal was finally successful, when the combined efforts of the Protestant archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus, some prominent Dublin aldermen, and the support of the English authorities led to the foundation of Trinity College on the site of an old monastery, Old Hallows.

The long delay had an influence upon the nature of the new university. Some of the earlier proposals had envisaged a broadly-based humanist institution. But by the time it came to be founded, the divisions between Protestant and Catholic had eliminated any broad consensus on educational progress in Ireland. Loftus and his allies among the Dublin aldermen were committed to the Reformation, and the university that they established was firmly Protestant, even Calvinist. Its appeal to the Irish population was therefore limited to those willing to conform to the state religion; indeed, it became the sole native seminary for the Church of Ireland. This essentially Protestant orientation was not finally lost until the late twentieth century.

After a difficult start, when the destruction of the Nine Years War (1593–1603) severely curtailed its income, Trinity found its feet in the early seventeenth century. Under the watchful eye of its first professor of theological controversies, James Ussher (1581–1656), Trinity built up its library and had by 1620 about eighty undergraduate students. Its theology was decidedly Calvinist and strongly anti-Catholic. The first three provosts—Walter Travers (1594–1598), William Alvey (1599–1609), and William Temple (1609–1626)—were all English Puritans, and the first two professors of theology, Ussher and Joshua Hoyle, spent much of their time in their lectures rebutting the claims of the great Jesuit controversialist Robert Bellarmine. As Hoyle put it, the purpose of his lectures was to "love God and hate the pope."

The character of Trinity changed dramatically in the 1630s with the appointment of a new chancellor, Archbishop William Laud in 1633, and a new provost, William Chappell, in 1634. Chappell was an Armini-

an—that is, theologically opposed to the narrow Calvinist system of double predestination—and was specially chosen by Laud to reform Trinity and bring it under closer control. New statutes passed in 1636 fixed the constitution of the college and reinforced the authority of the provost. Under Chappell the college expanded considerably, with the addition of new buildings and the appointment of medical and legal fellows, broadening its previously exclusively theological bent. The Irish rising of 1641, which destroyed many of the college's estates and greatly reduced its income, brought a dramatic fall in student numbers, and it was not until the Cromwellian reconquest and settlement (1649–1660) that Trinity regained its equilibrium under the leadership of the Independent, Samuel Winter.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 saw Trinity returned to firmly Anglican hands, and under the leadership of provosts such as Narcissus Marsh (1678–1683) the college began a long period of expansion. This was briefly interrupted by the arrival of James II in Ireland in 1689, when Trinity was occupied by royal troops and a Catholic was appointed provost of the college. But the victory of William in 1690 restored the status quo, and Trinity during the long eighteenth century, and throughout the nineteenth, became the bastion of the Protestant Ascendancy.

It was during the eighteenth century that the impressive architectural shape of the modern university was created with the help of generous parliamentary grants which led to the opening of the new library in 1732 and the completion of the examination hall in 1791 and new chapel in 1798. As the largest library in Ireland and chief seat of learning, Trinity played a vital role in the development of Irish culture, producing such notable graduates as Jonathan Swift and Edmund Burke. Though Catholics were allowed to earn degrees at Trinity beginning in 1793, the college's Divinity School was the seminary for the Church of Ireland, and the prevailing ethos of the college remained firmly Protestant. Even after all religious tests were abolished in 1873, many Catholics were reluctant to send their children to Trinity. One area where Trinity was in the vanguard of change was in relation to female students—in 1904 it became the first of the older universities in Britain and Ireland to admit women.

During the first half of the twentieth century Trinity struggled to come to terms with the rapid changes in Irish society, as the Protestant Ascendancy disintegrated and the Twenty-Six Counties became an independent Irish state. From the 1970s onwards, however, the university changed dramatically, developing as a modern center for research in the arts and sciences, with an extensive building program that saw the college grow be-

yond its original site to occupy forty-seven acres. The turning point was probably the lifting by the Catholic hierarchy in 1970 of its former ban on Catholic students attending Trinity. By the end of the century its student body reflected the composition of modern southern Irish society, with 550 full-time academic staff and almost 15,000 students, both of varied religious backgrounds.

SEE ALSO Bedell, William; Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Church of Ireland: Since 1690; Dublin Philosophical Society; Education: 1500 to 1690; Education: University Education; Education: Women's Education; Maynooth; Ussher, James

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Alan Ford

Troy, John

John Thomas Troy (1739–1823), Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin, was born on 12 July 1739 near Dublin. In 1755 he joined the Dominican Order, leaving Ireland to pursue his studies at Rome. Troy remained in Rome and served as prior of San Clemente from 1772 until his appointment as bishop of Ossory in 1776.

Troy's return to Ireland coincided with the start of the dismantling of the penal laws in 1778, and the bishop was to play a pivotal role in the revival of Irish Catholicism. From the outset he enjoyed the confidence of the Holy See, and he led the attempt to bring the Irish church into line with Roman discipline and practice. In this way he initiated the process that is often erroneously attributed to Paul Cullen in the following century. In Kilkenny first, and subsequently in Dublin, where he served as archbishop from 1786, Troy advanced this renewal through diocesan visitations, regular clerical conferences, catechesis, the publication of comprehensive pastoral instructions, chapel building, and educa-

tion. He was instrumental in the establishment of an episcopal conference, which began to meet regularly in the context of the foundation of Maynooth College in 1795.

Politically Troy has been represented as a reactionary at odds with the aspirations of his people. Such characterizations are without nuance. Certainly Troy excommunicated all the radical organizations of his time (including the Whiteboys, Rightboys, Defenders, and United Irishmen), but there is no evidence that he did not support the legitimate demands of Irish Catholics for emancipation. Troy followed the advice of Edmund Burke, political mentor of the episcopate, when he counseled the hierarchy to show themselves to be dutiful subjects of the Crown and to meddle as little as possible in politics. Troy supported the Act of Union in the belief that Pitt's promised emancipation, barred by the

Protestant Ascendancy, would follow. Troy died in May 1823 and was interred in the vault of Saint Mary's Pro-Cathedral, the great neoclassical monument to his achievement.

SEE ALSO Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829

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Dáire Keogh



Uí Néill High Kings

The Uí Néill were descended from the protohistoric Niall Noígiallach, who may have been a real person; however, the way the genealogists and saga writers depict his ancestors and the relationships among his descendents is schematic and unhistorical. Diarmait mac Cerbaill, his grandson (d. 565), was an ancestor of the Southern Uí Néill, who were based in Meath and the east midlands. These divided into two hostile branches, Síl nAeda Sláine and Clann Cholmáin. The real establishment of Uí Néill power in the midlands may have been the work of Áed Sláne (d. 604) and his immediate successors, who provided some eight overkings of Uí Néill. Their rivals to the west, Clann Cholmáin (descendents of Áed Sláne's brother, Colmán Már, in the genealogies) became overkings of Uí Néill only in 743, and thereafter, with one exception, that of Congalach Cnogba (944–956), completely excluded their cousins from that office. Other branches of the Uí Néill of the midlands, if they ever held the overkingship, were soon excluded and survived as the political subordinates of their kinsmen.

Niall is also represented as father of Conall and Eógán, ancestors of Cenél Conaill and Cenél Eogain, the dominant dynasties in the northwest, known collectively as Northern Uí Néill. Cenél Conaill was more powerful than Cenél Eogain from the late sixth to the mid-seventh centuries. Two Cenél Conaill overkings of Uí Néill, Domnall mac Áeda (d. 642) and Longsech mac Óengusso (d. 704), are called *rex Hiberniae* (king of Ireland) in the annals. The last of their kings to hold the overkingship, Flaithbertach mac Longsig, abdicated in 734. After 789 Cenél Eogain dominated the north and expanded slowly southeastwards over central Ulster and eventually got control of County Armagh.

From the 840s the overkingship of Uí Néill, usually called the kingship of Tara, alternated regularly between Clann Cholmáin in the south and Cenél Eogain in the north. The overking of Uí Néill was usually the most powerful king in Ireland, and claimed to be king of Ireland—a claim realized for a period by Mael Sechnaill mac Mael Ruanaid (846–862). The meteoric rise of Brian Boru, king of Munster (978–1014) and king of Ireland (1002–1014), broke the Uí Néill supremacy and began an intense and violent struggle between powerful provincial kings for the kingship of Ireland, a struggle in which the northern Uí Néill remained key players.

SEE ALSO Dál Cais and Brian Boru; Norse Settlement; O'Connors of Connacht

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Donnchadh Ó Corráin

Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

Direct rule was imposed by a Conservative government in late March 1972 as a very last resort, and for the first

time in fifty-one years Northern Ireland was governed solely from London. It had been an option since 1969, but successive governments balked at taking over control of Northern Ireland because they were uncertain of how the indigenous security forces and civil servants would react. Prime Minister Edward Heath introduced direct rule only after international outrage at the events of Bloody Sunday and because there was growing uncertainty over the division of control in security matters between the army and the police. The government and parliament of Northern Ireland were prorogued, and henceforth the region was to be ruled like any other part of the United Kingdom so that Northern Ireland policy and legislation harmonized with the rest of the United Kingdom. But the measure was meant to be temporary while local politicians reached a political accommodation.

ADMINISTRATION, POLITICS, LEGISLATION

Northern Ireland Office (NIO) was established to administer the new regime, and William Whitelaw was appointed as the first secretary of state for Northern Ireland. He took political control with the support of a small ministerial team. From the outset he faced massive administrative and political problems. Administration was partially a question of structure: two locations, Belfast and London, which meant two sets of departments and two civil services coexisting within one ministry. By 1982 the head of the Northern Ireland civil service was responsible for the coordination of the work of the then six Northern Ireland departments, and the Belfast end of the NIO concerned itself mainly with the administration of reserved and excepted matters, especially law and order. The NIO in London looked after political and constitutional matters as well as security and acted as liaison between the Belfast and Whitehall departments. Politically the imposition shocked the whole of the unionist community and failed to assuage the IRA. Unionist political leaders supported a two-day general strike, and there was a huge increase in the numbers joining the paramilitary Ulster Defence Association (UDA). In anticipation of direct rule, Ulster Vanguard had been formed at the beginning of 1972 as a pressure group within unionism to transcend the weakness of party division. The year 1972 was to be the worst for political violence in the history of the "Troubles."

The government was aware that direct rule imposed a democratic deficit on Northern Ireland. It was to be governed under a Temporary Provisions Act—made more permanent by the Northern Ireland Act (1974)—that had to be renewed annually. In addition, William Whitelaw established an eleven-person advisory

commission composed of local notables. It met until an assembly was elected more than a year later; in any case, it made little impact. Northern Ireland legislation was now processed by way of Orders in Council that could not be amended on the floor of the Commons. Direct rule also saw an increase in the power and growth of *quangos*: one study traced almost 150 such bodies with members being appointed by ministers. To address these deficits, a new Northern Ireland Committee was set up at Westminster in 1975, and a Speaker's Conference in 1978 accepted the case for extra Northern Ireland representation at Westminster. This pleased the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) because they believed that it brought Northern Ireland more closely into being wholly integrated into the United Kingdom. As a result of unionist demands, a Northern Ireland Affairs Select Committee was appointed in 1994.

Direct rule may have brought institutional stability, but it imposed constitutional uncertainty. All attempts to restore power to local politicians failed. An elected constitutional convention in 1974–1975 could not muster the requisite cross-community support and thus collapsed. The most intriguing constitutional innovation was the attempt at "rolling devolution" after the election of a new Northern Ireland assembly in October 1982. The seventy-eight-seat body was to have a consultative and scrutinizing role. It could discuss local legislation and set up scrutiny committees for each of the six Northern Ireland departments. It was to be governed under the use of a weighted majority, whereby power could be devolved to any department that exercised cross-community agreement in which 70 percent or fifty-five members agreed. But the assembly failed from the outset because nationalists boycotted its proceedings. Instead it became the instrument of the unionist parties (with the reluctant assistance of the smaller Alliance Party), and it was converted into a platform of protest after the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed in November 1985. The assembly was dissolved in June 1986.

ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT AND BELFAST AGREEMENT

The dissolution of the assembly showed how the nature of direct rule had changed. Initially direct rule had been imposed to create an internal political settlement, but by the 1980s the Northern Ireland problem had become internationalized, as was evident in the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the growing concerns of successive U.S. administrations. The British government had moved from a managerial phase to one of exasperation and admonition. It accepted that the failures of the 1974 power-sharing government, the 1975–1976 constitu-

tional convention, and the 1982–1986 Northern Ireland Assembly made it less likely that local politicians would cooperate across the sectarian divide. It recognized too that there would be no security solution without the closest support of the Irish government. The first fruit of this policy was the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. It fundamentally challenged unionist certainty about its place inside the United Kingdom and the IRA's invincibility. When that agreement was reviewed and confirmed in 1989 some of the protagonists began to re-view their own mindsets. Unionists, who had retreated to a form of internal exile after 1986, began to engage with the secretary of state. Republicans entered into a dialogue with the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in 1988 and began to participate more fully in electoral politics. The result was the growth of attitudinal change in both communities.

Such change was not apparent for some time. The Conservative government at Westminster was increasingly reliant on UUP support to maintain its majority, and the international community did not pay sustained attention to the Northern Ireland problem until William Jefferson Clinton became U.S. president in 1992. He used the weight of his office to mobilize the political actors into taking risks for peace. The first result was the republican and loyalist cease-fires of 1994. The second was to engage in a twin-track process of moving the political process forward while dealing simultaneously with the issue of arms decommissioning. The outcome was elections to a Northern Ireland Forum in May 1996, which allowed for a more inclusive process. This was stimulated by the return of a Labour government, led by Tony Blair, in May 1997. With an overwhelming parliamentary majority of 179, Blair was not beholden to any Northern Ireland party. The IRA responded by calling a complete cessation of violence on 20 July 1997, and less than three months later Tony Blair became the first prime minister since 1921 to enter into negotiations with Sinn Féin. This led to a period of intense discussions (under the tutelage of Senator George Mitchell) that culminated in the signing of the Belfast Agreement on 10 April 1998. It was endorsed in referendums in both parts of Ireland in May and entered into law as the Northern Ireland Act in November. In the meantime, a new assembly met in July and elected David Trimble (UUP) and Seamus Mallon (SDLP) as, respectively, first minister and deputy first minister.

Direct rule remained in operation in 2003 because the parties had not dealt successfully with all aspects of the 1998 agreement, especially that of decommissioning. But the fact remained that the nature of direct rule had changed fundamentally. Whereas once it was concerned solely with Northern Ireland, it now recognized

that three strands of the problem had to be dealt with in parallel: relations within Northern Ireland, relations among the people of Ireland, and relations among the United Kingdom and Irish governments.

SEE ALSO Adams, Gerry; Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Hillsborough Agreement); Faulkner, Brian; Hume, John; Hunger Strikes; Irish Republican Army (IRA); Loyalist Paramilitaries after 1965; Paisley, Ian; Trimble, David; **Primary Documents:** Anglo-Irish Agreement (15 November 1985); The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (10 April 1998)

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Paul Arthur



Ulster Unionist Party in Office

The Northern Ireland government came into official existence on 22 December 1920. The first election saw a convincing unionist mandate. Sir James Craig, leader of the Ulster Unionists, was the first prime minister. Though limited in power, the new government controlled both the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and an emergency police auxiliary—the A, B, C Specials—in which by December 1921 over 34,000 Protestants were enrolled. This ensured both unionist insulation from British pressure to come to an all-Ireland settlement and unionist victory in a mini-sectarian civil war that killed hundreds between 1919 and 1921.

1920s THROUGH WORLD WAR II

To secure the political domination of contested border regions—often Catholic and nationalist—the 1922 Local Government Act (N.I.) abolished proportional representation for local elections, and constituency boundaries were redrawn. About one-fifth of Catholics found themselves underrepresented in gerrymandered constituencies.

Ironically, by the middle of the 1920s stabilization led to a weakening through fragmentation of the

unionist vote. Again, the government tweaked the electoral system. In 1929 proportional representation was abolished for elections to the parliament of Northern Ireland. This had the desired effect in consolidating the voting blocs. Unionist seats bounced back up from thirty-two in 1925 to 37.

Nevertheless, unionist concerns were reignited with the election in February 1932 of a republican Fianna Fáil government in the Irish Free State. To add to unionist concern, in October 1932 unemployed workers, both Catholic and Protestant, rioted against niggardly relief. The opening the following month of Stormont, the grand neoclassical parliamentary building complex in east Belfast, only served to highlight the hauteur of the unionist elite.

Unionists reacted with rhetorical chauvinism. In April 1934 James Craig, now Lord Craigavon, described Stormont as "a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people." It was in an atmosphere of unionist hyperbole and suspicion that severe rioting broke out during Orange processions of 12 July 1935. Nine were killed and 514 Catholics driven from their homes.

World War II at first discomfited unionists. The government spurned periodic pressure from Britain to surrender partition so as to entice the neutral South into the war. It was slow to mobilize its productive capacity. Air-raid precautions were utterly inadequate, and the government was slow to remedy the situation. But in the long run, Northern Ireland's loyalty contrasted with southern Ireland's neutrality. Thus funding was made available from Britain to permit the postwar extension of the welfare state to Northern Ireland.

POSTWAR POLITICS, CIVIL RIGHTS, BLOODY SUNDAY

In the 1950s Prime Minister Lord Brookeborough patched up traditional Protestant-dominated industries (shipbuilding, engineering) with special packages from Britain. Britain, however, increasingly insisted that further aid be linked to new employment opportunities. Under pressure from the Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP), Captain Terence O'Neill had the technocratic reputation to front a new modernizing unionism. He succeeded Brookeborough as prime minister in March 1963.

O'Neill concentrated on developing a grand plan for transforming Northern Ireland's infrastructure and thus attracting inward investment. His championing of innovation met and repulsed the NILP threat but equally unsettled established sectarian relations.

On 14 January 1965 O'Neill made history by receiving Seán Lemass, taoiseach of the Republic of Ire-

land, at Stormont. Many unionists, and not only those sympathetic to the Reverend Ian Paisley, a firebrand who rallied loyalist opinion against the government, were suspicious of O'Neill's temporizing ambitions.

Catholics, in contrast, thought O'Neill's modernization too halfhearted, even hypocritical. A civil-rights demonstration held in Derry on 5 October developed into a battle with the RUC in which the police showed little restraint. This sparked the civil-rights movement. On 22 November, O'Neill announced a series of reforms, including the abolition of the gerrymandered Londonderry Corporation and an ambition to elevate public housing above accusations of sectarian patronage. Disorder continued, however, and within the Unionist Party there was much discontent with O'Neill's inability to maintain order.

At the "Crossroads Election" held on 24 February 1969, O'Neill failed to win a convincing mandate for his reform unionism. Severe rioting in April finally forced O'Neill's resignation. James Chichester-Clarke became unionist leader and prime minister.

Sectarian disorder continued, and on 12 August the Apprentice Boys' march in Derry triggered three days of rioting between police and Catholic inhabitants in the Battle of the Bogside. Rioting in Derry ended only with the arrival of British army troops on 14 August. Rioting spread to Belfast and many Catholics were burned out. On 16 August British troops were welcomed into Catholic areas of Belfast. Overall, ten died in the violence, mostly Catholics. On 19 August the Downing Street Declaration issued by the British and Northern Irish governments announced that reforms would be encouraged and overseen by the British government.

The RUC was disarmed for normal duties; the B-Specials were disbanded and replaced by the Ulster Defence Regiment under British army control and discipline. Electoral reforms followed to eliminate voting irregularities and gerrymandering. Loyalists reacted with rioting and, more importantly, the steady march of political "extremism." In by-elections official unionists were defeated by the militants Ian Paisley and William Beattie.

The drift to the right among Protestants only served to undermine attempts to conciliate Catholics; they remained anxious that another "pogrom" of the style of August 1969 would be launched against Catholic enclaves. Nationalists turned to their own resources to clandestinely arm. Inevitably this became dominated by the organized IRA, particularly its traditional and militarist "Provisional" wing.

On 18 June 1971 the United Kingdom general election returned a Conservative administration. This her-

alded a new security approach designed to placate unionists by aggressively dismantling the IRA. Within days serious rioting broke out as Catholic ghettos resisted what they saw as an attempt to disarm otherwise undefended communities. The IRA was able to pose as a resistance group and validate its demonization of the traditional British enemy.

The Provisional IRA switched to an outright offensive against the British army in early 1971. Chichester-Clark, unable to persuade Britain to provide the level of troop commitment he considered necessary, resigned as prime minister on 20 March. Brian Faulkner succeeded to the premiership.

Faulkner was elected as a security hard-liner. However, he was aware of the necessity for political reform. He offered opposition MPs a system of parliamentary committees to oversee the executive. But the nationalist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) was under pressure to eschew any involvement with the Stormont government. On 16 July the party withdrew from Stormont in protest at the refusal of the British army to hold an inquiry into the shooting deaths of two men by troops in Derry.

Catholic alienation was boosted with the introduction of internment on 10 August. This was met by severe rioting in which two soldiers and ten civilians were killed. Altogether, 340 nationalist or republican dissidents, mostly Catholics, were picked up. By December 1971 there were 1,576 men behind the wire. Before long, allegations of the torture of prisoners emerged.

Catholic alienation reached a peak with the Bloody Sunday debacle on 30 January 1972. Fourteen demonstrators were fatally shot by the First Parachute Regiment following a banned civil-rights march in Derry. Outrage was universal in nationalist Ireland. Republican violence became notably more brutal.

On 22 March 1972 Brian Faulkner and his ministers were told by the British prime minister, Edward Heath, that they had to accept either the transfer of security responsibility to London or the complete suspension of Stormont. Faulkner refused to dilute devolution, and direct rule from London was introduced. On 1 April William Whitelaw took office as secretary of state for Northern Ireland.

SEE ALSO Brooke, Basil Stanlake, First Viscount Brookeborough; Craig, James, First Viscount Craigavon; Faulkner, Brian; Politics: Nationalist Politics in Northern Ireland; Northern Ireland: Discrimination and the Campaign for Civil Rights; O'Neill, Terence; Parker, Dame Dehra; **Primary Documents:** On "A

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Marc Mulholland

Union, Act of

See Act of Union.



Unionism from 1885 to 1922

The notion of a constitutional union between Great Britain and Ireland was first mooted in the seventeenth century and later, although there was no continuous unionist political tradition, became a legislative reality in 1800. Until the late nineteenth century the union was tacitly accepted by most Irish constitutional politicians. (Daniel O'Connell was an important—though not singular—exception.) But with the gradual democratization of Irish electoral politics after 1850 and the mobilization of the rural Catholic population in the 1870s and 1880s, support for devolved government ("Home Rule") grew and was more effectively represented at Westminster. In eastern Ulster a concentration of Protestants, relatively harmonious landlord-tenant relations, and the spread of an industrial economy helped to sustain support for the union with Britain. But the remarkable growth of Parnellism in the early 1880s, combined with the franchise extensions of 1884 to 1885, effectively increased the political pressure for constitutional change, and in 1886 the Liberal government of W. E. Gladstone (hitherto a supporter of the union) formulated a measure for the better government of Ireland. This, the first Home Rule bill, was defeated in



The attempt by British Liberal and Irish Nationalist MPs to pass a Home Rule bill in 1886 galvanized opposition among unionists. No organization lent more fervor to the unionist cause after 1885 than the Orange Order, with its marches and its bands. This 1888 photograph shows the Order marching in Belfast on 12 July to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. PHOTOGRAPH REPRODUCED WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND, W10/29/50.

the House of Commons in June 1886; a second Home Rule bill, again the work of Gladstone, was defeated in the House of Lords in September 1893.

PARLIAMENTARY UNIONISM

In these contexts a movement was created to mobilize the (hitherto largely passive) unionism evident within all classes of Irish Protestantism and also (to a lesser extent) within some propertied sections of Catholic society. An important early geographical focus for these endeavors was south Ulster. In social terms landlords, the Presbyterian entrepreneurial classes, and the Orange Order were all central to the early success of organized unionism. The institutional core of the new movement lay with a distinct Irish unionist parliamentary grouping formed in 1885 to 1886 that united Irish Conservatives with those Irish Liberals who had rejected Gladstone's Home Rule initiative (the Liberal Unionists).

Different popular bodies were also important vehicles for the new cause, particularly the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union (later renamed the Irish Unionist Alliance), which was founded in Dublin in 1885.

Until the early Edwardian period unionism retained a parliamentary focus and, at least nominally, an all-Ireland organizational scope. At this time the movement faced a variety of external and internal challenges that helped to stimulate several key organizational and strategic revisions. Irish unionism had thrived in the 1880s and 1890s partly on the basis of a strong political relationship with British Conservatism, and partly too on the strength of the Protestant social alliance. But the bond with Toryism was shaken by the conciliatory measures pursued by several British governments toward the Home Rule movement, and the class alliance upon which Irish unionism was based was rocked by the protests of northern Protestant farmers, particularly after 1900. Unionist leaders responded to these chal-

lenges with an organizational reform of the northern movement that culminated in the creation of an Ulster Unionist Council in 1905. This, combined with a more conciliatory attitude toward land reform and with the renewal of the Home Rule threat after the Liberals' electoral victory in 1906, provided the basis for some unionist political consolidation.

On the other hand, these developments also brought about the relative diminution of an all-Ireland unionism. Unionism in the three southern provinces was rich but numerically weak, and given the bias toward property ownership in the British constitution at the time, it was overrepresented in the both the House of Commons and particularly in the House of Lords. Southern unionism thus benefited from the parliamentary focus of the late Victorian and Edwardian movement. With the creation of a strong local and regional organization in the north, this focus was blurred, and the corresponding benefits for the south and west were diminished.

MILITARIZATION

The organization of Ulster unionism after 1905 provided the foundation for a popularly regimented northern resistance when a renewed British effort was made in 1912 to pass a Home Rule measure for Ireland. Unionist strategies and institutions were evolving rapidly at this time. Ulster unionists had been alienated from British parliamentary politics in the later Edwardian period, and by 1911, with the reform and weakening of the strongly Conservative House of Lords, they believed that the constitution was now stacked against them. This sense of exclusion underlay an increasing radicalization in Ulster unionist politics after about 1910 that led to the importation of weapons and the creation in early 1913 of the Ulster Volunteer Force, a citizens' militia organized along British military lines. The Ulster unionist leadership attempted to use extraconstitutional endeavors to win concessions inside the parliamentary arena, but they were unsuccessful and were gradually compelled into ever more militant tactics. These efforts culminated on 24 and 25 April 1914, when 25,000 rifles and three million rounds of ammunition were smuggled into eastern Ulster by unionist hawks.

At this time unionist goals shifted in keeping with the organizational and strategic redefinition of the movement. Unionism from 1912 to 1914 was overwhelmingly northern in its roots and focus; unionism in the south and west of Ireland was relatively unimportant in the context of the popular mobilization that was occurring in Ulster. This geographical imbalance had wide implications. Ulster unionists had originally

defended the retention of the entire island of Ireland within the union settlement, but they gradually moved toward a demand for the exclusion of all, or part, of the northern province from Home Rule. At first, this seems to have been a tactical ploy that was designed to separate British Liberals from Irish nationalists, but it is clear that by 1913 exclusion or partition was being considered as a substantive goal. By 1914 the Ulster unionists had settled on the permanent exclusion of the six northeastern counties (Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone) as their minimum terms for a settlement. However, this would cause both the political division of the island, which was hateful to Irish nationalists, and the disintegration of an all-Ireland unionism, which would render the loyalists of the south and west politically isolated and vulnerable. The polarization of Irish unionism into (in the end) mutually repellent northern and southern elements may be dated to this time.

PARTITION

The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 helped to consolidate Ulster unionism and the partitionist demand. The Ulster Volunteer Force was largely incorporated into the British army as its 36th (Ulster) Division, and was badly mauled on the Somme in 1916 and at Passchendaele in 1917. This sacrifice to the British cause reinforced Ulster unionists' political identity and cemented their belief that the British state was politically indebted to them. Ulster unionists called for the permanent exclusion of the six northeastern counties from Home Rule in June 1916 during negotiations chaired by David Lloyd George, and they repeated this demand at the Irish Constitutional Convention, which met during the winter of 1917 to 1918. The distance that now separated them from southern unionism was compounded by the mythology that was developing around the military exploits of the 36th (Ulster) Division and by the very different public positions that the two unionisms were adopting. By 1917 some southern unionists, led by Lord Midleton and frightened by the swift radicalization of Irish nationalism, were at last prepared to accept a unitary Home Rule settlement. But southern unionism fractured under the pressure of Midleton's conversion, and Ulster unionists were able to pursue their own particularist agenda unburdened by any coherent opposition from southern loyalists.

In the long term the war helped to subvert Ulster unionism by destabilizing the industrial economy of the region and by robbing the movement of youthful talent, drive, and ability. In the short term, however, Ulster unionism was politically strengthened: Its political identity had been sharpened and its ranks were now

filled with battle-hardened military veterans, while its allies, the British Conservatives, were the predominant partner in the coalition government returned to power in 1918. Moreover, the war had also seen the consolidation of a revolutionary Irish nationalist movement that was not prepared to be represented in British Parliament. This meant that Ulster unionists were able to exercise a disproportionate influence within British high politics. This influence was clear in the Government of Ireland Act (1920), through which the British sought to partition Ireland and to endow its two parts with Home Rule administrations. The measure met Ulster unionist demands in defining a six-county territory that was beyond the authority of a Dublin parliament, but the Belfast administration that was created under the act was less a result of Ulster unionist pressure than of the British desire to disengage from all aspects of Irish government. Ulster unionists had sought to exclude six counties from the operation of Home Rule entirely, but they swiftly came to see that a government in Belfast offered greater constitutional security than was possible within a British parliament.

The victims within these new arrangements were the substantial minority of nationalists within Northern Ireland, the unionists of outer Ulster (Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan) who were excluded from the new polity, and the scattered unionists of the south and west. Northern nationalists suffered bloody and disproportionate losses in the intercommunal violence of the early 1920s. Southern unionists were broken by World War I, divided in its aftermath, and suffered heavily in the cross fire of the Anglo-Irish struggle (1919–1921). They were able to sustain their distinctive identity for a while in certain Protestant enclaves (south Dublin, for example), but in the end those who remained were mostly assimilated within the Catholic national tradition.

Ulster unionists, for their part, helped to create a state that institutionalized the struggles of the Home Rule and revolutionary eras. It would prove, as a later leader of the Ulster unionists would concede, “a cold house for Catholics” (McDonald 2000, p. 280).

SEE ALSO Act of Union; Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Carson, Sir Edward; Craig, James, First Viscount Craigavon; Plunkett, Sir Horace Curzon; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Redmond, John; Women in Nationalist and Unionist Movements in the Early Twentieth Century; **Primary Documents:** On the Home Rule Bill of 1886 (8 April 1886); Declaration against Home Rule (10 October 1911); “Sol-

emn League and Covenant” Signed at the “Ulster Day” Ceremony in Belfast (28 September 1912); Address on the Ulster Question in the House of Commons (11 February 1914)

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Alvin Jackson

United Irish League Campaigns

The United Irish League was founded on 23 January 1898 at a meeting in Westport, Co. Mayo. Its principal architect was William O'Brien, a member of Parnell's Parliamentary Party in the 1880s and of the anti-Parnellite majority faction after 1891. After withdrawing from his parliamentary seat in 1895, O'Brien worked locally in west Mayo in facilitating and influencing the development of a new agrarian agitation focused on the plight of evicted tenants, on hostility to “land grabbers,” and against the graziers occupying land that would otherwise have been available for tillage farming. With the help of others, especially the Parnellite MP T. C. Harrington and the veteran founder of the Land League, Michael Davitt, O'Brien directed his energies toward “a great accumulation of national strength” (O'Brien 1910, p. 89).

The organization that resulted, the United Irish League, had three interconnected objectives. The first, and most incidental, of these was to capture an initiative on the celebrations of the centenary of the 1798 United Irishmen's rebellions, then at risk of passing to the advocates of physical force. The second objective was to infuse into national politics an enthusiasm that, “draw-



The last phase of the land war began in 1898 under the United Irish League. This phase often pitted the small tenants of Connacht against the land-monopolizing graziers or ranchers. The conflict again underlined the long-standing land hunger of western smallholders, whose hard-scrabble lives and potato dependency are captured in this 1880 illustration of a bog village in County Roscommon. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 15 MAY 1880.

ing an irresistible strength and reality from the conditions in the west," would make impossible continuation of dissension and factionalism between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites. And the third, most tangible and practical objective, was to secure from Parliament a measure enabling tenant farmers to acquire ownership of their land from the landlords by means of the government's powers of compulsory purchase. This last objective provided the central focus for the League's expansion between 1898 and 1900 across the whole of Ireland, attaching to the cause of the poor western farmers the commitment of strong and prosperous farmers in the rest of the country for whom the ownership of their farms was an urgent priority. This demand also established the basis for an alliance with the Ulster Presbyterian farmers, who had been organized in 1900 into a popular agitation for compulsory land purchase by the parliamentarian T. W. Russell.

All these objectives were achieved, in one way or another, between 1898 and 1903. The new organiza-

tion served as an embodiment, rather than a sentimental reminder, of the "spirit of '98," establishing a basis for the advocates of parliamentary politics to retrieve their nationalist credentials from the damaging factionalism of the 1890s. The zest with which the new agitation was taken up by grassroots nationalists in the countryside made it impossible for even the most obdurate to maintain a factionalist position in the face of widespread involvement of ordinary Parnellites and anti-Parnellites. This did not find expression, however, as the League leaders had hoped, in a rejuvenation of parliamentary representation with new, younger, and more robust League activists, but in a largely defensive action by the existing parliamentarians to protect their positions against the reforming zeal of the popular organization. The warring factions were reconciled in January 1900 in a party that O'Brien described as "re-unified, rather than reformed," thus averting challenges to sitting members in the general election later that year. The power of the League was manifest, nonetheless, in the place it was given organizationally in rela-

tion to the Parliamentary Party. The third and focal objective of the League, a comprehensive measure of land purchase, was also achieved, although not by compulsory purchase. A conference of representatives of landlords and tenants agreed in January 1903 on the essential elements of a scheme of purchase in which the incentives for the landlords to sell and for the tenants to buy were provided by subsidies from the British exchequer. These provisions formed the basis of the Wyndham Land Act of 1903.

The agitational methods of the United Irish League followed the pattern of the Land League between 1879 and 1881. Conflict with authority over the moral pressure—alternatively described as intimidation—applied to those who offended against the League-endorsed land code drew irresistibly to the agitation the support of an ever-expanding cross-section of nationalists. In the circumstances of the late 1890s this meant first and foremost the rank-and-file Parnellites for whom such conflict evoked powerful memories, but it also attracted many Fenians for whom the associated theater of action presented a public role long denied them. Their presence in the organization had the effect of frightening Catholic bishops, who had previously opposed the League, into encouraging the clergy to participate. For the leadership this had multiple benefits: The organization became church-sanctioned, thereby further facilitating its spread; both clergy and Fenians were valuable organizational assets; and the clerical presence helped to balance more extreme propensities that might have damaged the agitation's credibility.

The two peaks of agitation occurred during 1898 and 1899 and 1901 and 1902. In the latter years conflict became intense, with thirteen MPs and many League organizers and newspapermen imprisoned at various times. The techniques used—boycotting, league courts, use of local-government authority, and resistance to injunctions, jury-packing (exclusion of those assumed to be too sympathetic to the accused), and other governmental departures from the ordinary law—constituted an unprecedented level of passive resistance. These methods consolidated in the public consciousness patterns of popular action endemic in Irish political culture that would be reactivated in a more charged context between 1916 and 1921. This campaign in the countryside, however, faced significant opposition privately from several leading nationalists, including John Redmond and John Dillon, on the two grounds that it might offend Liberal opinion in Britain and could lead to imprisonment of political leaders.

The Land Act of 1903, and in particular the process of conference and conciliation between landlords and tenants by which it was brought about, had far-

reaching implications for Irish nationalism in general and for the United Irish League in particular. The organization, under O'Brien's leadership and with the support of the parliamentary leader, John Redmond, adopted a policy of extending the cooperation between the nationalist movement and the landlord class into other areas of Irish life. This reflected both the removal of land as a central economic issue shaping landlord attitudes and a desire to heal the sectarian divisions that had been an inescapable product of the land war. Initially successful in attracting widespread support among nationalists, this new conciliation policy faced concerted opposition from a group of political leaders for whom it represented the abrogation of long-held political habits. In particular, John Dillon, Michael Davitt, and Thomas Sexton (who controlled the nationalist *Freeman's Journal*), set out to secure a return to traditional, if increasingly redundant, postures. In protest at Redmond's failure to assert his leadership against these critics, O'Brien resigned from Parliament and from his positions in the League. His hope that this would force a constructive debate proved vain; instead, its effect was to hand control of the movement to those who had opposed the new policy, with significant consequences for the future of the United Irish League.

With the removal of its founder from the helm of the organization, the United Irish League lost its role as a political initiator and became increasingly the electoral and patronage machine for the parliamentary Nationalist Party. While the principal policy issue around which it had been founded was substantially removed by the Land Act of 1903, those who now took responsibility for the organization had committed themselves to a continuation of land agitation. The effect of this was that the League took up residual issues left unresolved by the 1903 Land Act, principally the related issues of the evicted tenants and the congested (or overpopulated) districts. Land for the tenants evicted during the land war and more viable farms for small-holders through breaking up the grazing ranches now became the focus of the United Irish League's agitational strategy. The ensuing "ranch war" proved deeply divisive, its main tactic of "cattle driving" deeply offending many elements of rural society. More specifically, it soon became evident that many substantial farmers were more interested in securing redistributed land for themselves or their sons than in having outsiders take it up. Moreover, not only was grazing a highly profitable component of the Irish agricultural economy, but—as had always been the case—the graziers themselves were often very important local supporters of the Nationalist Party. Thus, whereas in the nineteenth century the land issue had been a struggle between native occupiers and the descendants of conquerors, this new campaign for land

redistribution was based on a competition between different elements of the nationalist community. Its only achievement was the appointment in 1906 by a Liberal government of a royal commission on congestion, an exercise in buying time for a government unable to deliver much else to its Irish allies and a Nationalist Party desperate to show that the Liberal alliance could produce something. The Dudley Commission formulated no way forward. Ironically, it was the revolutionary Dáil Éireann in 1920 that issued a decree against claimants for land redistribution, describing their actions as a “stirring up of strife amongst our fellow countrymen.” The United Irish League’s campaign for landownership for Irish farmers and its subsequent appeal for conciliation between rival landed classes had built on nationalist ideals of the past, but its post-1903 strategies largely undermined its credibility as an innovative political force.

SEE ALSO Congested Districts Board; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1891 to 1918; Land Purchase Acts of 1903 and 1909; Land Questions; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Plan of Campaign; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930; Redmond, John

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Philip Bull

United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

The Society of United Irishmen was founded in 1791 in Belfast and Dublin to promote radical parliamentary reform, Catholic Emancipation (or the abolition of all religious disqualifications in civic life), and a union of Catholic and Protestant to achieve them both. Within the first year of its formation the United Irishmen succeeded in extending its organization into three of the four provinces of Ireland (Ulster, Leinster, and Munster), but outside Ulster the number of associated clubs was insignificant. The purpose of the society was not initially to replicate itself throughout the countryside; rather, it was largely propagandist—to disseminate political information and to coordinate whenever possible the activities of other like-minded reform groups. These secular radicals were content to keep their own numbers relatively small as long as they could use the Volunteer corps, the Catholic Committee, Masonic lodges, Presbyterian congregations, and town, parish, and county meetings to pronounce critically on current political arrangements. The Dublin Society of United Irishmen, which had a peak membership of more than 400 professionals, merchants, and tradesmen, took the lead in publicizing the organization’s aims through the distribution of a wide array of publications. The United Irishmen in Belfast supported this political-education project by publishing their highly successful newspaper, the *Northern Star*.

The aims and ideology of the United Irishmen drew on several vibrant political languages current in the late eighteenth century—civic humanism or classical republicanism, Lockean contractualism, British constitutionalism, Presbyterian radicalism, and the language of reason and the rights of man emanating from the American and French revolutions. Their aim was to make every man a citizen, and to throw the weight of an enlarged public opinion behind radical reform based on universal manhood suffrage and Irish legislative sovereignty to counter British influence in Ireland.

In April 1793 Britain and Ireland entered the war against revolutionary France, and the United Irishmen, with their pro-French sympathies, were easily identified by the state as the enemy within. Government harassment of the radical press, the arrest of the leaders, and the constriction of opportunities to express public opinion culminated in the suppression of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen in 1794. The recall of a popular, reforming viceroy, Earl Fitzwilliam, in April 1795 signaled unambiguously Britain’s determination to stand



United Irishmen in Training, a caricature by J. Gillray, published in London during the 1798 rebellion. COPYRIGHT THE BRITISH MUSEUM. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

by an unreformed Irish government. All hopes of peaceful reform having thus been dashed, the United Irishmen reorganized themselves as an underground paramilitary organization (to force a new government) grafted onto an expandable civil one (to form a new government), determined to separate Ireland from Britain and to create a secular, democratic republic with assistance from republican France. Their goal now was to make not only every man a citizen, but every citizen a soldier duly sworn into the United Irish organization. By 1798 the republicans would claim 300,000 such citizen-soldiers.

The reorganized republican movement was overwhelmingly Presbyterian at its birth, reflecting the confessional demographics of its stronghold in the northeast. The primary task of the United Irishmen, then, was to shore up and organize this base while preparing for a general insurrection to be coordinated with an expected French invasion of Ireland. Organizational zeal and assiduous propaganda accounted for the group's growth, but equally important was the appearance of the first fruits of the United Irish alliance with revolu-

tionary France—the arrival of the French fleet in Bantry Bay in Cork in December 1796. Although the invasion attempt failed, it dramatically proclaimed French resolve to assist an Irish insurrection and lent the United Irish project an aura of inevitability, creating a bandwagon effect. From October 1796 to February 1797, United Irish membership in Ulster nearly doubled from 38,567 to 69,190, and then nearly doubled again from February to May 1797, when the northern republicans boasted 117,917 comrades. Furthermore, the revival of sectarian warfare after 1795 between the Catholic Defenders and the newly formed Loyal Orange Order led the Catholics into an alliance with, and in many cases absorption into, the republican organization. Merchants, ministers, and professionals tended to dominate the higher ranks of the movement, while the ranks were rapidly filling with farmers, artisans, and weavers.

A mass-based secret society, democratic and inclusive in impulse, the United Irish movement was extremely porous to infiltration and detection. Just as the movement was expanding significantly from Ulster into Leinster in the spring of 1797, the government

launched a vigorous counter-insurrectionary campaign in the northeast designed to deprive the republicans of both their arms and their leaders through the imposition of martial law and extraordinary legal measures. This “dragooning of Ulster” did not break the northern organization, but it did subdue it as the United Irishmen chose to wait for the ever-promised French invasion. The leadership was now centered in Dublin, torn between French delays and ruthless government repression. The eventual decision to rise without French assistance led a series of partial, failed risings after May 1798.

Bands of republican resisters persisted after the failed risings of 1798, politicized further by the bloody suppression of the rebellion. Most of the national leaders had been either executed or exiled, and there was no central coordination of the local bands of rebels. This was in fact conscious policy, a reaction to what was perceived as the main flaw of the pre-1798 republican organization—its mass, open, democratic character that was so vulnerable to government penetration. The post-1798 organization assumed, with good cause, that there were sufficient United Irishmen in the country that could be rallied when needed, and focused its energies instead on an elusive directory engaged in a tight conspiracy to maintain the French alliance and trigger the rebellion at home. Robert Emmet’s plan to seize Dublin in July 1803, thus sparking a national insurrection, was only accidentally discovered by the authorities, and thus a well-conceived strategy was transformed into a street brawl, with only minor ripples in the rest of the country. This conspiratorial model of a revolutionary republican organization set forth by the post-1798 United Irishmen constituted a significant legacy to subsequent militant separatist movements.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Emmet, Robert; Fitzgerald, Lord Edward; Keogh, John; Neilson, Samuel; Tandy, James Napper; Tone, Theobald Wolfe; **Primary Documents:** United Irish Parliamentary Reform Plan (March 1794); Speech Delivered at a United Irish Meeting in Ballyclare, Co. Antrim (1795); Grievances of the United Irishmen of Ballynahinch, Co. Down (1795); The United Irish Organization (1797); Statement of Three Imprisoned United Irish Leaders (4 August 1798); Speech from the Dock (19 September 1803)

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Nancy J. Curtin

United Nations

Irish diplomacy at the United Nations (UN) constitutes a compelling chapter in the history of Irish foreign policy. Ireland entered the organization as part of a sixteen-nation package deal in 1955 after being denied membership for nearly a decade by the Soviet Union’s veto in the Security Council. Led by an array of distinguished diplomats, including Frank Aiken, Ireland’s minister for external affairs from 1957 to 1969, Frederick H. Boland, permanent representative to the UN from 1956 to 1963, Liam Cosgrave, Conor Cruise O’Brien, Tadhg O’Sullivan, Máire Mhac an tSaoi, and Sean Ronan, the Irish delegation assumed a prominent role in the General Assembly throughout the late 1950s and 1960s. It mitigated Cold War tensions, promoted decolonization throughout Africa and Asia, mediated disputes in South Tyrol and Kashmir, and participated in numerous peacekeeping operations.

PROMOTING NATIONAL INTERESTS

Two themes have consistently underpinned Irish policy at the United Nations: national interests and the international order. With regard to the former, Irish governments have usually assigned priority to one of the many interests they have pursued at the UN. For instance, in 1956 John Costello’s interparty government determined that Western victory in the Cold War was the primary interest to be furthered at the United Nations, and so the Irish delegation consistently supported the United States and its allies in the General Assembly. The cardinal aim of Eamon de Valera, who was

taoiseach during the Twelfth General Assembly in 1957 and the Thirteenth Assembly in 1958, was the reduction of international tension generated by the Cold War, support for movements for self-determination across the Southern Hemisphere, and the interaction of these two world-historical forces. For de Valera's successor, Seán Lemass, as well as for Irish leaders over the past several decades, the paramount interest pursued at the UN has been the promotion of a stable international system within the framework of Ireland's equally pressing national objective, namely, economic development. At the same time, all Irish governments, regardless of their particular priorities, have uniformly acted upon a genuine community of Irish national interests at the United Nations. Irish diplomats have advocated the primacy of the rule of law in international affairs, ardently defended small nations invaded by their larger neighbors, championed human rights across the globe, particularly in Tibet and South Africa, and supported the political aspirations of national minorities.

PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL ORDER

The accumulated effect of these diplomatic endeavors signals the second theme of Ireland's policy at the United Nations: It has consistently upheld the integrity of the international order. The Irish delegation's efforts in this regard began in earnest at the Twelfth General Assembly, when it established an overtly independent identity with its infamous "China vote." In a sharp departure from the majority of other Western European nations, and its own position in the previous year, Ireland voted in favor of a discussion of which government should represent China in the UN, the communists in Beijing or the nationalists on Taiwan. This vote is often misunderstood: it was a procedural one in favor of a debate on that question only, not a ballot in favor of Beijing representing China (Ireland actually voted against just such a motion in 1961). Still, the vote certainly roused the ire of the United States, and in so doing earned Ireland the respect of many other members of the General Assembly, especially within the growing Afro-Asian bloc, but also among Western European delegations who privately concurred with its position.

With the Irish delegation's independent reputation now established, it assumed a prominent role among the middle powers, or mediators, in the General Assembly (Sweden, Denmark, Malaysia, Yugoslavia, and others), which thus enabled it to propose initiatives designed to reduce international friction. In 1957 Frank Aiken outlined a complex troop-withdrawal plan for Central Europe, whereby NATO and Warsaw Pact forces would simultaneously retreat equal distances from various flash points along the Iron Curtain. Aiken

asserted that his blueprint sought "to diminish political tension in Europe and to avert the danger of war, which is all the greater as long as soldiers of opposing armies stand face-to-face." It was not taken up by either side in the Cold War, but the following year Aiken did develop his nascent conception of neutralized spaces between warring parties into a formal "areas of law" proposal and applied it to the Middle East and other hotspots across the globe.

Ireland's most striking effort to ameliorate international tension was its nuclear nonproliferation initiative. Starting at the Thirteenth General Assembly in 1958, Frank Aiken, with the tireless assistance of the Irish diplomatic service, pushed nuclear nonproliferation to the top of the UN's agenda. In 1961 the General Assembly adopted an Irish-sponsored resolution whose operative clause laid the foundation for the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968. Aiken told the General Assembly that the fundamental purpose of a nuclear nonproliferation convention was "to prevent the danger of nuclear war becoming greater during the period of time it must take to evolve and strengthen a generally accepted system of world security based on international law and law enforcement." A treaty, in other words, would buy time "for the gradual evolution of a stable world order."

IRELAND AS A MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

During the 1970s the General Assembly underwent a gradual radicalization due to the emergence of a confident Afro-Asian bloc. This process, combined with an American-led retreat to the Security Council, meant Ireland's high profile in the National Assembly dimmed. At the same time Ireland had to reconcile its own policy at the United Nations with those of the other members of European Economic Community (EEC), a process that accelerated after Ireland joined the EEC in 1973 and gathered momentum in the 1980s and 1990s as the EEC evolved first into the European Community and then into the European Union, while eventually embracing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Still, the Irish delegation quietly continued with its constructive work at the United Nations, especially in the field of peacekeeping. This noteworthy Irish tradition began with missions in 1958 (the Observer Group in Lebanon, or UNOGIL) and in 1959 (the Truce Supervision Organization along the Israeli-Egyptian border, or UNTSO) and was consolidated by Ireland's substantial contribution to the UN's peacekeeping operation in the Congo, Force de l'Organisation des Nations Unis en Congo (ONUC), which lasted from 1960 to 1964. Just as ONUC was ending in June 1964, Irish troops shipped

out to the UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), where they still remain. Irish soldiers have served in Kashmir, Lebanon, the Golan Heights, Afghanistan, Iraq, Namibia, Central America, Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, and elsewhere. Ireland has participated in more than twenty-five UN missions, plus several European Union operations. Through these efforts Ireland has backed up its rhetoric at the UN. Indeed, along with nuclear non-proliferation, peacekeeping has been one of Ireland's most significant contributions to the international order.

Ireland's peers in the General Assembly have recognized its important contribution by electing it to important UN bodies: the Committee on South West Africa, the Congo Advisory Committee, the Security Council on three occasions (1962, 1981–1982, and 2001–2002). Likewise, Irish representatives have assumed prominent leadership roles: Frederick Boland was named chairman of the Fourth, or Trusteeship, Committee in 1958 and president of the General Assembly in 1960; Eamon Kennedy was appointed as rapporteur of the Committee on South West Africa in 1959; Conor Cruise O'Brien was selected as Dag Hammarskjöld's personal representative in Katanga in 1961; General Sean McKeown commanded the UN peacekeeping force in the Congo (ONUC); and Sean MacBride served as UN commissioner for Namibia. Continuing this tradition, in 1997 Kofi Annan, the secretary-general of the UN, appointed Mary Robinson, the former president of Ireland, as the United Nations high commissioner for human rights.

SEE ALSO European Union; Lemass, Seán; Neutrality; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

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Joseph M. Skelly

Urban Life, Crafts, and Industry from 1500 to 1690

At the outset of the sixteenth century the town was the center of economic activity in Ireland. There were about fifty towns of some size in Ireland around 1500, and they contained roughly 10 percent of the island's population. But the principal towns that supported small-scale manufacture of crafts and goods for export numbered no more than a dozen. Chief among them was Dublin, Ireland's only true city. In Dublin was concentrated the governing apparatus of the Tudor state in Ireland linking the regional capitals of Waterford, Galway, Cork, Limerick, and Carrickfergus—and other large country and market towns—to England. The majority of these towns were located on sites that had originally been settled centuries earlier by the Vikings, and they were situated at the head of important estuaries or bays. These ports, in marked contrast to the dispersed settlements common in old Gaelic districts, came to be modeled on the towns of southeast England and maintained a recognizably English form of political, social, economic, and municipal culture. Thus the early Tudors relied heavily on the Irish towns both as trading posts and as cultural and military bastions of Englishness against the independent Gaelic lordships that dominated the rural hinterland beyond the protective walls and fortifications that surrounded all major Irish towns.

URBAN LIFE UNDER THE TUDORS

Most town dwellers in sixteenth-century Ireland were English subjects and of English extraction. In an effort to create a stable economic environment and to stimulate trade and manufacture, however, the Crown had devolved considerable powers to its subjects in the major urban centers. The Crown's confidence in its urban-dwelling subjects reached its highest form of expression in the royal charters that granted an unusual degree of political autonomy to certain towns. A two-tiered system of municipal government, varying in scale and complexity according to the size of the town or city, was thus allowed to develop. In Dublin the first, or upper, tier consisted of a mayor, two sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen, and the lower tier comprised forty-eight so-called sheriffs' piers along with a further ninety-six nominees of the city's influential merchant and craft guilds. Political power and influence in Ireland's towns were concentrated in those men who occupied the limited number of high offices of municipal government and the most prosperous merchant families dominated these key positions.

In the larger urban centers political power was shared between a large number of families, but in the smaller towns, such as Galway or Cork, only a dozen or so families had the necessary wealth to occupy what were unpaid municipal posts. Fifteen wealthy merchant families known colloquially as the “tribes,” for instance, governed Galway for centuries. And a sixteenth-century observer noted that in Cork the ruling elite “trust not the country adjoining, but match in wedlock among themselves only, so that the whole city is well nigh linked one to another in affinity” (Sheehan, p. 103). Such clannishness, however, was not solely because of a provincial desire to concentrate power among a privileged and established few. Rather, it resulted from the wider difficulties facing the urban population in Ireland. Citizenship of a town was a much sought-after distinction and might be obtained only through apprenticeship in the guilds, marriage to a daughter of a citizen, heredity, or a special dispensation of the city council. People of Gaelic origin and women were restricted from becoming citizens, and Irish towns, particularly those furthest removed from England, often found it difficult to attract sufficient numbers of English immigrants either to enrich or to sustain their populations. Self-government was thus firmly entrenched in Ireland’s large towns but was the exclusive domain of the rich. The ruling merchant families of Ireland’s smaller towns had little recourse but to become closed and self-perpetuating entities in order to maintain uninterrupted self-government.

A testament to the effectiveness of self-government was the lack of internal challenges to the political and social hierarchy in the towns as the sixteenth century progressed. When external forces threatened the towns’ autonomy—as happened during the Kildare rebellion (1534) and the Munster and Leinster rebellions (1579–1583)—the majority of Ireland’s urban dwellers remained steadfastly loyal to the Crown. Behind their imposing walls the larger towns were mostly insulated from the political turmoil that characterized the extension of Tudor rule in Ireland, and urban life continued to revolve around the twin pursuits of religion and economic activity. The religious calendar dominated urban life with dramas and festivals staged to mark the passing of important religious occasions. These festivals nurtured a visible form of communal cultural identity that also manifested itself in the establishment of almshouses and hospitals as well as in the construction of primary and secondary schools. Significant advances in architecture under the early Tudors broke up the narrow, dark, and curving medieval streets that were common features of early Irish towns. Important religious sites, such as Saint Nicholas’s Church in Galway, and secular buildings, such as the belfry tower and the city

gates in Kilkenny, were either extended or re-edified in a more elaborate style known as late Irish Gothic (a subcategory of English Gothic).

It was economic activity, however, that most dominated the lives of Irish urban dwellers. Towns, but particularly the port towns, served as markets through which the raw materials produced in the hinterland might be exported to foreign markets. The export trade was an important source of income, and most towns held at least one fair annually. Not surprisingly, the power and influence of the merchant guilds increased sharply during the sixteenth century through the concurrent exploitation of the economic and political liberties that were enshrined in the royal charters, the flow of raw materials from the countryside, and the appetite for Irish raw materials in foreign markets.

On the other hand, the rapid rise in exports and the resulting growth of the merchant guilds tended to undermine urban manufacturing. Craftsmen represented by the guilds simply could not compete with a robust export market that sought only unfinished goods. Thus millers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, brewers, distillers, and other craftsmen produced their products for mostly local consumption. The demand for hats, gloves, household pottery, wooden tableware, or luxury items such as looking-glasses and playing cards was met through imports from England or the Continent.

In the late 1560s the government of Sir Henry Sidney attempted to curb the export of Irish raw materials and the reliance on foreign imports through the imposition of heavy duties on exports in order to stimulate the growth of an indigenous manufacturing sector. Sidney believed the towns to be the cornerstones of English rule in Ireland. He reasoned that the export of Irish materials to foreign markets ultimately limited the potential of Ireland’s urban centers and unnecessarily strengthened the economies of rival countries, where unfinished Irish goods were processed before being re-exported to Ireland (at much higher prices) as luxury items. But because of nearly continuous Gaelic resistance to the imposition of Tudor rule, coupled with the outbreak of more serious rebellions in the early 1580s and late 1590s, the Crown sought to avoid alienating Ireland’s loyal urban towns. The government’s half-hearted efforts to reverse this economic trend failed to bolster the craft guilds, and the export of raw materials and the import of finished goods remained the dominant feature of urban life into the late sixteenth century. The nature of Tudor rule in Ireland, however, was changing: tensions had begun to develop between the large number of Protestant “New English” immigrants who dominated the increasingly centralized Tudor administration in Ireland

and the preponderantly Catholic urban hierarchy that controlled municipal government and the export trade.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Unlike their Tudor predecessors, the Stuarts inherited a fully conquered Ireland in 1603 and were less willing to acquiesce in a quasi-autonomous English urban population. Lord Deputy Mountjoy set the tone for this new relationship in 1603 when a delegation from Waterford refused him and his troops entry into the town, citing the municipal privilege enshrined in Waterford's centuries-old foundation charter. Mountjoy rudely responded that "he would cut King John's charter in pieces with King James's sword and if he entered the town by force, he would ruin it, and strew salt upon the ruins" (Sheehan, p. 110). The preponderantly Catholic inhabitants of many of Ireland's towns—with the notable exception of Dublin—had vainly adhered to the hope that James VI's accession to the English throne would see their political autonomy respected and Catholicism restored. But it quickly became clear that the Jacobean government intended no such thing. The Crown began legal proceedings against Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, and Limerick in 1607 to review the rights enshrined in their respective charters, and the result was the levy of government taxes on all the towns' exports, together with the appointment of royal officers to most ports by 1612. Efforts were also made, particularly in the newly opened districts such as Ulster, to loosen the grip of the established urban hierarchy through both the development of new urban centers, populated by new English Protestants, and the encouragement of indigenous manufacture.

The Crown's attempts to transform urban areas into loyal but politically and economically subordinate bastions of Protestantism were largely unsuccessful. The hope that the planted urban population in Ulster would replicate the cultural and economic successes that had developed naturally over centuries in the older towns was dashed as the tide of new English settlers gravitated toward the more lucrative rural areas. Craftsmen too were drawn to the abundance of cheap land and readily adopted the novel status of landowner. Thus the newly created towns struggled both to attract a sustainable population and to promote manufacturing; the established urban hierarchy in the older urban centers, meanwhile, maintained a measure of municipal control and continued to dominate the booming export trade that had lately come to rely more heavily on cattle. In Dublin, however, the long-standing urban hierarchy had been consistently losing ground to new English interests for decades. And as the city entered a

period of rapid expansion in the early seventeenth century, it was the sizeable Protestant mercantile community that came to dominate urban life. This religious and cultural divide between Dublin and Ireland's other major towns was brought into sharp relief during the Confederate Wars of the 1640s, when much of the urban population outside Dublin supported the Catholic Confederates.

From 1649 to 1660 the Catholic urban population lost control of municipal government and, crucially, was no longer permitted to engage in trade. During the rebellion of 1641 gold, armor, arms, and other provisions had passed through the port towns to the rebels from Europe. In many urban centers the Protestant population had suffered intimidation, and in Wexford bibles were publicly burned. The Cromwellian council at Dublin in 1656 took measures to ensure that this would not happen again and ordered that all "Irish Papists" were to be removed from port towns and not to be allowed to reside within two miles of any town. But in the absence of sufficient numbers of Protestants to replace the Catholic population (particularly in the more remote towns), such proclamations proved impossible to enforce and many Catholics remained. Urban life, however, had been utterly transformed as new English Protestants occupied the key offices of municipal government and set about changing the physical and cultural environment of Ireland's urban centers.

This transformation was most obvious in Dublin, where the rapidly expanding population, two-thirds of which were estimated to have been Protestant by 1685, soared to 60,000. Inhabiting a bustling center of manufacture and trade and the seat of national government, the population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century had access to a university, a second cathedral, a college of physicians, a theater, and a philosophical society. But change was not limited to Dublin. Unfettered from the constraints of stone-built defensive fortifications, the new urban dwellers constructed more uniform towns with houses situated on streets that were wider, straighter, and less densely populated. The transformation of the physical environment in Irish urban centers mirrored the cultural changes consequent on the arrival of large numbers of Protestant immigrants in the mid-seventeenth century. By the end of the seventeenth century urban life in Ireland had been brought more closely into line with urban culture in England, and these once independent hubs of economic activity had become wholly subordinated to an expanding British commercial market.

SEE ALSO Economy and Society from 1500 to 1690; Protestant Immigrants

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Christopher Maginn

Ussher, James

James Ussher (1581–1656), bishop of Meath (1621–1625) and archbishop of Armagh (1625–1656), was born on 4 January 1581 in Dublin, the fifth child of Arland Ussher and his wife, Margaret (née Stanyhurst). He was educated at the newly founded Trinity College, which he entered in 1594 as one of its first students. Ussher's early career was as an academic at Trinity, where he was appointed Professor of Theological Controversies in 1607 and published his first book in 1613 on the succession of the true Christian church. His scholarly efforts and his regular trips to England brought him to the notice of King James, who made him bishop of Meath in 1621 and archbishop of Armagh in 1625. As a bishop, Ussher tried to combine the role of scholar and ecclesiastical politician. A firm Calvinist, he published works of anti-Catholic controversial theology and also a highly influential account—*A Discourse of the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish*

and British—of the historical origins of the Church of Ireland, which by tracing its descent back to the Celtic church, provided Irish Protestants with a crucial sense of their Irish roots.

As a politician, Ussher became a member of the Irish Privy Council and leader of the Church of Ireland. Strongly antipapal, he used his influence in 1626 and 1627 to oppose the granting of toleration to Irish Catholics. But the arrival of Lord Deputy Wentworth in 1633 greatly diminished Ussher's role, as Archbishop Laud of Canterbury and his ally in Ireland, Bishop Bramhall of Derry, sought to reshape the Church of Ireland by driving out Calvinists and Presbyterians and bringing it into closer alignment with the Church of England. Ussher retreated to his study, working on his great historical investigation of the origins of Christianity in Britain and Ireland, published in 1639 as *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates*. In 1640 Ussher went to England where, following the outbreak of the Irish rising in 1641, he was to remain. As a highly respected scholar with an international reputation, Ussher was courted by both king and Parliament in 1641 and 1642. Despite his firm Calvinism and deep hostility to Catholicism, Ussher remained loyal to the king. After the defeat and execution of Charles, Ussher returned to London, where he concentrated on patristic and biblical scholarship, publishing in the 1650s his account of biblical chronology which dated the creation of the world to 23 October 4004 B.C.E. He married Phoebe Challoner in 1613 and had one daughter, Elizabeth.

SEE ALSO Bedell, William; Calvinist Influences in Early Modern Ireland; Trinity College

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Alan Ford



Veto Controversy

A key ingredient in securing Catholic support for passage of the Act of Union was the promise that it would be followed by legislation that would grant Emancipation, or the right of Catholics to take seats in Parliament. In the years immediately following the union, a powerful conservative lobby organized to prevent the passage of such an act, on the grounds that complete political freedom for Catholics was incompatible with the Protestant constitution and that Catholicism was a subversive force inimical to the future safety of Protestantism in Ireland. This sentiment was greatly assisted by propaganda linking the Catholic Church and its clergy to the atrocities of 1798, and it breathed new life into the doctrine of Protestant Ascendancy first enshrined by Bishop Richard Woodward of Cloyne in the 1780s. The strength of the anti-Catholic sentiment ensured the defeat of the first relief bill in 1807, after which the prime minister resigned and the government fell. Following this setback, in an attempt to appease Protestant fears of an accommodation granting political equality to Catholics, liberal supporters of Emancipation proposed that certain “securities” be attached to the legislation that would allow the government a measure of control over the workings of the Catholic Church. Chief among these was a government veto on the appointment of Catholic bishops, which was seen as a measure that would curtail the influence of Rome. Additional proposals included state payment of the clergy and the right of inspectors to scrutinize correspondence with the papacy.

It was a common feature of European political life at this time for the state to have a role in the appointment of bishops, and the Catholic hierarchy was initial-

ly willing to acquiesce in these demands. As opposition to Emancipation heightened with each passing year, however, a powerful group of lay Catholics led by Daniel O’Connell began to question openly the implications of the veto. For O’Connell and his followers the issue of who should have the final decision in the filling of vacant episcopal sees was directly related to the independence of the clergy and the amount of autonomy that Catholics could exercise in the regulation of their own affairs. The matter was especially tense because of the unique position of power and influence that bishops and priests held at all levels of Catholic society in Ireland. At a time when the demand for education and the spread of the English language indicated that ordinary Catholics were going through a process of “modernization,” with all that this implied for their future role in politics, the role of the clergy as arbiters of public morality (and consequently political behavior) could hardly be denied. O’Connell perceived a hierarchy appointed at the will of Westminster as an agency of corruption, one that would hold the clergy, and consequently the entire Catholic population, in line with the demands of an imperial parliament and the forces of Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. In opposing the veto, O’Connell cast his lot with the popular anti-establishment opinion and against the more traditional upper-class elements of the Irish Catholic world, including several peers and members of the hierarchy.

The showdown between the populist anti-veto elements led by O’Connell and the pro-veto campaigners came with a second attempt at securing passage of a relief bill in 1814. This new bill, which included a veto, was prepared by Henry Grattan in 1813 and was introduced by Canning in the following year. The bill was passed by the House of Commons and agreed upon by the Catholic Board. It also won the approval of the aristocratic elite of the Catholic Committee in Ireland, but

it was rejected outright by O'Connell and his followers. In an attempt to thwart O'Connell's domination of Irish opinion on the matter, the English Catholic Board submitted the matter to Rome. Because of the threat from Napoleon the papacy was still beholden to the British government, and a conciliatory response was anticipated. The outcome was predictable. A famous rescript was delivered by the secretary of the Propaganda Fidei, Dr. Quarantotti, with a definitive recommendation that it be adopted. The Quarantotti rescript caused turmoil in Ireland. When it was rumored that the more conservative members of the hierarchy and the Catholic Committee were willing to accept the rescript, O'Connell threatened to take his campaign to the streets, warning the clergy that if they accepted the state veto, they would risk desertion by their congregations. This was the first occasion on which O'Connell showed his skill as a politician. His manipulation of the popular press to educate his followers about the veto and his fearless playing to the gallery of public opinion was the first indication of what such methods might achieve. As a result of O'Connell's imposing opposition, the controversial rescript was withdrawn for further consideration by the pope. Its successor, however, which appeared in May 1815, was still supportive of the original demand for a veto and state payment of the clergy. This time O'Connell was joined in his rejection by the hierarchy, whose members had now publicly embraced the popular position.

The rejection of the 1815 bill produced a paralyzing impasse between the pro-veto and anti-veto forces and led to the temporary collapse of the Catholic-led Emancipation movement. The consequences of this were twofold. First, the failure of Quarantotti to impose the demands of Rome on the Irish Catholic body meant that O'Connell's leadership was now authoritative, and little progress could be made without his support. Second, the demise of the Catholic-led effort opened the door for Protestant liberals to step into the breach and assume leadership of the movement. The future looked particularly bright when, following the death of Henry Grattan in 1820, the young and dynamic William Conyngham Plunket took his place as leader of the campaign. High hopes were attached to the bill that Plunket was preparing to introduce in 1822, particularly because prominent leaders of public opinion in England were willing to support the measure with the securities attached, and many in Ireland (especially among the hierarchy) would have accepted the veto as a last resort.

But the very prospect of Plunket's bill being successful had a galvanizing effect on the conservatives, who put their anti-Catholic campaign into high gear

once again. Preparations for the submission of Plunket's bill in 1822 were marked by a rising tide of sectarianism in Ireland, intensified by the agrarian crisis, the Rockite movement, and verbal saber-rattling in public debate. Had Plunket's bill passed, it would undoubtedly have been accepted along with the securities. After the Commons approved the measure, however, it was ignominiously defeated by the House of Lords. This persuaded the Catholic body that they would never make any progress with the Emancipation question if they remained disunited. They were also convinced that the House of Lords would have no more respect for the bill with the veto than for one without it, and that they might just as well seek "complete emancipation."

The failure of Plunket's bill of 1823 was the last time that the veto was an issue in the Emancipation campaign. Following the events of 1821–22, the movement entered a new phase with the founding of the Catholic Association in January 1823. The aim of the association was not immediately to pursue Emancipation but to build a popular movement on the twin pillars of Catholic grievances and a powerful organization featuring mass participation in the political process. In the pursuit of both objectives O'Connell's success was phenomenal. By 1828 he had fashioned a movement that had succeeded in breaking the hold of the landlords on the electoral process and cleared the way for his own election as MP for Clare in 1828. O'Connell's tactics for securing these victories were first tested during the veto controversy of 1813–1814, which may in retrospect be seen as a trial run for the political revolution of the 1820s that ended with passage of the Catholic Relief Act in 1829.

SEE ALSO Catholic Emancipation Campaign; O'Connell, Daniel; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

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Irene Whelan



Jack B. Yeats, *The Liffey Swim*, early twentieth century. *A day in the life of Dublin shown with Yeats's sensitivity to detail.* COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 941. © 2004 ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/DACS, LONDON. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Visual Arts, Modern

The visual arts in Ireland have seen striking developments in the twentieth century, from the emergence of a distinctive school of Irish landscape painting, to the ascendancy of modernism and an international outlook that has dominated since the 1960s. The century also saw the establishment of art institutions that provided new venues for the display of art, and the formation in 1951 of the Arts Council, which provided an important measure of government's growing commitment to the arts.

At the beginning of the century, Irish painters who studied abroad continued to produce innovative work. William Leech (1881–1968), for instance, spent time in Brittany where, enriched by contacts with avant-garde art, he produced a series of dazzling painterly works. Roderic O'Connor (1860–1940) spent much of his career in France, and the early advances of modernism are detectable in his art. The first twentieth-century artist who made Ireland his subject matter, though, was Jack

B. Yeats (1871–1957). Yeats spent time traveling around the country painting images of Irish life and landscape, particularly the people and places he encountered as a boy in Sligo. Unlike his earlier art, which was grounded in the physical reality of the world around him, his later work is dominated by themes based on memory and past experiences. In these, Yeats's use of color and impasto and his dynamic, expressive brushwork, produce images and moods that make him unique in the Irish art world. Two other artists who were inspired by the west of Ireland in their choices of subject matter are Paul Henry (1876–1958) and Seán Keating (1889–1978). Henry spent nearly ten years in Achill, Co. Mayo; his paintings depict the cloudy skies, thatched cottages, and blue and purple mountains characteristic of the west of Ireland. His realistic interpretation of landscape inspired many eager followers such as James Humbert Craig (1878–1944), Letitia Mary Hamilton (1878–1964), and Maurice MacGonigal (1900–1979). Seán Keating was a student of William Orpen (1878–1931), whose teaching influenced a whole generation of Irish artists, and whose own superb portraits are magnificent in both tone value and color. Keating is



Paul Henry, *Launching the Currach* (c. 1912–1919). *The realism yet grandeur of Henry's paintings reveal much of Connemara scenery and life.* NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 1869. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

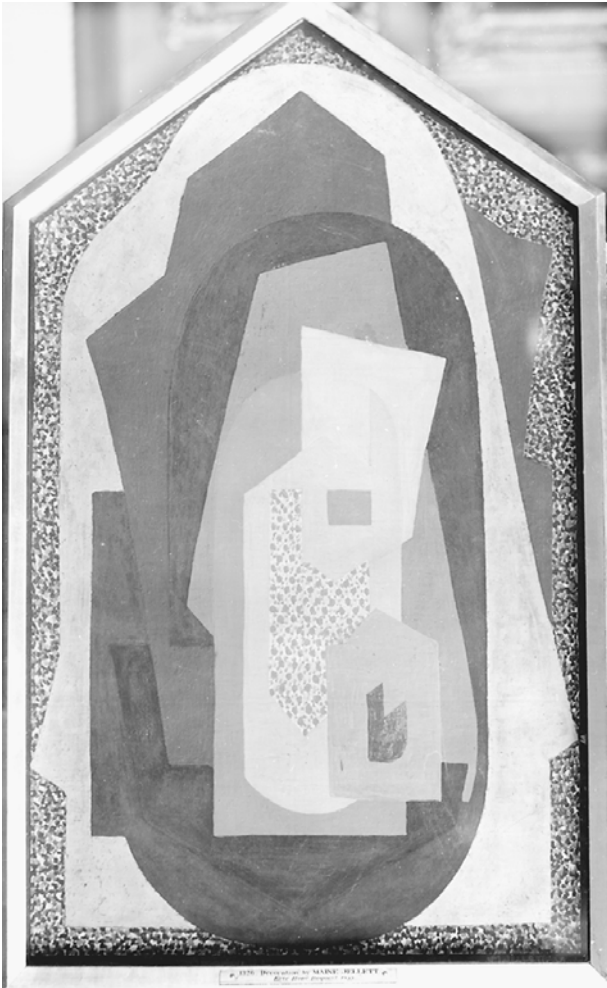
known for his strong, dramatic compositions of life on the Aran Islands.

In 1920 Henry, Yeats, and others who were interested in modernist ideas set up the Society of Dublin Painters, which provided a communal focus for artists looking beyond Ireland's shores for inspiration. The Society was synonymous with the best of avant-garde Irish painting; in this milieu artists could experiment with new ideas. Among the pioneers of Irish modernism were Mainie Jellett (1897–1944), who first exhibited her cubist and abstract paintings at the society, Evie Hone (1894–1955), and Mary Swanzy (1882–1978).

Another important development in the interwar years was a desire by artists, both academic and avant-garde, to create a distinctive school of Irish art. Although this aspiration originated in the nineteenth century, it gained momentum following Ireland's political independence from Great Britain in 1922. What emerged in painting was a distinct vision of landscape, principally in the works of Henry, Craig, and MacGonigal. Unlike the earlier idyllic scenes, the new style offered realistic representations of the bleak, stark nature of the landscape and its inhabitants. In sculpture, artists

like Oliver Sheppard (1864–1941), Albert Power (1881–1945), and Oisín Kelly (1915–1981) tried to produce a recognizably Irish art: Sheppard through his choice of Irish stone wherever possible, and Kelly through use of themes from Celtic folklore. At the same time, artists of the Arts and Crafts movement brought about a Celtic Revival, and much use was made of Celtic patterns in the manufacture of furniture, jewelry, and other ornamental and embroidery goods. With the great increase in church building, stained glass was much in demand, too; its two main exponents were Harry Clarke (1889–1931) and Evie Hone (1894–1955).

A growing dissatisfaction with the conservatism of the Royal Hibernian Academy prompted more adventurous artists to establish the Irish Exhibition of Living Art (IELA) in 1943. It marked an important watershed in the visual arts, becoming a significant annual event and representing the interests of those influenced by international trends. One of its most gifted members is Louis le Brocqy (b. 1916), whose best-known paintings are a series of highly original head images from the 1950s collectively known as "presences"; Brocqy used



Mainie Jellett, *Decoration* (1923). Jellett is one of the few Irish artists influenced by the European avant-garde movements, specifically Cubism. COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND, CAT. NO. 1326. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE ESTATE FOR MAINIE JELLETT.

the face as a means of penetrating the essence of his subject. Other prominent artists involved with the IECLA included Nano Reid (1900–1981) and Patrick Collins (1911–1994), whose diverse styles (the former powerfully expressionistic, the latter interpreting subject matter in a lyrical, poetic way) attest to the individualism of Irish artistic creativity throughout the century.

The most obvious feature of the visual arts since the 1960s is that it has become truly international in outlook. A genuinely original style of architecture has emerged. Its variety of modernist and postmodernist styles has dramatically changed the skyline of Ireland's capital city, Dublin. The establishment in 1967 of the international exhibition ROSC (an old Irish word meaning the poetry of vision) brought current works by out-



Louis le Brocqy, *Study towards an Image of W. B. Yeats* (1975). Fascinated by the human image, le Brocqy's faces of great literary men, such as Yeats, Joyce, and Lorca, stare out at us from the canvas via his brilliant, built-up brushstrokes. PHOTOGRAPH REPRODUCED WITH THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND, U 2386.

standing artists from all over the world to Dublin every two to four years. These influences have changed the character of Irish painting and sculpture, introducing a range of styles including abstraction in all its forms as well as diverse stylistic variations of figurative art. Sean Scully's (b. 1945) abstract paintings are in sharp contrast to the academic precision of Robert Ballagh's (b. 1943) figurative work and his later multimedia landscapes. At the end of the twentieth century political themes emerged: the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland, in the work of painters such as Rita Duffy (b. 1959) and Dermot Seymour (b. 1956), and in the photographic work of Willie Doherty (b. 1959); and feminism, which has led to a reinterpretation of the female in painting and sculpture. Kathy Prendergast's (b. 1958) *Body Map Series* makes women's bodies a cultural site; Eithne Jordan's (b. 1954) painting within the new-expressionist wave articulates images of female and familial relationships in unusual configurations. Dorothy Cross (b. 1956), through her assemblages and installations,

calls into question issues of gender and authority. In contrast, the sculpted work of Alice Maher (b. 1956) is often straightforwardly feminist.

The exhibition *L'Imaginaire Irlandais*, held in France in 1996, was a useful barometer of the state of the visual arts in Ireland at the end of the century. In providing an international arena for the concerns of contemporary Irish artists and their examination of politics, myths, and traditions, the exhibition included a cross section of work in a range of media, from photography and video to language and conceptual installations.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800

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Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch



Walsh, William Joseph

Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin, William Joseph Walsh (1841–1921) was born in Dublin on 30 January 1841. An only child, he attended John Henry (Cardinal) Newman's Catholic University of Ireland. In 1858 he entered Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, Ireland's national seminary, and was ordained a priest in 1866. A brilliant student, he was soon appointed professor of dogmatic and moral theology at Maynooth. Further advancement came when he was appointed vice-president of the college in 1878 and president two years later.

Walsh first came to national prominence when he appeared as an expert witness on canon law in the celebrated O'Keefe law case in 1875. Following the death of Cardinal Edward McCabe in February 1885, Walsh was elected vicar capitular of the Dublin archdiocese. Pope Leo XIII appointed him archbishop of Dublin on 23 June of that same year. Irish nationalists viewed his elevation as a triumph over the British government, which had lobbied against the appointment of anyone with such pronounced nationalist sympathies.

Though an energetic diocesan administrator, Walsh also devoted much time to political matters. He worked to forge an enduring alliance between the Catholic Church in Ireland and the main force of Irish nationalism. He was an outspoken advocate of agrarian reform, lending his support to the Plan of Campaign in 1888. His greatest accomplishments, however, were in the sphere of education where he proved a vigorous and able champion of Catholic interests. He served on the National Education Board (1895–1901), the Intermediate Education Board (1892–1909), and the senates of the Royal University of Ireland (1883–1884) and the National University of Ireland (1908–1921). In 1908 he

was appointed the first chancellor of the National University. He died on 9 April 1921.

SEE ALSO Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891;
Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

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David C. Sheehy

Wentworth, Thomas, First Earl of Strafford

Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford (1593–1641), lord deputy and subsequently lord lieutenant of Ireland, was born on Good Friday 1593 (13 April) in London. In the 1620s he sat in every English parliament except during the 1626 session. In June 1627 he was imprisoned for having refused the forced loan, a fiscal device that the king used to raise money for warfare without parliamentary consent. One year later, howev-



Sir Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford, baron of Raby (1593–1641). Engraving by F. Holl after a painting by Anthony Van Dyk, c. 1635. © HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

er, he made his peace with the king and was elevated to the peerage, and in December 1628 Charles I appointed him lord president of the north. He actively sought advancement, and on 12 January 1632 he was appointed lord deputy of Ireland. Wentworth mistrusted the class of Protestant officeholders and planters (the “New English”) whom he found in power when he came to Ireland about one year later, and he was prepared to be temporarily tolerant toward Catholics until church and state had been sufficiently strengthened to enforce the official religious settlement. In 1634 and 1635 he deliberately played Protestants off against Catholics and vice versa in the Irish parliament, with considerable success. Armed with new statutes, Wentworth and Bishop Bramhall of Derry pursued a campaign for the re-endowment of the Protestant Church of Ireland that affected primarily Protestant landowners. Wentworth’s plans to confiscate vast tracts of land in areas that had not yet been planted, however, threatened Catholic proprietors, Gaelic and Old English alike, much more than Protestant ones. Although plantation plans for Connaught and other areas could not—in the end—be fully realized before 1640, they created a general feeling of insecurity among landowners. Other measures seen as ar-

bitrary and vindictive by both Protestants and Catholics also contributed to Wentworth’s increasing unpopularity. In 1638 the crisis in Scotland began to undermine his position in Ireland. Having refused to support the earl of Antrim’s plan for an invasion of Scotland in 1639, he recruited an army of Catholic soldiers in Ireland himself—to be used against the Covenanters who had risen against Charles I to defend the Scottish church and its Calvinist traditions against English interference—in 1640. In January 1640 Wentworth was elevated to the position of lord lieutenant and made an earl, taking the title of Strafford. His attempt to save the king’s cause in the fight against the Scots in the summer of 1640 failed, and after the long parliament had met, he was impeached by the English House of Commons. The majority of the more serious charges against Wentworth during the impeachment related to his period of office in Ireland. With great skill Strafford took apart most of the charges raised against him, but he was nevertheless condemned by bill of attainder and executed on 12 May at Tower Hill, London.

SEE ALSO Bedell, William; Graces, The; Monarchy; Rebellion of 1641

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Ronald G. Asch

Whiteboys and Whiteboyism

The Whiteboys were agrarian rebels based in Munster and south Leinster who engaged in two major struggles in the mid-eighteenth century with local gentry, Church of Ireland clergy, and other enemies. The term *Whiteboyism* was later used as shorthand for describing what seemed like endemic violence in the Irish countryside. Some modern historians have even extended this usage to refer to pre-famine agrarian rebellion in Ireland. The Whiteboy rebellions occurred between 1761 and

1765 and between 1769 and 1776, centering on Tipperary and Kilkenny, with other troubled counties including Cork, Limerick and Waterford and, later, Wexford, Queen's County, Carlow, and Kildare. There were peaks of violence in the spring of 1762, the winter of 1763 to 1764, and especially in 1772 and 1775.

THE TWO OUTBREAKS

The first signs of Whiteboy trouble appeared in November 1761 when protests against the tithe collected on potatoes occurred in southeast Tipperary. In the following months the protests rapidly spread into the parishes nearby in counties Cork and Waterford and eventually into Kilkenny and Limerick by early 1762. The protests entered the wider public consciousness in 1762, especially after hedges on the property of the duke of Devonshire were leveled and threatening letters were sent to Protestant gentry in Tallow demanding that their horses be handed over and that the jail be opened. The response of Dublin Castle to such actions was swift, with regiments of dragoons and light infantry being sent to the affected areas. The Whiteboys seemed to retreat into silence, yet they reemerged a year later in Tipperary and Kilkenny, now the worst affected counties. This second upsurge of protests against tithes on potatoes, conacre rents, and the enclosure of common lands met with much more severe repression, and by 1765 it was confined to occasional violence in Kilkenny.

Four years later, counties Kilkenny and Tipperary were again the center of the revived Whiteboy movement. This time Dublin Castle responded much more slowly, owing to the quiet building of Whiteboy momentum up to 1772 and to the much more threatening Steelboy violence in northeast Ulster. By 1772 the Whiteboy troubles had spread beyond their original focus, and all the counties of south Leinster were gripped over the next three years by a spiral of violence.

The two Whiteboys outbreaks had differences in their causes and the composition of their members. The first Whiteboys outbreak saw large-scale mobilization of hundreds of Whiteboys over regions, which had much to do with the initial rapid spread of the rebellion. In the later outbreak the Whiteboys in smaller numbers still traveled considerable distances, but this time to punish wrongdoers or seize arms and horses rather than to mount large-scale attacks on property or spread the rebellion. There was continuity in what was becoming the format of the classic Irish agrarian rebellion. The Whiteboys employed symbolism, most famously in the wearing of white shirts or overgarments from which the rebels got their name, but also in taking as aliases the names of Queen Sive or Captain Firebrand, figures

from folklore. Theatricality accompanied real violence, with graves being dug, mock gallows erected, and anonymous threatening letters sent, alongside property destruction, murders, and maimings.

Violence of the personal sort increased over time. This may have stemmed from the severity of the repression of the first Whiteboys, especially in Tipperary where a popular priest, Father Nicholas Sheehy of Clogheen, was persecuted and eventually executed by the Protestant gentry of that county in 1766. The later Whiteboys gave less quarter, particularly to informers and zealous magistrates. The violence of the later outbreak was also owing to increasing clashes with anti-Whiteboy associations and regular troops.

The Whiteboys swore in entire communities and parishes as conspirators. The organization had a military tinge, suggesting the role of those who had served in the French or Spanish armies, whose influence was reflected in marching and the confident use of arms. In the later outbreak, involvement of farmers and their sons—members of a higher social stratum—was shown in the greater numbers of horses used and in the causes of that rebellion. Beyond the local particularities of the symbolic names used or the tunes played to mobilize supporters, little distinguishes these southern disturbances from the Ulster agrarian outbreaks of the time.

CAUSES

With regard to causes, contemporaries, especially the Protestant elite in Ireland, were quick to see irredentist Catholic rebelliousness. The 1761 to 1765 outbreak, at least in its first three years, coincided with the Seven Years' War, which summoned up fears of French or Spanish invasion and boosted the activities of recruiters for those armies and the survival of at least some form of Jacobitism in Munster and the Butler heartland of Kilkenny. Such claims were less a feature of the second outbreak, perhaps owing to the absence of war, but there was some Protestant rallying of exclusive local militias. Political causes were probably incidental, but observers considered as important the near electoral success of the convert Mathew family in Tipperary in 1761 and the continuing strength of Catholic organization in the Blackwater valley in Munster.

Mid-century economic changes and their consequences were just as crucial. The first Whiteboy outbreak focused on the tithe on potatoes collected by the local Anglican clergy, enclosures by landlords and farmers keen to cash in on the rising demand for Irish cattle and wool, and other burdens suffered in the main by those on the worst tenures—agricultural laborers, woolen workers, and others in the towns of the region.

Part of this was resistance to landlords, clergy, and farmers who were profiting from war and economic growth and sought higher tithes or rents to meet their rising expectations. There was a hearkening back to better times or anger at not doing well economically in a period of growth.

The second outbreak also had an economic context, though this was more the effect of a crisis caused by bad grain harvests between 1769 and 1771 and in 1773 and the slump in both the linen and woolen trades between 1772 and 1774. More so than in the earlier troubles, these harsh facts are secondary to the major cause of the 1769 through 1776 protests: the tithe on corn. This grievance explains the geographical shift to south Leinster from the pastures of Munster, but it also reveals that the later Whiteboys, from the higher social stratum of farmers, were much more concerned with defending gains they had made in the 1760s from the bounties paid on corn sent to Dublin. Their targets reflected their priorities: tithe proctors and tenants who offered higher rents, especially Waterford dairymen, were chosen for attack by these Whiteboys. This was less an outbreak of nostalgia and more of a sophisticated resistance to any erosion of newfound wealth.

AUTHORITIES' RESPONSE

The response of the authorities, particularly at the local level, hardened over time. In the first outbreak, officials at Dublin Castle were very critical of magistrates who were too timid to act on their own initiative but quick to summon troops. By 1763 more local gentry in Tipperary and Kilkenny formed associations, some of which sprang back into life in the early 1770s to deal with the revived Whiteboy threat. In fact militias and Volunteers appeared in these counties even before the impetus provided later by the American war and the Patriot politicians. At this local level, rewards were subscribed to for the worst crimes, notably the killing of the Tipperary magistrate Ambrose Power in 1775. As in Ulster, there were active magistrates ready to pursue and capture Whiteboys, and some, like Power or Lord Carrick, gained a reputation for their actions and their readiness to both summon and use troops.

A similarly mixed response and change over time occurred at the central level. The earl of Halifax, viceroy in the years 1761 to 1763, was criticized in London for leniency and readiness to dismiss accusations of French plots in Munster. There is no doubt that Halifax did lean to the view that local Protestant landlords had brought this crisis on themselves, and his legal officials did stop the judicial bloodletting desired by some of the gentry. Later viceroys, notably the earl of Hertford, proved to

be more vacillating in the face of local pressure, as seen for example in the trial and execution of Father Nicholas Sheehy.

In a sign of hardening attitudes, tougher laws were enacted in 1765 and 1776. The first Whiteboy act made crimes against property by a group of more than five persons, the tendering of oaths, and the rescuing of prisoners all punishable by death; these felonies were added to by the 1775 act. In addition the 1765 law made it possible to exact compensation from a disturbed barony for property crimes committed there. In frustration at the Whiteboys, the Catholic hierarchy issued condemnations of the agrarian rebels and in 1779 threatened to excommunicate offenders.

SEE ALSO Defenderism; Irish Tithe Act of 1838; Land Questions; Oakboys and Steelboys; Tithe War (1830–1838); Trade Unions; **Primary Documents:** On the Whiteboys (1769)

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Eoin Magennis

Wilde, Oscar

Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), essayist, poet, novelist, and dramatist, was born on 16 October 1854 at 15 Westland Row, Dublin. He was the second son of Sir William Wilde, a noted eye surgeon and folklorist, and Jane Francesca Wilde, who as "Speranza" had penned inflammatory nationalist verse in her youth. Educated at Portora Royal School, Trinity College, Dublin, and Magdalen College, Oxford, Wilde first made his name as a self-appointed "Professor of Aesthetics," touring the United States in the early 1880s and lecturing on such subjects as the "House Beautiful" and, in San Francisco, on his Irish nationalist sympathies. His first literary success was with the Gothic novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), which was swiftly followed by a series of society comedies that simultaneously flattered and sati-

rized Wilde's fashionable West End audiences: *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), *A Woman of No Importance* (1893), *An Ideal Husband* (1895), and *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895). A noted wit and dandy, Wilde gave an outsider's informed, fascinated, yet skeptical view of the workings of the Victorian aristocracy—with its casual cruelties and sexual double standard—and of the pragmatism undermining the high-sounding sentiments of imperialist politics. Wilde, as an Irishman and a married homosexual, was doubly estranged from the conventional English society that he both commented upon and courted. As his celebrity grew, his double life became ever more precarious, and he began to conduct a semipublic affair with Lord Alfred Douglas ("Bosie"), the dangerously unstable son of the Marquess of Queensberry. At the apex of his fame—with *An Ideal Husband* and *The Importance of Being Earnest* both playing to packed audiences in the West End—Wilde took out a libel action against Queensberry (who had accused him of "posing as a Somdomite [sic]"), provoking his own subsequent trial and conviction for gross indecency. His friend Frank Harris believed that Wilde was put on trial not just for his sexuality but for his nationality as well, claiming that in front of an English judge and jury Wilde had as much chance of being found innocent as one of the Invincibles, the group responsible for the Phoenix Park murders in 1882. Wilde died virtually penniless in Paris after serving two years of hard labor, and was written out of literary and cultural history until his recuperation in the 1980s as a contemporary gay icon and his reevaluation as one of the most important figures of the Irish literary renaissance.

This recuperation has involved a rediscovery of Wilde's importance as an art theorist as well as a writer. The aesthetic theories that he outlined in his essays, collected as *Intentions* (1891), anticipate to a surprising degree some of the central tenets and assumptions of both modernism and contemporary cultural theory, such as the ideas of the dispersed and decentered nature of human identity and of language being "the parent and not the child of thought" (*Complete Works*, p. 1,023). At the same time, Wilde's studied nonchalance is now seen as a mask for the seriousness of his artistic ambitions: Much critical work has concentrated on him as a professional writer in a recognizably modern context, collaborating with other theatrical practitioners, polishing and revising his work through composition and rehearsal into performance.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Literature: Anglo-Irish Literature in the Nineteenth Century

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Neil Sammells

Wild Geese—The Irish Abroad from 1600 to the French Revolution

There are several interpretations of the term *Wild Geese*. Traditionally it referred to a relatively small number of the Catholic landed elites who, in the face of English and Protestant oppression, fled Ireland after the Treaty of Limerick in 1691 and precipitated the final collapse of Gaelic resistance to English rule in Ireland. The definition, however, has been considerably broadened by historians to include all those who left Ireland to serve in the armies of continental Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, including the wives, families, and dependents of soldiers. In popular writings the interpretation has been further extended to include all Irish emigrants of whatever period and character and even their descendants now living abroad.

THE MILITARY COMMUNITY IN EUROPE

One of the largest identifiable groups of people to leave Ireland in the period 1600 to 1789 is that of the Irish who went to serve in the huge continental armies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. Although enclaves of Irish could be found in regiments of the Baltic states, Russia, and Poland, the vast majority of Irish soldiers served in the armies of Spain in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (including in South America) and in France and later Austria in the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Overall figures indicate that foreign military service represented a mass movement of people out of Ireland. In 1635 there were an estimated 7,000 Irishmen enlisted in the Army of Flanders in the Spanish Netherlands. Following the collapse of the Irish Confederate Army, 22,531 Irish troops were delivered to Spain between 1641 and 1654. Between 1634 and 1660 more than

30,000 Irishmen were recruited into the French army. Following the Williamite war (1689–1691) an estimated 30,000 soldiers left Ireland to fight in Irish brigades for France.

This military group consisted mainly of family and kin groupings who tended to form clusters of Irish settlements in specific parts of cities or towns. Galicia in Spain, Brittany, Belgium, and the southwest of France were particularly popular destinations. Irish officers intermarried with Irish merchant families, and the military group was closely connected both by family and political ties to the various political and religious exile groups in Catholic Europe. Each Irish company in the Catholic armies of France and Spain was assigned a chaplain, which helped to cement links between the military and the numerous Irish religious colleges in Europe. Clerical assistance in the handling of investments and legal documentation was to prove crucial to the survival of Irish communities in Europe before the French Revolution.

THE MERCHANT COMMUNITY IN EUROPE

By 1600 there was already an extensive trade network between Ireland and the Atlantic seaboard of Europe, including particularly the ports of France, Spain, the Low Countries, and Britain. The seventeenth century witnessed a huge upsurge in this trade, and transient Irish merchants were replaced by Irish merchants residing abroad. Family groupings were so evident in the resulting merchant communities that certain surnames could easily be identified with specific towns. The Stritches and Arthurs of Limerick, for example, settled in Nantes, while the Martin, Lynch, and Kirwan families of Galway went to Saint-Malo. Most merchants were initially Old English, but Gaelic families became much more prominent in trading circles as the seventeenth century progressed. This led to tensions between Old English and Gaelic families in both merchant and military circles. In general, Irish communities in large ports were mainly Old English, and smaller or inland towns were associated with Gaelic names. There was a remarkable degree of integration between these Irish families and their local communities by the second generation in terms of social position, intermarriage, and language. Because these families were Catholic, both France and Spain allowed them a legal status that was almost on a par with that of their own citizens; such status was not generally open to members of other nationalities.

Most Irish communities that emerged in early modern Europe became immersed in both the culture and the politics of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. They subsequently produced a cultural ideology that

saw Catholicism as the inherent factor that united those of Norman and Gaelic descent into one nation and identified Protestant England as the enemy of the nation. This ideology and the literature that stemmed from it ultimately helped to create an Irish identity that equated Irishness with Catholicism and did much to promote the belief that Protestant oppression was the main reason why so many left Ireland.

THE NEW WORLD

Irish men and women also became colonizers. In the seventeenth century some 50,000 to 100,000 men and women left Ireland for the West Indies and North American colonies, and another 250,000 to 400,000 departed in the years 1700 to 1776. Apart from those forced under various government schemes to go to the New World, there were four categories of Irish people attracted to the Americas: English and Scottish tenants and laborers who had come over to plantations in Ireland where they were now dissatisfied; vagrants who sought employment overseas; Old English and some Gaelic landowners deprived of land by confiscation; and a small group of Irish landowning entrepreneurs who hoped to acquire further lands in the new colonies. The majority went as indentured servants, working as servants to planters for a period of three to seven years in return for their passage out. If a servant survived the period of service, he or she could become a paid laborer or even a small planter.

Irishmen were involved in the short-lived colonies in Virginia in the 1580s. A colony of Irish adventurers was established at the mouth of the Amazon by Sir Thomas Row in 1612. The Caribbean also was a popular destination. There was a remarkable growth in the number of Irish Catholic laborers in the Leeward Islands and Barbados from the 1630s. Nevis and Montserrat became almost exclusively Irish colonies. By 1669 there were an estimated 12,000 Irish living in the West Indies. In North America an Irish settlement was established in Newfoundland in the 1620s. With the collapse of several Irish colonies in the Caribbean following the importation of Negro slaves, more Irish migrated to colonies such as Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. Most of those who emigrated from Ireland in the seventeenth century were Catholic, and they went as individuals rather than in family groupings. This and the pervasive anti-Catholic sentiments in many colonies ensured that they did not form ethnic communities but were absorbed instead into Protestant colonial networks. Few settled in New England or Massachusetts, where in general Catholics were frowned upon by the local authorities.

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

The conquest of Ireland led to a level of economic, social, and political dislocation that undoubtedly resulted in waves of mass migration from Ireland during the early modern period. Thousands of Irish left for Spain after the defeat of the predominantly Gaelic forces at the Battle of Kinsale. The entire Catholic merchant class of Waterford went abroad in the 1650s following Cromwellian measures that precluded them from trade. Vagrants and convicts were sent to Virginia as early as the 1620s by English government officials. And between 1652 and 1656 an estimated 35,000 priests, soldiers, and soldiers' wives and children, together with widows and orphans of those who were killed in the wars, were deported to the West Indies.

Early modern migration cannot be simply defined as a response to political crises in Ireland because economic factors played a part as well. The migration of poorer Irish in the late 1620s and early 1630s to Britain and the Continent was caused by food shortages and plague. Wider European politics in the form of state buildings and confessionalization constituted another key factor in the movement of Irish people. The need for manpower during the Thirty Years' War resulted in the recruitment of over 100,000 men from Ireland. The stabilization of Irish immigrant groups from the 1660s and the establishment of major Irish colleges such as Paris and Nantes in the 1670s and 1680s reflected the increasing level of organization of the absolutist French state under Louis XIV. Increasing social regulation of the poor during this period created a distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor, which prompted legislation in most European countries to define begging without a license as a crime. This forced many poorer people to leave their localities or countries. It was a particular feature of Ireland, where poor-law relief was virtually nonexistent owing to the weak infrastructure of both the Established Church and the state at the local level.

SEE ALSO Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; Irish Colleges Abroad until the French Revolution; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; O'Mahony, Conor, S. J.

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Gráinne Henry

Williamite Wars

See Jacobites and the Williamite Wars.

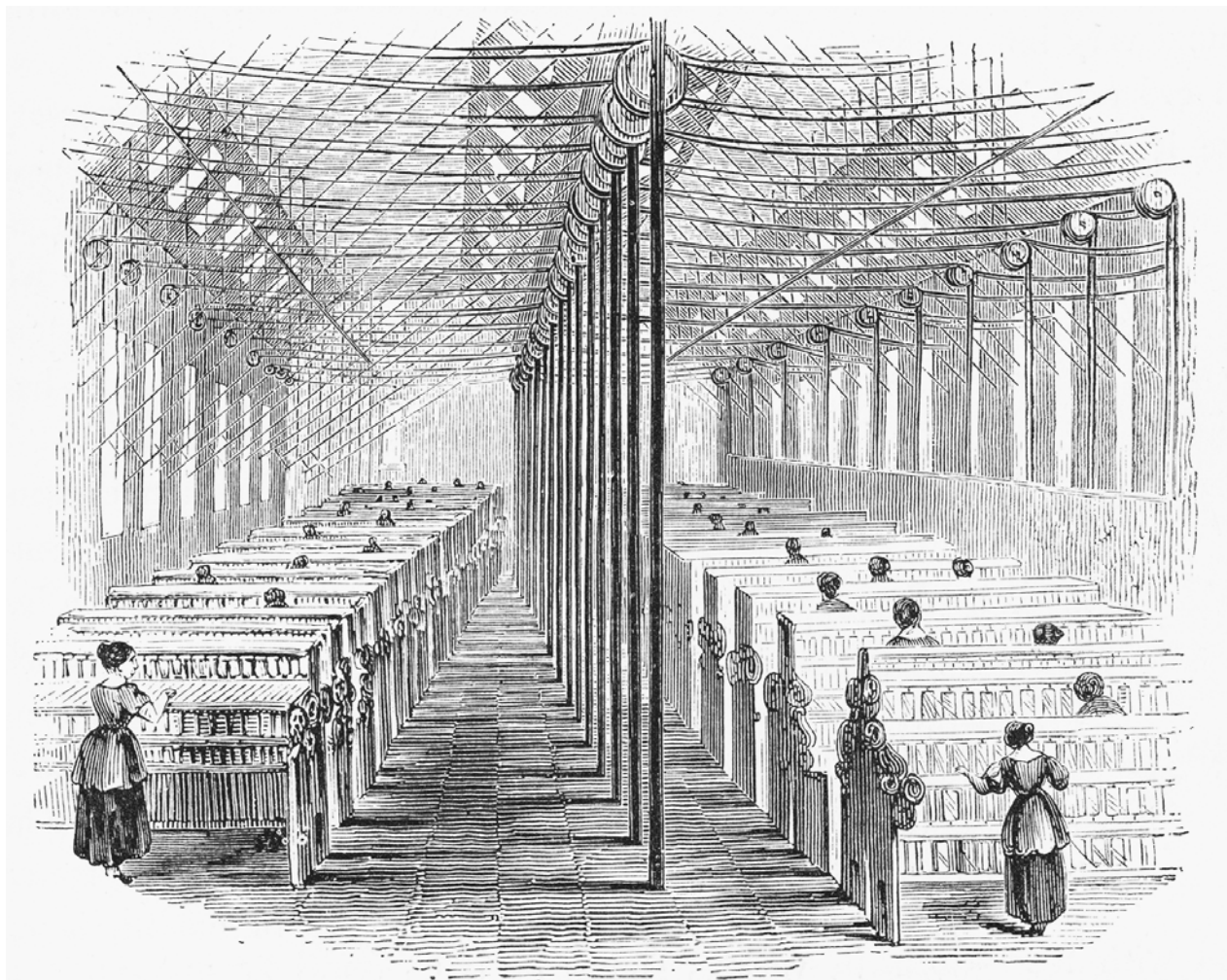


Women and Children in the Industrial Workforce

Beginning at the end of the seventeenth century, women and children played a central role in the burgeoning Irish textile industry. Explanation of their extensive presence requires attention to the intersection of class and gender stratification and the accumulation of profit. Since women and children were culturally defined as dependent on adult males, their labor was paid less than men's, and the cheap labor pool they supplied both increased employers' profits and frequently retarded technological innovations.

THE PROTO-INDUSTRIAL PERIOD, 1690–1825

Between 1690 and 1825 the Irish textile industry gained prominence. Although debate exists about the consequences of the British Woolen Act of 1698 that prohibited the export of Irish woolen goods to foreign ports, the production of frieze and old drapery expanded in many southeastern Irish towns. The division of labor in domestic wool production was typical of the Irish textile industry: Men wove cloth, women carded and washed raw wool and spun yarn, and children picked the wool, wound bobbins, and filled shuttles. A few women, mostly widows, were clothiers responsible for the organization of production and the marketing of cloth. L. A. Clarkson's evidence from Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary, shows that in 1799, 65 percent of em-



Female workers in Chartres's linen mill, Belfast, c. 1840. FROM MR. AND MRS. SAMUEL CARTER HALL, *IRELAND: ITS SCENERY, CHARACTER, ETC.* (1841–1843).

ployed females produced textiles, compared with 24 percent of employed males.

Narrow or bundle linen had been produced by women for centuries. However, linen's rapid commercial expansion after 1696 was dependent on duty-free access to English markets. In the proto-industrial period linen yarn and cloth were produced by a stratified class of tenant farmers who combined the production of yarn and cloth with small-scale farming. The male household head worked the land while his sons wove cloth and helped during harvest season. If a household lacked sons, journeymen, apprentice weavers, or extended kin were employed. Women and children helped to harvest and prepare the flax, spun it into yarn to be woven or sold, and wound yarn onto bobbins. Women were responsible for domestic tasks such as childcare, cooking and cleaning, and spun when they had spare time. Spinning was so important that often kin or itinerant spin-

ners were hired to spin for a weaver in return for board, lodging, or a small wage.

Technological innovations in this period affected the sexual division of labor. Early in the eighteenth century women bleached linen cloth, but in the 1730s bleaching and finishing were the first processes to be centralized by capitalists who invested in time-saving technology that came to be used by men. Although male children were employed at open-air bleachgreens, relatively few women were. Similarly, seasonal water-powered flax-scutching mills multiplied in the late eighteenth century; women and children often performed ancillary tasks such as bruising, rolling, and striking of flax for male scutchers. Such tasks posed persistent dangers owing to dust and unfenced machinery. Finally, after the introduction of the flying shuttle in 1808, women (typically, young daughters) increasingly turned to linen weaving.

Yarn spinning always had a commercial side linked to demands for yarn by weavers in the northeast of Ireland and for warp by cotton weavers in Lancashire, England. Although women's earnings helped to pay the family's rent or to lease larger plots of land, spinning was poorly remunerated and of lower status than weaving. Spinners earned from three to six pence per day, and weavers earned from one to five shillings, depending on demand and the type of cloth. Labor in Ireland was cheap because agrarian households absorbed part of the cost of reproducing their labor by leasing land to grow food and flax. Jane Gray (1993) argues that the cheap labor of spinners was integral to uneven capitalist development because merchants profited from buying cheap yarn in the western counties and selling it to manufacturers in northeast Ulster.

In the 1770s and 1780s the semiautonomous Irish Parliament acted to encourage and protect the cotton manufacture that had expanded in the Belfast vicinity. From its inception, cotton-yarn spinning was located in factories, with machinery powered by water or steam, and relied on cheap female and child labor. The Irish cotton industry was more heavily dependent on female labor than was the English industry: the male-to-female ratio in Belfast was 1:2, and in Lancashire, 1:1. The wages of women and children were also lower—in 1833 wages were 72 percent of those in Lancashire (O'Hearn 1994).

The lower cost of labor in the agrarian protoindustrial system deterred technological innovations in cotton, and cloth was produced by rural handloom weavers until the mid-nineteenth century. Although cotton handloom weavers were typically male, cotton was easier to weave than linen, and as mechanized cotton spinning declined in the 1820s and 1830s, handloom weavers' wages fell. These circumstances attracted women to cotton weaving; they comprised 31 percent of cotton weavers by 1851 in counties Antrim, Armagh, and Down.

FACTORY PRODUCTION OF TEXTILES, 1825 TO THE PRESENT

The prevalence of children's working long hours in unhealthy conditions in British textile factories led to state efforts, beginning in 1819, to limit their working hours and ages. In 1844 factory children were required to attend school for a partial day (as "half-timers"). The minimum age of employment was raised from nine in 1819 to ten in 1879; in 1891 the minimum age was again raised to eleven. However, the conflicting interests of working-class parents who needed their children's wages, and the accumulation of profits by factory

owners, negatively affected working-class children's schooling.

Cheap labor also retarded technological innovations in the linen industry, which resumed its dominance after cotton's collapse. In 1825 the wet-spinning process enabled fine linen yarn to be produced more quickly and cheaply by workers, thus eliminating handspinning. Thereafter, displaced handspinning workers were workers in spinning mills, wound yarn for handloom weavers, wove linen cloth on handlooms, or were absorbed into the sewing industry. Although periodic investigations of working conditions in spinning mills were conducted, dust and moist heat persistently compromised workers' health.

Until the 1860s linen weaving remained unmechanized and largely decentralized. Handloom weavers working in factories were typically men, but in weaving households low wages intensified the reliance on child labor for long hours. During the 1860s and 1870s the number of powerlooms expanded. In powerloom factories winders and weavers were women because factory discipline and deskilling were distasteful to skilled male handloom weavers. Poor working conditions in weaving factories resulted in these occupations, as well as those in spinning mills, being classified as dangerous trades.

The flexibility of production in the sewing industry generated an intricate division of labor between relatively high-status female factory operatives and sweated homeworkers or outworkers. The major difference between indoor factory work and outdoor or home work was the failure to regulate the ages and working conditions of home workers under the Factory Acts. Despite long hours of labor by women and children, the work was considered intermittent and supplemental. Problems involved in regulation proved insurmountable since inspectors could not visit all homes and lists of outworkers were often incomplete. In the 1820s and 1830s Irish firms dealing in sewn muslin established warehouses where young girls from age ten were employed as apprentices. Larger numbers of children and women were employed as sewers at home; Brenda Collins estimates the number at 125,000 in 1851 (1988). Embroidery and laces were produced in factories, convents, and homes, taking advantage of surplus female labor in the northern counties. In the making-up branch of the linen industry, handkerchiefs were produced in hemstitching factories and homes around Lurgan, Co. Armagh, and the production of underclothing and shirts employed large numbers of women from the 1840s in Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone. By 1875 there were 4,000 to 5,000 indoor workers and 12,000 to 15,000 outdoor workers in these counties (Collins

1988). Donegal was also the center for the machine and hand-knitting industries. This and the Irish homespun-tweed industry, concentrated in counties Mayo, Kerry, and Donegal, were poorly paid occupations for women.

Although northeast Ireland was the world's leading producer of linen until World War I, thereafter the industry declined, creating massive female unemployment. Between 1942 and 1983 rayon production assumed importance, and the cheap, skilled, and unorganized pool of female labor was a strong attraction for capitalists.

Thus the Irish textile industry consistently depended on the cheap labor of women and children. The prevalence of young women and children generated camaraderie and vibrant shop-floor cultures that are well documented in studies of the linen industry. However, the rate of trade-union organization for women was low relative to men because women were not identified as autonomous agents, and wage and occupational discrimination was prevalent, limiting women's livelihoods. Today, in the small number of surviving textile firms, wages for women remain low, despite fair employment laws that eliminate gender-based discrimination.

SEE ALSO Factory-Based Textile Manufacture; Industrialization; Rural Industry; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century

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Marilyn Cohen

Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Understanding women and work requires an awareness of the nature of women's work and how it is measured. Housework, paid and unpaid, has been central to the lives of women, but services provided by women on a voluntary basis at home are not counted as "work" in economic terms. Over the past one hundred and fifty years there has been a steady decline in paid domestic service and a growth, then eventual decline, in the number of full-time "housewives." These trends have been accompanied by an increase in the productivity of housework as a result of mechanization. In contrast with single women and widows, the classification of married women has posed problems that signal the need for vigilance in interpreting trends in labor-force participation.

At the 1841 census the Irish census commissioners devised a classification of occupations comprising nine categories or orders. Every adult was classified according to his or her occupation or "chief business in life." Wives who had a specified occupation (for example, dressmaking) were counted as such and included under the appropriate order (in this case, clothing). Changes in classification methods ordered by the British census commissioners in 1871 led to the disappearance of many wives from recorded occupations, notwithstanding their continued unrecorded involvement. At the 1871 census 47 percent of wives and just over 60 percent of widows had specified occupations. The recorded married women included 55 in civil service occupations, 205 midwives, 1 author, 29 actresses, 1,146 teachers, 5,883 general domestic servants, 31 pawnbrokers, 3,174 unspecified dealers, 5,858 shopkeepers, and more than 13,000 seamstresses. The largest number—more than 250,000—were agriculturists, generally graziers' wives.

By the time of the 1926 census, the first in the Irish Free State, only 8 percent of wives and 40 percent of widows were recorded as "gainfully occupied." In Northern Ireland the proportion of women in factory

employment and domestic industry—many of them married—was higher than in the South, reflecting the importance of the textile and clothing industries in the North. At the 1926 census household-based economic activities of a subsistence nature continued to be significant. Two-thirds of all the women recorded at work in 1926 were in three occupations—farm proprietors (chiefly widows), workers on family farms (mainly single women), and domestic servants (also predominantly single women). Women's occupations were not exclusively traditional, however: One female chimney sweep was recorded.

At this remove it is difficult to determine how many women who were classified as in “home duties” were in effect “at work” in a domestic agricultural context. All that can be said is that intertemporal comparisons that indicate an increase in the labor-force participation of married women may be exaggerated to the extent that participation went unrecorded in earlier decades. As the twentieth century progressed, and as the relative importance of agriculture declined, more women who worked “went out to work.”

The underestimation of the labor-force participation of married women was continued in the 1920s and in particular the 1930s by a deliberate policy to curtail the participation of all women. The move to exclude women—especially married women—from the workplace had its roots in nineteenth-century Britain, continental Europe, and the United States in the struggle of working-class men for a “family wage” adequate to support a wife and children and to keep them out of the mines and “satanic mills.” During the 1930s, the era of the Great Depression and of the Economic War with Britain, jobs for men were given priority. Gradually, restrictions were introduced that limited the sphere of women's work outside the home. These restrictions remained in force for the most part until Ireland joined the European Community in the early 1970s.

For sixty years from 1926 to 1986 there was scarcely any change in the number of women recorded in the workforce as a proportion of all women—the share, standing at 31 percent in 1986, was marginally lower than the 32 percent share recorded in 1926. Accordingly, the share of those not in the labor force (i.e., on “home duties,” “at school/students,” and “others”) was also static. It should be recalled, however, that married women working in agriculture on family farms were counted out of the picture.

By 1981 over 40 percent of married women were in the labor force in Northern Ireland, more than double the percentage in the Republic. The participation rate in the Republic did not rise to 40 percent until the mid-1990s. Between 1995 and 2000 female participation in

the Republic's labor market increased from 40 percent of all females aged fifteen and above to 47 percent. In contrast, the broadly corresponding Northern Ireland proportion remained stable at 48 percent.

The marital status of those in the labor force has changed significantly. In 1926, 77 percent of the female labor force were single, 7 percent were married, and 16 percent were widowed. By 1986 the single share had dropped to 62 percent and the widowed share to 4 percent, while the share of married rose to 34 percent. Over the same period the rise in the participation rate of married women increased from under 6 percent to over 21 percent.

These trends continued in the closing years of the twentieth century. In 1991 the share of women engaged in home duties dipped below 50 percent for the first time, falling to 41 percent by 1996. By 1996 over half (51%) of the female workforce was married, while 47 percent were single and just over 2 percent were widowed. Although most married women who are working in Ireland are working full-time, difficulties exist in interpreting the data because of part-time work by women. As the labor-force participation rate of married women has risen, family size has declined. In the decade 1987 to 1997 the number of mothers in the workforce almost doubled, rising to 235,000.

Strikingly, more than three-quarters of women at work are in agriculture and industry. The share of women in industry (19% in 1996) was slightly less than their share in 1926, while their share in agriculture has fallen from 21 percent to 3 percent, reflecting the relative decline in the importance of agriculture in the economy.

Prior to the School Attendance Act of 1926, which required every child to attend school from the age of six to fourteen years, girls and boys frequently entered the workforce as young as twelve years of age. At the 1926 census one-quarter of all young persons fourteen and fifteen years old were in occupations. Many young women worked in domestic service and factories, including confectionery, jam-making, and clothing factories. By the late twentieth century, following the expansion of second-level education from the late 1960s and third-level education a decade later, women and men rarely entered the workforce before the age of eighteen.

The path of women and work over the past 150 years might be described as wending its way from a domestic economy where life and work intertwined in a predominantly agricultural setting, to working life in factories and economic services, including office and clerical work, which absorbed much of the labor of single women. Beginning in the 1950s the path broadened

in the direction of clerical work, especially in the public service and large corporations such as the Guinness brewery and commercial banks. The expansion at first accommodated single women and, from the mid-1970s, married women as well. By the end of the century the information-technology revolution saw the work path turning once more, at least to some degree, toward the home, as “home-working” took on a fresh meaning.

SEE ALSO Celtic Tiger; Conditions of Employment Act of 1936; Education: Women’s Education; Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Farming Families; Irish Women Workers’ Union; Women and Children in the Industrial Workforce; Women in Irish Society since 1800

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Finola Kennedy



Women in Irish Society since 1800

Three distinct trajectories of change can be traced in the lives of women in Ireland over these two centuries. The first and most important area of change, as far as numbers were concerned, is the shifting relationship of

women to the house as a site of unpaid or paid work. The second area encompasses the occupational and educational changes that began in the early nineteenth century. The third relates to women’s involvement in movements for political change, including the feminist movement. All of these areas were interrelated, but for clarity’s sake an attempt will be made here to deal with them separately.

WOMEN, HOUSE, AND HOME

The sharp decline of the home-based textile industry after 1815 all over Europe left families bereft of an important source of income, however small. It was only in geographically contained industrial areas of Europe—the midlands and north of England, northeastern Ireland, the industrialized areas of France, the low countries, and parts of modern-day Italy and Germany—that factory work replaced home-based work for women. The devastating vulnerability of Irish women and men to famine in the late 1840s was an extreme version of the malnutrition and underemployment all over Europe in that decade. The Great Famine grimly removed the poorest and most vulnerable 10 percent of the population, including a good percentage of the women who had depended on textile earnings. The only way that famine changed the lives of women who survived it was by convincing them that home-based textile earnings were, in most of the country, gone for good.

On big and on small farms women did farm work as well as housework, and a holding of forty or fifty acres needed a family of at least six children to work it effectively. Because of rising levels of literacy and politicization, the postfamine decades brought expectations of a higher standard of living. For many people these could be fulfilled only by emigration. All of Europe supplied emigrants to North America and Australia; what was unusual about Ireland was the comparatively high proportion of young, single women emigrants, traveling alone or with their peers. More women than men emigrated from the midlands and the west of the country; elsewhere the numbers were about equal. Whether these women were independent, forward-looking individuals forging their own destinies, or lonely involuntary exiles who were of more use to their families when working abroad than when idle at home, their freedom of movement and ability to act outside of parental and paternal supervision should be noted. The same freedom-within-family contributed to the high rate of permanent celibacy (outside of the religious life) among women in Ireland until the 1960s. Rates of permanent celibacy were highest in the prosperous agricultural areas. Dowried women of the well-to-do agricultural

class might not have been free to choose their own mates, but they could reject those chosen for them, even though this meant living the rest of their lives with their parents or siblings.

The developments in household technology that occurred in rural and small-town areas from the 1880s and 1890s—better-built fires with cranes for pots, mantelpieces, chimneys, flagged rather than earthen floors—were partly made possible by the easing of population pressure on small holdings and by remittances from abroad. In the 1890s also, the Congested Districts Board and some local authorities began to build solid, slated houses for laborers and small farmers. In independent Ireland the next significant housing development was the construction, in the 1930s, of approximately 12,000 local-authority houses a year in an attempt to clear the slums. Over half of all dwellings in the Republic in 1946, however, were without piped water and electricity, and only 12 percent of rural dwellings were thus equipped in 1961. Nor was it until the 1950s and 1960s that all the inhabitants of the notorious disease-ridden tenements of Dublin and lanes of Cork and Limerick were given proper housing—at this stage defined as two- or three-bedroom houses with gardens and indoor plumbing and electricity. Such new dwellings made women's work immeasurably easier, with no water to carry in and dispose of, beds that did not have to be cleared away every day, lines upon which to hang washing, and flush toilets. In the north of Ireland the standard of working-class housing was generally somewhat better in nineteenth-century urban areas, where the "two-up, two-down" terraced house with a tap and a privy in the yard was the norm, though in rural areas the situation resembled that in the rest of the country. The sectarian housing policy of the Northern Ireland state was challenged by members of the civil-rights movement and other groups from the early 1970s.

For middle-class people in towns and cities piped water, gas, and later, electricity, were introduced in the early years of the twentieth century. Middle-class women, moreover, had their burden of housework eased by the ready availability of girls and women to toil for long hours at low pay, which they did, until the 1940s. Domestic service was, in Ireland as elsewhere in Europe, the default occupation for women from laboring and small-farming backgrounds. Pay was low, but the conditions of work varied widely and it is impossible to generalize, other than to comment that while women fled this occupation in other European countries after the First World War, they abandoned it in Ireland from about 1940, when the wartime economy in Britain provided plenty of comparatively well-paid and well-

regarded work. As late as the 1950s some middle-class people were still lamenting their departure and hoping that a new generation of women could be trained up in their place. This never happened; all women's expectations were rising in Ireland in these years, and the women who would formerly have been domestic servants were no exception.

The 1940s also saw the beginning of another wave of emigration, especially among women, this time to Britain and the plentiful, comparatively well-paid work and training available there after the war. The census occupational figures chart the first gradual, then accelerated, departure of women from "assisting relative" status in agriculture from 1926 onwards, and especially after World War II. If the postfamine female emigrants had emigrated to send money home, these women were emigrating for themselves, though their departure was heartily welcomed by young married women in Ireland who were increasingly reluctant to share living space with single sisters or sisters-in-law. To suggest that women were emigrating because they were "rejected" as marriage partners by Irish men ignores the evidence to the contrary. Every source from the 1950s confirms, with some alarm, the reluctance of Irish women to marry in Ireland. Women who were used to financial independence in white-collar or industrial or commercial work did not want to surrender it, as they were forced to do, on marriage.

Women's health in pregnancy and childbirth saw some improvement toward the end of the nineteenth century with the introduction of district nursing associations and public-health organizations such as the Women's National Health Association (1904) and the United Irishwomen (1911, later the Irish Countrywomen's Association). Maternal mortality fell whenever there was an appreciable rise in income and easing of financial pressure, together with trained midwives rather than doctors. The care given by the untrained handy-woman varied widely in quality, but it was often, up until the 1940s, the only care available to rural women in particular. Women in the cities had maternity hospitals whose services they could call on. The introduction of the National Health Service in Britain and Northern Ireland immediately after the war, and the implementation of a free-for-all maternity and infant-care system in the Republic in 1953, caused maternal and infant mortality to fall definitively all over the island and brought about a definitive improvement in women's health. This change also led to greater freedom from domesticity for single women, who were not called upon as often to rear motherless nieces, nephews, and siblings. Family size in both the Republic and Northern Ireland remained large by European standards until the

1970s, and the childbearing and infant-rearing work of a mother could span twenty years.

The subordination of women in Irish rural life is an oft-told tale. Yet the farm woman had until the 1960s a source of independent income unmatched in an urban setting: egg and butter money. Furthermore, because of the typical age difference between farmers and their brides, many a farm woman enjoyed a long and extremely powerful widowhood. The power of the widow (not only as farmer, but as shopkeeper, too) often oppressed younger women and men. The election to Dáil Éireann of widows, sisters, and daughters of dead male politicians shows both the strength of women's personalities at the local level and the considerable social authority of the older woman in Irish life. Women who married in the early 1950s increasingly rejected such authority, insisting upon living apart from the older generation if at all possible.

The social and economic changes from the 1960s to the 1990s narrowed the lifestyle gap between urban and rural women. The changes in agriculture that took place after Ireland's entry into the European Economic Community in 1973 also eased women's workload on the farm and made life on small farms easier. The proliferation of cars reduced rural isolation and facilitated off-farm employment.

In general, the greater availability of office and industrial work for women and the lifting of the marriage bar in the public service in 1973 slowed down emigration and contributed to a rise in the marriage rate. It was only when women in Ireland had a realistic prospect of paid work (within their own homes, in farms and businesses, or outside them) that they embraced domestic life heartily and in large numbers.

EDUCATION AND PAID WORK

The most important educational reform over these two centuries was the establishment of the National Board of Education in 1831. Making state money available to provide free primary education for boys and girls not only enabled parents to send daughters to school at no cost, but also provided employment opportunities as teachers for women of the nonpropertied classes. Girls' school attendance over the course of the nineteenth century gradually overtook that of boys, particularly in rural districts and urban areas of low female employment. By 1900 over half of all National teachers were women. Prior to the introduction of compulsory education in 1892, girls' attendance was highest in areas with low female employment, and lowest in the northeast, where the mill and the factory beckoned, and there was much home-based garment and textile work.

Nuns owed their rapid expansion in part to government support of the non-fee-paying schools they ran, 75 percent of which were affiliated to the National Board by 1850. Female religious vocations soared in public esteem in nineteenth-century Ireland and remained a very popular life choice for Catholic women in the Republic and Northern Ireland until the 1970s. It gave women training, authority, challenging and often innovative work, and a high social status, apart altogether from the immeasurable spiritual dimension. The vast majority of nuns worked with poor girls in schools of various kinds. This schooling was vocational and practical. There is little evidence for the oft-asserted claim that nuns "socialised" girls for "domesticity" either in fee-paying or in free schools. If they tried to do so, then they made a bad job of it, as many girls and women fled "domesticity" whenever other opportunities—the religious life included—presented themselves. (Nor were Irish women at any time during this period noted for their proficiency in the domestic arts, though it is difficult to credit the perceptions of observers with fixed ideas about the Irish, or about women, or about working-class people.) Nuns must receive part of the credit for the high female attendance at National schools, as they actively sought female pupils long before 1892.

Credit for advances in higher-level education, however, must go to Protestant women and the fee-paying schools that they set up in the 1860s in Dublin and Belfast. These colleges trained girls in the classics and mathematics, and their existence ultimately led to girls being admitted on equal terms with boys to the Intermediate school-leaving examination when it was established in 1878. It was after this that fee-paying convent schools began to prepare girls for the Intermediate examination, and in some cases, like the Protestant schools, to arrange for university extension lectures. Women began to take university degrees in Ireland in the 1880s. Until 1948 in Northern Ireland and 1966 in the Republic, however, secondary education for boys or for girls was limited to those lucky few whose parents could afford to pay for them, or who were clever and determined enough to win scholarships, or who lived near one of the few free secondary schools run by religious orders. Despite all of these obstacles, there was a steadily rising number of girls finishing secondary school from the 1940s. The university education of both sexes began to rise in Northern Ireland in the 1960s, when the first generation of university-educated working-class Catholics would form the civil-rights movement at the end of that decade. The 1970s saw university education take firm hold in the rest of Ireland. Since the 1970s female attendance at university and admission to the professions has soared.

Girls schools of all denominations, fee-paying and free, began to prepare girls also for the new “white-blouse” work opening up in the 1890s in post offices, offices in general, and the public service. Nursing also developed as a very respectable profession around this time, attracting women from a broad range of social backgrounds and subjecting them to rigorous training in work with a strong female identity. While academics and professional women might have been the leaders, it was teachers, nurses, and office and factory workers who made up the rank-and-file membership of the various political and cultural movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Women’s trade unionization was slow, not only because of the problems that always beset it—hostility from male trade unionists and a vulnerable workforce—but also because in the only geographical area of Ireland where women worked in industry in sufficiently large numbers—the north and northeast—workers’ loyalties were crosscut by sectarian tensions. Nevertheless, some advances were made in the 1890s among textile workers, and there were some women in the new trade unions of the early twentieth century, north and south.

The early years of the Free State saw an increase in the numbers of women in factory and office work and a greater visibility of women in the public sphere. Women’s working rights were systematically attacked in the 1920s and 1930s. In the Free State married women were barred from public-service employment by the end of the 1920s and from National School teaching in 1932. Employment legislation in 1936 barred women from working in certain kinds of industries and from night work. The 1940s and 1950s yielded a female landscape laid bare by emigration and economic decline, but big changes were happening unnoticed. Adult women were fleeing what had hitherto been their two most common occupations, the land and domestic service, and more girls were remaining in school. The economic and social development of the 1960s made jobs for women available in commercial, industrial, and office work; women were also admitted to the Garda Síochána (the police force), and later, in the 1980s, to the Defence Forces.

POLITICS AND ORGANIZATION

Women were granted fully equal citizenship in the Irish Free State Constitution of 1922, years ahead of their counterparts in the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Switzerland, and many other European countries. In France at this time, though women did not have the vote, they enjoyed very extensive rights in the work-

place, including paid maternity leave. In Ireland the situation was the reverse—top-heavy with political equality, and with a small but very vocal and highly respected group of women in public life, but the women’s organizations that existed were small and few, and they could do little or nothing to protect women workers.

Women’s involvement in Irish politics began in the late 1870s and early 1880s when the land movement mobilized men and women throughout the country, and women played a key role in land agitation—resisting evictions and boycotting businesses and neighbors—up to 1903. The short-lived Ladies’ Land League, founded in 1881 to take over the running of the movement while the male leaders were in prison, showed women for the first time in a leadership role in a nationalist movement. Longer-lasting women’s nationalist movements were formed in the early twentieth century, though already the most lively and active of the cultural-revival organizations, the Gaelic League (founded in 1893), was admitting men and women as equal members. Cumann na mBan, the female auxiliary wing of the Irish Volunteers, was founded on a countrywide basis in 1914 and had branches throughout the country. The much smaller, Dublin-based Irish Citizen Army was already accepting men and women as equal combatants. The Proclamation of the Provisional Republican Government in the 1916 Rising addressed men and women as equal citizens and promised equal citizenship. In the north of Ireland more women than men signed the Solemn League and Covenant against Home Rule in 1912. Though the Solemn League and Covenant made no mention of gender equality, and though there was no female equivalent of Cumann na mBan in the Ulster Volunteers, the Ulster Women’s Unionist Council, founded in 1911, had an average membership of about 60,000 and contained women of all classes. In 1898 women with property were given the local government franchise and allowed to sit on county councils, urban district councils, town and corporations. There had already been women Poor Law guardians since 1896, so by 1914 women—usually middle-class women, of all religions—were becoming familiar figures of authority on committees and in official capacities.

The Irish suffrage movement had begun in the 1870s as a small pressure group composed of women of mainly unionist sympathies. It was not until the early twentieth century that it grew in numbers, attracted nationalist women as well (who soon became the majority), and developed a militant wing. Surprisingly, the suffrage movement did not immediately founder on the rocks of unionist/nationalist divisions,



In May 1971 members of the Irish Women's Liberation Movement, returning from Belfast laden with contraceptives, publicize their campaign for the legalization of contraception. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE IRISH TIMES.

but it was swallowed up by the more pressing political loyalties of the second decade of the twentieth century. In 1918 a new law granted the parliamentary vote to all men over twenty-one years old, and to women over thirty with certain property qualifications. The fact that the first woman to be elected to the House of Commons was Constance Markievicz, a Sinn Féin member, seems to indicate that nationalist revolutionaries were committed to gender equality. Many were not, however, as the actions of former revolutionaries anxious to dilute women's citizenship and to attack their working rights in the Free State show. Still, at the very least women were elected to and sat in both houses of the Oireachtas from 1922. This was in contrast to the Northern Ireland state, where, despite the strength of their organization and their considerable power at the local government level, unionist women were discouraged from standing for parliamentary elections in these years.

Yet women politicians in the Free State and Republic, even if they were respected as individuals, were ignored when they paid attention to women's issues. Overwhelmingly Catholic, they did not consider the

banning of contraception in 1929 and 1936 to be a feminist issue, and they were unable to do anything about the removal of women from jury service in 1927, the attacks on working women mentioned above, and the association of women with domesticity in Eamon de Valera's constitution of 1937. A small group of former suffragists, which became known in the 1940s as the Irish Housewives' Association, kept a watching brief on citizenship issues, and they campaigned, as did all feminists in Europe in these years, for better maternal and child welfare and on consumer issues. The Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers agitated for, among other things, a children's court and women gardai (police). Feminism might have been moribund in the 1950s and 1960s, but the Irish Countrywomen's Association (in the Republic and in Northern Ireland) saw a big increase in its membership over these decades, showing a new ability and willingness by women to get out of the house and to organize. It was partly pressure from this organization that led to the founding of the Council for the Status of Women in 1973, though the high-profile, Dublin-based Women's

Liberation Movement of the early 1970s certainly helped. Over the succeeding decades, feminists gave high priority to the redefinition of women's legal and social relationship to the family, their access to economic resources, and their rights in the workplace and in education. Groups such as Irishwomen United (1975–1977), AIM (1972), the Women's Political Association, Irish Feminist Information, Cherish (a lobby group for single mothers), rape crisis centers, and others kept women's issues in the public view. Women won the right to retain public service work on marriage. They also secured separate welfare payments, several legal breakthroughs with regard to family law, children's allowances payable to mothers rather than to fathers, and access to contraception, divorce, and paid maternity leave.

SEE ALSO Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Equal Rights in Northern Ireland; Farming Families; Social Change since 1922; Women and Work since the Mid-Nineteenth Century; **Primary Documents:** From the *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women* (1972); From the Decision of the Supreme Court in *McGee v. the Attorney General and the Revenue Commissioners* (1973); On the Family Planning Bill (20 February 1974)

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Caitriona Clear

Women in Nationalist and Unionist Movements in the Early Twentieth Century

After several decades of campaigning, women over the age of thirty were given the right to vote in parliamentary elections and to sit as MPs in 1918. But with female exclusion from the parliamentary arena up to this date, one cannot assume that women played no political part or were politically disinterested. Although the nineteenth-century ideal was that women's so-called proper place was not public or political, but private and domestic, Irish women's political activity was extensive and varied. Even before the 1800s there are examples of women rioting in times of extreme economic distress and becoming involved in agrarian disturbances. Such activities continued into the nineteenth century. Other women exercised an informal but at times potent influence over the voting behavior of male family members, while others participated in election riots. In addition, aristocratic women had access to those in positions of political power and, using the networks of London's high society, a number of Anglo-Irish women became important political hostesses.

As the nineteenth century advanced, an increasing number of women became publicly active, although the motivations for this varied from the altruistic to the feminist and the political. For instance, a small number of women played a part in the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s, contributing articles, letters, and poems to the advanced nationalist newspaper, the *Nation*. However, women's involvement in Young Ireland was both subordinate and idealized. By comparison, female forays into later Irish nationalist campaigns, such as the Fenian movement of the late 1850s through 1860s and the Land League of 1879 to 1882, were more practically based. For example, women carried dispatches and messages between Fenian leaders, and in October 1865 a ladies' committee was inaugurated to assist the families of imprisoned Fenians. This work continued until the general amnesty of 1872. The Ladies' Land League, spearheaded by Anna Parnell and Fanny Parnell, functioned at first as a fundraising and philanthropic organization that was active in both America and Ireland in the early 1880s. However, with the imprisonment of key Land League leaders, the women's organization took over the day-to-day running of the land campaign—distributing propaganda and providing relief for evicted tenants. By adopting such a high public and political profile, they aroused widespread criticism, even from the higher echelons of the Land League itself.

The emergence of the Home Rule debate from the mid-1880s both divided Irish society and brought a new generation of Irish women into politics. Although still denied access to the vote, they formed organizations that helped men promote or oppose Home Rule, depending on their political persuasion, and developed a specifically female agenda. Women were excluded on the basis of sex from numerous late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalist organizations, and this prompted the formation of an exclusively female nationalist body, *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* (Daughters of Ireland) in 1900. It was run for and by women. Under the presidency of Maud Gonne, it aimed to promote Irish independence (by armed means if necessary), and to encourage the purchase of Irish manufactures and the study of Irish language, history, literature, music, and art. Gonne wanted to prove that women were capable of political activity and could contribute positively to the campaign for Irish independence. However, *Inghinidhe na hÉireann's* agenda, although never radically feminist, was too belligerent to rally popular support. In essence, it remained a collection of interested individuals rather than a united body working toward a singular goal, and it was increasingly overshadowed by another female nationalist organization *Cumann na mBan* (Women's Council).

Cumann na mBan was set up in 1914 as a female auxiliary of the Irish Volunteers, aiming to assist the campaign for Irish independence and to counter the organizational efficiency and militancy of unionists who were preparing to resist Home Rule by armed force. Each branch of *Cumann na mBan* was affiliated to and took orders from a local battalion of Irish Volunteers, and members raised funds, cooked, sewed uniforms, cared for military equipment, and undertook first aid and the training of nurses. Despite this ancillary status, feminism had more of a place in *Cumann na mBan's* ideology than in that of *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*. However, nationalism remained its primary aim. This stance provoked some criticism from Irish suffragists, who opined that female nationalists' priorities were wrong. *Cumann na mBan* retorted that there could be no free women in an enslaved nation.

Cumann na mBan also developed specifically female rhetoric, highlighting the security of the home and the protection of children as contributions to nation building in an attempt to attract women into the organization. Yet a real surge in the popularity of *Cumann na mBan* occurred only in the aftermath of the 1916 Rising, an event that saw sixty members of the organization carry dispatches, nurse the wounded, and cook for the rebel forces. After 1916 there was an upsurge in republican sympathy, and by 1921 *Cumann na mBan*

had an estimated 750 branches with approximately 4,500 members. This popularity was short lived. Moderate support waned as the organization was the first to reject the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, and as its members supported the antitreaty forces during the Civil War (1919–1921 and 1922–1923).

Women were similarly active within unionism. Again, it was the political discourse over Home Rule that drew many women into politics from the time of the first Home Rule bill in 1886. Initially female involvement in the unionist campaign occurred on a local or individual basis with women petitioning, demonstrating, disseminating propaganda, canvassing, and fundraising, but this developed into more collective activity with the creation of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council (UWUC) in January 1911. Led by members of Ulster's aristocratic elite, with the majority of officeholders related by marriage or birth to leading unionist MPs and peers, this organization continued and augmented the female unionist activities of the late nineteenth century. However, the organization aimed to have both "the peeress and the peasant represented" (*Belfast News-Letter*, 24 January 1911) in its ranks, and by 1912 the UWUC had an estimated membership of between 115,000 and 200,000 members. This was easily the largest female political body that Ireland had ever seen. Female unionism was also dramatically apparent on 28 September 1912, when 16,000 more women than men signed the Women's declaration, a female equivalent of the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant. In addition, the UWUC waged a huge anti-Home Rule propaganda campaign, with more than 10,000 pro-unionist leaflets and newspapers being sent weekly to Britain by 1913.

Like *Cumann na mBan*, the UWUC was an auxiliary association, and following the creation of the Ulster Volunteer Force in 1913, many unionist women received instruction in nursing, signaling, intelligence work, and driving. Furthermore, while UWUC echoed the economic, religious, constitutional, and imperial objections espoused by male unionists, the organization also developed a gendered anti-Home Rule argument. Here, in parallel with *Cumann na mBan*, the sanctity of the home and well-being of children was emphasized, with women's political activism being depicted as an extension of maternal responsibility. In addition to the similarities between female unionist and nationalist rhetoric, their views of the Irish suffrage movement had much in common. The overwhelming majority of both unionist and nationalist women gave priority to Home Rule over the issue of female suffrage. This in effect weakened the level of support that the Irish suffrage movement could arouse. At a time of political crisis it

became increasingly difficult for suffragists to maintain a neutral political position; thus, even though the early years of the twentieth century saw an unprecedented number of women working toward political ends, their views were as divided as the political climate in which they worked.

SEE ALSO Cumann na mBan; Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Gonne, Maud; Ladies' Land League; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Unionism from 1885 to 1922; Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation

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Diane Urquhart

Women's Movement in Northern Ireland

The women's movement in Ireland, as elsewhere, was associated with second-wave feminism and the wider civil-rights movement of the late 1960s. In Northern Ireland it was affected by, and in turn influenced, broader movements for social justice in the region. While disagreement about methods and principles was not uncommon among women activists, the ongoing political and military struggle heightened existing differences and injected a sense of urgency and emotion into all proceedings.

Although women had come together before on occasion to protest (for example, against the ending of free school milk for children) or to focus attention on the issue of domestic violence, the year 1975 saw the formation of the first organized group, the Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement (NIWRM). This group aimed "to spread a consciousness of women's oppres-

sion and mobilize the greatest possible numbers of women on feminist issues" (NIWRM Manifesto 1974). They called specifically for the extension of Britain's Sexual Discrimination Act to Northern Ireland. But in a movement that encompassed a diversity of political allegiances and aspirations, involving academics, trade-union activists, civil-rights activists, communists, unionists, and republicans, tensions were bound to surface.

Many Northern Irish women had become politicized not from ideological conviction, but as a result of their immediate experience. For the wives of interned men, for example, the battle for justice was waged not merely against men, but against the institutions and instruments of the state. So while on the constitutional question the NIWRM declared itself to be nonaligned, its attempts to distance itself from the wider struggle were met with accusations of their complicity with the state. Support for women political prisoners, all of whom were republican, was a particularly emotive and divisive issue. Those who aimed to combine their commitment to socialism with feminist and nationalist concerns formed the Socialist Women's Group in 1975; it dissolved two years later, and many members reunited in the Belfast Women's Collective. Women against Imperialism and the Relatives' Action Committee provided forums for campaigns more closely linked with the rights of political prisoners. During the 1980s they were heavily involved in support of women prisoners in Armagh jail who went on hunger strike, took part in a "no wash" protest, and were frequently subjected to strip-searching. But with the NIWRM refusing to engage in the protests, "Armagh became a metaphor for what divided women here from each other" (Ward 1991, p. 156).

The consequences of "lobbying for change in a context where the legitimacy of the legislature is contested" (Rooney 1995, p. 43) offered a potent reminder of the multiple identities and conflicting loyalties held by women everywhere. However, an overemphasis on the problems of division draws attention away from what was achieved during these years: An Equal Pay Act was passed in 1970 and a Sex Discrimination Act in 1976. The setting up of the Equal Opportunities Commission in the same year was seen as particularly helpful by those feminists and trade unionists for whom the right of women to work, and to be given equal opportunities and rewards, were considered fundamental entitlements. The establishment of women's aid refuges, rape crisis centers, and well-women clinics can also be attributed to feminist lobbying.

Perhaps one of the most distinctive and important developments in Northern Ireland, however, was the

growth of local women's groups. Coming together for solidarity and mutual aid in their strife-torn communities, women learned from and built upon their own experience. Through consciousness-raising classes and educational courses in women's history, literature, and place in society, women in many areas became both more politicized and more experienced in dealing with local problems. During the 1980s and 1990s a series of meetings and conferences highlighted women's issues and sought ways to facilitate their inclusion in the political process. As a result, many women became more active in a range of political parties, and in April 1996 the Northern Ireland's Women's Coalition was formed and succeeded in winning two seats in the newly established Northern Ireland Forum. The party sought to bring a new gender perspective to national politics with the key principles of "inclusion, equality and human rights" (Fearon 1999, p. 13). But while many women viewed the party as a catalyst for change, others were uneasy, both about the party's evasion of the constitutional question and about the way in which it was assumed that "women's voice would change everything, simply by virtue of their gender" (Ward 1997, p. 151). The coalition, however, is only the most visible aspect of the undercurrents of change. Although political tensions in Northern Ireland may have prevented the emergence of an autonomous feminist movement, the experiences of working-class women and their community activism perhaps hold greater potential for fundamental change.

SEE ALSO Peace Movement in Northern Ireland

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Myrtle Hill

Women's Parliamentary Representation since 1922

In the 1918 general election, the last all-Ireland election to Westminster (British parliament), Constance Gore-Booth (Countess Markievicz) was the first woman to be elected to Parliament. One year later, she had the distinction of being the first woman in Europe to hold government office when she was appointed minister for labor in the first Dáil. Markievicz's political success suggests that the Irish public and its political leaders viewed women's holding of high office with equanimity, but the next decades would prove otherwise. By the end of the 1930s the fourteen women (nine in the Dáil and five in the Seanad) who had entered Parliament following independence left politics, to be replaced by seven new women. In 1969 there were only three women in the Dáil, and none of them had cabinet experience. Women's presence in Parliament began to gradually improve from this point on, and in 2001 women held a modest twenty-one seats (13%) in the Dáil and eleven (18%) seats in the Seanad. Women also had made it into government office; in 2001 three women (20%) held ministerial offices and a further four (23%) were junior ministers.

Women have been similarly represented in Northern Ireland's electoral politics. Between 1921 and 1972 (when the Northern Ireland devolved parliament was suspended), nine women held seats (were members of Parliament) in the Northern Ireland Assembly and only one, Dame Dehra Parker, served in government (held ministerial office as well as being a member of Parliament). In general elections during this fifty-year period only three women won Westminster (British Parliament) seats. In the next three decades, women's absence from political life in Northern Ireland (with notable exceptions) was exacerbated by the "Troubles." The 1996 IRA cease-fire, the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, and the restoration of devolved government combined to provide women with renewed political opportunities. In the 1998 elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly, fourteen women (13%) won seats and two women (16%) were appointed ministers in Northern Ireland's

power-sharing executive. This progress continued in 2001: In the local elections women's presence increased from 86 seats (14%) to 108 seats (19%), and in the general election a record three women (17%) were elected to Westminster.

INFLUENCING SUCCESS

A combination of individual and system-related factors act to support women's advancement in political life in Ireland. There are three main routes to national and regional politics: political parties, a family connection to politics, and community activism or local-government service. In addition, party ideology, the electoral system, and voter attitudes toward women as political decision-makers are important influences. Membership in an established political party is the dominant factor, because either party officials invite women community leaders to run for election on their ticket or because party notables support women activists. A family tradition of political involvement is a second important factor. Party and family interact to socialize women into politics, demystifying power and teaching women the rules of the political game. Although the power of the political dynasty has decreased over time, it is still a feature of political life in Ireland: nine (33%) of the new women elected to the Dáil in the 1990s were the daughters of former (male) politicians. Community activism, including involvement with women's groups, is the third most significant route to political life for women in the Republic and also has been a major factor in women's participation in Northern Ireland politics since 1998. As with the political-family factor, activism socializes women civic leaders to political life and encourages them to seek more political power. Careers are most likely when women contest elections under a party ticket, again reinforcing the role of party politics as the gatekeeper to political life. The majority of women, and men, begin their formal political careers in local politics, using it as a stepping-stone to higher political office.

Particular features of the political system—the ideological position of parties, a proportional-representation electoral system and a relative willingness by voters to support women candidates—are also significant in bringing women into elected politics. Parties in both the North and South that occupy centrist or left-wing ideological positions and new parties are more likely to have women representatives. In addition, a proportional-representation voting system does not disadvantage women's candidacies, while the electorate in both the North and South is quite open to voting for women candidates from their preferred party when given the opportunity to do so. It has been found that

electoral systems based on proportional models are more favorable to women's representation than majoritarian systems (Norris 2000). All elections in the Republic of Ireland are conducted under a form of proportional representation—the single transferable vote—in multi-member constituencies. Voters can choose along a number of dimensions, including party and individual, and can also indicate their second, third, and further preferences. Local and regional elections in Northern Ireland are conducted under similar electoral rules as those in the south. Research indicates that the major factor influencing the gender composition of the Dáil is incumbency (Galligan, Laver, and Carney 1999). It also suggests that voters are quite happy to vote for women candidates, especially women incumbents. In both Northern Ireland and the Republic, the election of women candidates closely correlates with their proportion of total candidates; thus, in the 2001 elections in Northern Ireland, women constituted 19 percent of candidates and won 19 percent of local council seats.

IMPACT OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The dominance of conservative sociocultural and religious attitudes that have conferred on women second-class citizenship accounts for women's absence from political life in Ireland until the 1970s. The emergence in the 1970s of the civil-rights and feminist movements in the North and South, influenced by similar developments in Britain and the United States, brought the position of women under public scrutiny and debate. However, in Northern Ireland the slide into political conflict (the "Troubles") cut short the potential of the women's movement to raise women's aspirations toward holding political office. When the possibility of a negotiated settlement to the long-running conflict emerged in 1996, the women's movement mobilized to win representation to the multiparty peace talks; this led to the formation of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, a feminist party with a membership drawn from both nationalist and unionist communities. In subsequent elections the presence of the Women's Coalition prompted longer-established parties to pay greater attention to women's political presence; in 2001 this resulted in the selection of a greater proportion of women candidates for the general election and, importantly, placement of women candidates in contests for winnable seats.

The women's movement in the Republic of Ireland was conscious of the need to increase women's presence in parliament, and the Women's Political Association was formed in the 1970s to achieve this end. The WPA continued to advocate for women candidates throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and in that period three

women's movement leaders were successfully elected. During the 1990s arguments by party feminists for increasing women's representation in the political sphere began to have greater influence. Although the main parties stopped short of introducing quotas to boost women's presence, they tried, with varying degrees of commitment, to encourage women to run for political office. The success of the women's movement in bringing women into politics was evident with the election of Mary Robinson as president in 1990 and Mary McAleese as her successor in 1997.

THE FUTURE

The influx of women into politics in Northern Ireland since 1998 indicates the emergence of a degree of political stability in this troubled region. The risk facing women's continued political presence is a breakdown in the "peace process" and a return to the conflict of former years. In this eventuality many of the women holding assembly seats are likely to disengage from electoral politics—returning the political space to a virtual male monopoly—because a return to violence would make it difficult, indeed dangerous, for them to be politically aligned. Elected representatives and their families were (and in some areas continue to be) singled out for death threats, intimidation, and other forms of violence. Many women MLAs still speak of experiencing localized intimidation in their constituencies towards themselves and their families. If there is a return to violence, the risk to their lives and family members' lives would escalate.

Women in politics face an uncertain future in the coming years. The high turnover in women's representation in 1997 was repeated in 2002, with five (24%) established female legislators losing their seats. While this loss was offset with the election of five new women and two former women TDs regaining their seats, the overall representation of women in Parliament languishes at twenty-two (13%). The number of new women winning political office is too low to make an impact on the gender balance in the Dáil, and high levels of voter volatility suggest that parties may be less inclined to select significant numbers of women candidates.

Countering this conservatism are new legislative and policy-oriented measures adopted by the British and Irish governments to encourage the selection of more women for political office. In 2001 the House of Commons adopted the Sex Discrimination (Election of Candidates) Act providing that parties could develop positive measures for candidate selection to redress the existing gender imbalance in Westminster and the devolved legislatures. In the same year, the Irish government provided medium-term financial support to par-

ties aimed at developing capacity-building programs for potential women candidates. While the efficacy of these measures will be tested in time, they offer the possibility of a more hopeful future for women's political representation on the island of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Markievicz, Countess Constance; Parker, Dame Dehra; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Robinson, Mary; **Primary Documents:** From the *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women* (1972)

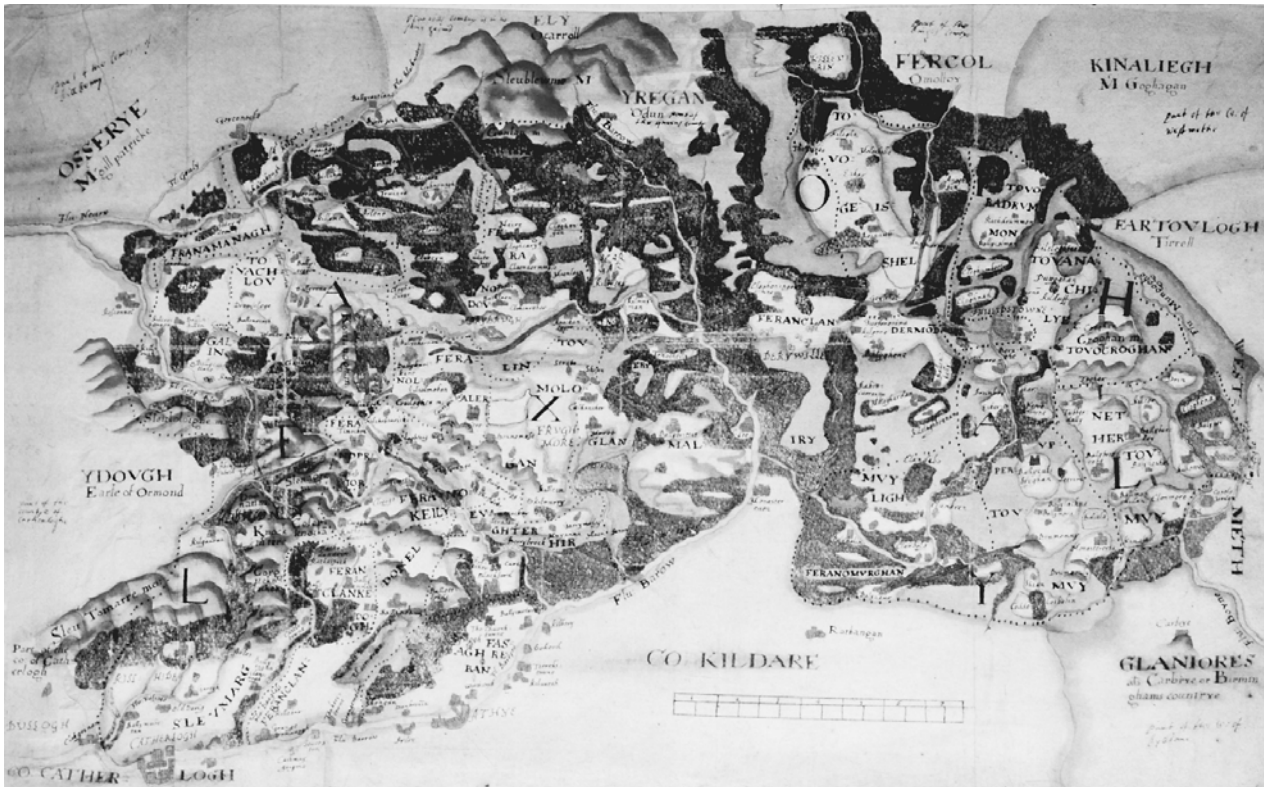
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Yvonne Galligan

Woodlands

A mix of natural and human influences is evident in the woodland history of Ireland since the end of the last glacial phase about ten thousand years ago. Ireland was then a treeless tundra, which gradually became colonized by woodlands in which willows, birch, hazel, and pine were represented. By about 7000 B.P., woodland may have covered at least 80 percent of Ireland. Species emerging as dominant during a relatively stable climatic climax-phase were elm and hazel in the midlands, alder in wet habitats, oak on the more acid soils of the south and northeast, and pine on the more exposed soils of the northwest (Pilcher and Mac an tSaoir; Mitchell and Ryan). Some other species widespread in the postglacial forests of Britain and mainland Europe; for example, lime, sycamore, beech and horse chestnut did not establish themselves in Ireland at this time.



Map of King's and Queen's counties (Offaly and Laois), c. 1562. By the mid-sixteenth century Irish timber was very much in demand in England for use in constructing ships and buildings THE BOARD OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Later species changes can be linked to climate change (notably, the wetter and cooler conditions after c. 6200 B.P.), disease, and human activity. A widespread abrupt decline in the elm population around 5900 B.P. has been attributed to the spread of disease and to the clearances of early Neolithic farmers. Wetter conditions and human activity can be readily associated with the expansion of blanket bog and the decline of the pine from about 4000 B.P.

Significant clearances of woodland for farming must have occurred throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages and in later periods, but their precise scale, extent, and phasing remains open to debate. Some pollen analyses, and the widespread distribution of over 40,000 raths (circular earthwork), suggest that large areas had been cleared by early Christian/early medieval times. References in early Christian law tracts may be interpreted as indicating that some trees then had a scarcity value. However, trees and woods feature prominently in place-names, and documentary records from late medieval times and into the seventeenth century support the local significance of extensive tracts of both oak woods and secondary "shrubby woods." Some early maps—for example, one that shows parts of the east midlands in the 1550s and Baptista Boazio's general

map of Ireland in 1599—depict a landscape where lowland woods and bogs were locally prominent, particularly in Ulster and along some river valleys.

1600–1900

Although some estimates place the proportion much lower (Pilcher and Mac an tSaoir), as much as one-eighth of Ireland may have been wooded about 1600 C.E. (McCracken). Much of this woodland was cleared over the next century. Commemorated in evocative Irish language poetry as well as in more prosaic estate and customs records, these clearances may have been on occasion for security reasons (to remove the hiding places of rebels and robbers, the "woodkerne" and "tories"), but they were mainly economically inspired, with Irish timber being used locally by tanneries and for coopering and iron-smelting, and being exported for staves and shipbuilding. By the early 1700s the timber resource had been largely exploited; woodland covered less than 2 percent of the island. Only a few pockets of older native woods (e.g., the Killarney broadleaves and the Geragh in the Lee valley) survived.

The creation of formal avenues and gardens, and the planting (supported by nurseries and nurserymen)

of fruit trees and orchards around landlord houses in the late seventeenth century promoted a range of introduced species, among them beech, sycamore, walnut, lime, and horse chestnut. These developments, and the more general planting of hedgerows, foreshadowed an interest in trees and plantations that expanded during the later eighteenth century as large demesnes in the contemporary “natural landscape” idiom were created to offset landlord big houses. Improvement-minded landlords became responsible for the introduction of an ever-wider range of new species (including various conifers and American varieties of elm and birch) and for the creation of new plantations. Their activities were boosted further by the Dublin Society (founded in 1731), which offered premiums for tree planting, and from 1698 by a series of legislative acts promoting the planting of trees. Records of tenant planting survive as the “tree registers” of over a dozen counties.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, scientific support was being given for a program of afforestation. In the 1880s, as landlord insecurity intensified, much privately inspired planting yielded to felling and the sawmill. Coincidentally, government economic-development initiatives included a report (1883) concluding that some 2 million hectares (over 25 percent of the land area), much of it in western areas, were more suited for trees than anything else. An ill-fated planting experiment (1889–1898) failed at windswept Knockboy, Co. Galway, but in 1903, when little more than 1 percent of Ireland was under woodland, a sustained state forestry program began.

SINCE 1900

In its early decades afforestation progressed slowly. Only some 1,200 hectares had been planted by the 1921 partition, but by the late 1930s annual plantings stood at about 3,100 hectares in the south and 400 hectares north of the border. From the late 1940s, both governments set higher annual planting targets. Social needs, particularly job creation in western areas, influenced expansion, while newly introduced mechanical techniques for deep plowing facilitated site preparation. Annual planting levels of 10,000 hectares in the republic and 2,000 hectares in Northern Ireland were reached during the early 1960s.

The main focus for most of the twentieth century was to plant quick-growing species, with the result that conifers accounted for over 90 percent of all plantings. In both parts of the island, the most favored species was Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*), followed, in the republic, by lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*), and in Northern Ireland by Norway spruce (*Picea abies*). Planting was

mainly on cheaply purchased marginal land, including cutaway and blanket bog and unenclosed hill slopes. Little attention was paid to the low-potential forest productivity of some of these areas. Although recreational possibilities were recognized and some forest parks were developed, little consideration was given to the visually obstructive and trivializing impact of forestry on areas of outstanding natural beauty.

Reappraisals of forestry policy in both parts of Ireland during the 1980s produced a more explicitly commercial orientation alongside greater environmental sensitivity. A new state company, Coillte, was formed (1988) in the Republic to manage the maturing state forests and to undertake new planting. Assigned explicitly commercial priorities, Coillte also had to consider recreational and environmental issues. Greater private participation and greater planting on agricultural land were now actively encouraged. Accompanied by a range of attractive tax and other incentives, and organized within the context of European Union operational programs, these measures generated unprecedented annual planting levels and succeeded in encouraging farmers and investment cooperatives to such an extent that from 1990 new planting by the private sector outstripped that of the state. With forestry regarded as a particularly appropriate land-use option in many western areas, private planting was particularly extensive in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Leitrim.

At the start of the present century, some 640,000 hectares of the republic (9 percent of the total area) were devoted to forest or woodland. This was 250,000 hectares greater than in 1980—an indication of the scale of late-twentieth-century landscape change. Forest cover was most extensive in Counties Wicklow and Waterford (20 and 16 percent of the total area, respectively) and least extensive in County Meath (2 percent) and parts of the north midlands (4 percent). With over 16,000 persons employed in forestry and related activities, the spin-off effects of earlier development were evident in an active timber-processing industry. In Northern Ireland, 82,000 hectares (6 percent of the total area) were under forest, some 15,000 hectares more than in 1980.

Some attempt had been made during the 1990s to increase the proportion of broadleaf planting, yet by 2000 little more than one-fifth of all new plantings in the republic were broadleaved. Reservations about the continued emphasis on conifers had been expressed by the European Commission and others, while concerns had also been raised about the degradation of attractive landscapes, the destruction of biodiversity, and the negative impact of conifer-dominated afforestation on surface-water acidification, run-off, and flooding (Heritage

Council 1999). But government policy favored a further increase in the forest cover on account of its value as an alternative to agriculture, its appeal to rural tourism, its potential multiplier effects for employment, and its potential as a carbon store absorbing carbon dioxide.

With the aim of creating a “sustainable critical mass” of 1.2 million hectares (17 percent of the land area), by 2030, a future planting target was set for the Republic of Ireland of 20,000 hectares per annum. The agenda for the early twenty-first century was marked, in both parts of Ireland, by a state-supported commitment to sustainability guidelines and to policies involving greater diversity in the age and species of trees, more discriminatory landscaping, and felling programs, and the reversion of former old woodland to its preplantation composition. These measures will favor more broadleaf planting within more holistic landscape and ecological contexts.

SEE ALSO Bogs and Drainage; Estates and Demesnes; Landscape and Settlement

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Arnold Horner



Yeats, W. B.

Poet, dramatist, essayist, Nobel laureate (in 1923), folklorist, mystic, and statesman, William Butler Yeats (1865–1939) was the eldest born (on 13 June 1865) of painter John Butler and Susan Mary Pollexfen Yeats. Educated in public schools in London and Dublin, he enrolled in art school (in 1884) and in the next two years

cofounded the Dublin Hermetic Society and began publishing his first poetry in the *Dublin University Review* (1885–1886). A close friend of young poets such as AE (George Russell), Yeats was also a familiar of such literary friends of his father’s as playwright John Todhunter, Blake scholar Edwin Ellis, and Fenian exile John O’Leary, and so became a central figure in the Irish literary revival of the late nineteenth century. As an editor of folklore and *Poems and Ballads of Young Ireland* (1888) and, with Ellis, *The Works of William Blake* (1893), Yeats grew in reputation as a man of letters as well as a poet. The first collected edition of his *Poems* (1895) began to establish a canon in its selections from *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems* (1889) and from a work dedicated to Maud Gonne, *The Countess Kathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics* (1892). The love poetry of *The Wind among the Reeds* (1899) conflated Gonne with other women, the Sidhe (fairies), and Ireland personified. He collaborated with Lady Gregory on peasant comedies, including *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* (1902), and they joined with John Millington Synge to found the Abbey Theatre.

By 1908, with the publication of the eight-volume *Collected Works in Verse and Prose* to confirm his productivity as a writer, Yeats had begun to leave behind the mannerisms of the Celtic Twilight for a new combative and concrete poetic tone appropriate to the public man he had become. The shift is progressive from the poems of *The Green Helmet* (1910) and *Responsibilities* (1916) to *The Wild Swans at Coole* (1919) and *Michael Robartes and the Dancer* (1921), which brought to national attention a series of rebellion poems, including “Easter 1916,” as Yeats was called to service in the Irish Free State Senate in 1922. His ideal “theatre of beauty” had given place to the realism of Synge and Sean O’Casey at the Abbey, and he began writing for private audiences several “plays for dancers” influenced by the Japanese theatre of the Noh. As the First World War erupted, Yeats emerged as the preeminent modern poet. His greatest achievements, *The Tower* (1928) and *The Winding Stair* (1933), were succeeded by a new aesthetic as he introduced the concept of “tragic joy” to conclude a life’s work in *New Poems* (1938) and *Last Poems and Two Plays* (1939), published at the Cuala Press by his wife George (m. 1917) and sister Elizabeth Corbet Yeats (1868–1940). He died in France on 28 January 1939.

Taken as a whole, Yeats’s influence on English-language poetry has been enormous. No other twentieth-century writer, except James Joyce, has commanded so high a place in Irish letters. As the greatest Irish poet, Yeats casts a giant shadow. For Austin Clarke (1896–1974), who was probably Yeats’s nearest rival in the 1930s, Yeats remained an exemplar and obsession

long after 1939. The Belfast-born poet Louis MacNeice (1907–1963) wrote one of the best seminal studies of Yeats's poetry; more recently, Derek Mahon (1941–) shows Yeats to be a salutary influence, as does Thomas Kinsella (1928–), who served as codirector of the Cuala Press during its short revival in the 1970s. Ireland's greatest living poet, Seamus Heaney (1939–), has also written usefully on Yeats's permanent value as a lyric bard of any nation, likening and preferring him to Wordsworth. Yeats's international reputation as a major poet and man of letters is therefore sustained by a legacy of emulation, though some of his political mythmaking has been challenged by revisionists in Ireland and elsewhere.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Drama, Modern; Gonne, Maud; Literary Renaissance (Celtic Revival); Literature: Anglo-Irish Literature in the Nineteenth Century; Poetry, Modern; **Primary Documents:** "Easter 1916" (1916)

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Wayne K. Chapman

Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation

The Young Ireland movement had its origins in a discussion that took place in Dublin's Phoenix Park in the autumn of 1841 between three young nationalists: Thomas Davis (1814–1845), John Blake Dillon (1816–1866), and Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903). The three decided to establish a weekly newspaper, with Duffy as editor and proprietor, that would offer a fresh

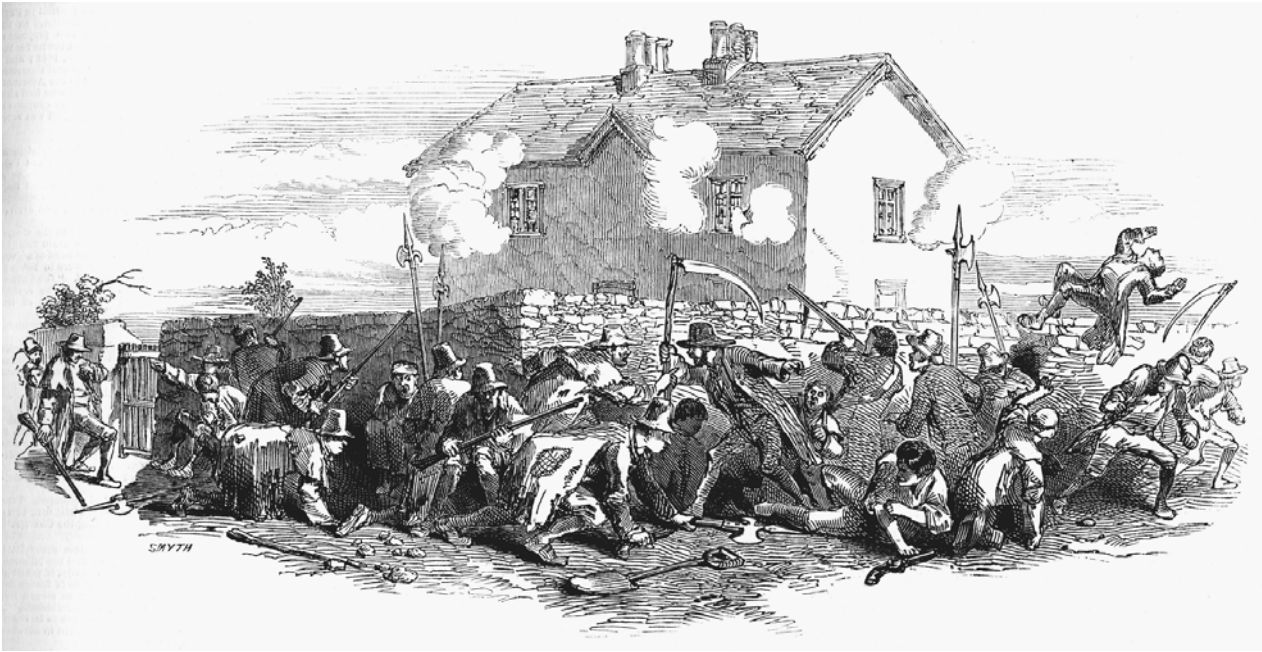
approach to Irish nationalism. They had in mind a publication that was more outspoken but less sectarian than other nationalist papers and that had a decided cultural emphasis. The result was the *Nation*, whose first edition on 15 October 1842 proclaimed its objective to be the creation of a nationality

which will not only raise our people from their poverty by securing to them the blessings of a domestic legislation to inflame and purify them with a lofty and heroic love of country, . . . a nationality which will be come to be stamped upon our manners, our literature, and our deeds—a nationality which may embrace Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter, Milesian and Cromwellian. (*Nation*, 15 October 1842, p. 1).

The paper was an unqualified success: within a year it was selling 10,000 copies per week, a figure that suggested an actual readership of at least 100,000. Besides providing news of national and international events, it published articles by Davis and others on Irish history, literature, language, and art, as well as poetry and ballads from the pens of James Clarence Mangan, Jane Francesca Elgee (also known as "Speranza"), and scores of other talented writers. Davis and his colleagues believed that the key to Ireland's regeneration was an educated public, so to this end they promoted the establishment of "repeal reading rooms" in towns and villages around the country. They also sponsored the publication of a series of monthly volumes on Irish themes called "The Library of Ireland" and a compilation of patriotic poetry (*The Spirit of the Nation*) that appeared in countless editions.

DIFFERENCES WITH DANIEL O'CONNELL

The Young Irelanders—the nickname was meant to reflect their affinity with Young Germany, Young England, and similar groups of the time—formed an articulate and vociferous wing of the repeal movement whose views increasingly set them apart from the O'Connellite leadership. The brand of cultural nationalism that they expressed was attuned to that of their contemporaries in other parts of Europe. It emphasized the uniqueness of the Irish "race" and its cultural heritage, especially its language; it condemned England as the source of Ireland's ills ("Ireland must be unsaxonised before it can be pure and strong," wrote Davis); it resisted what it saw as a growing identification between Catholicism and the nationalist movement; it stressed collectivism and the needs of society rather than the individual; it advocated total separatism, what it called "simple repeal," and it condemned any political or con-



The "rising" of 1848 was an inglorious failure, culminating in the violent affray (depicted here) in the Widow MacCormack's cabbage garden on Boulagh Commons near Ballingarry in Tipperary. About forty policemen got the better of about one hundred Confederates. The incident was soon derided as the "cabbage-patch rebellion." FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 12 AUGUST 1848.

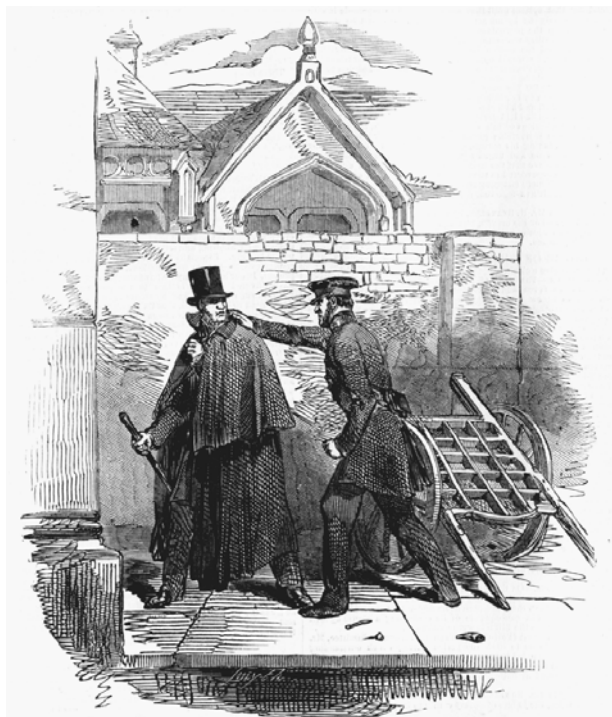
stitutional arrangement that retained British control over Ireland. Ideas such as these were at odds with those of Daniel O'Connell, whose opinions had been formed during an earlier era and shaped in the give-and-take of everyday politics.

Differences between the Young Irelanders and O'Connell became pronounced in 1844 and 1845 as the British government commenced a program of "killing repeal with kindness" through a series of conciliatory measures. The most controversial of these was the Queen's Colleges Bill that placed restrictions on the teaching of religion and theology in the three colleges it established at Belfast, Cork, and Galway. O'Connell and most of the Catholic bishops condemned the measure for creating "godless" institutions, but Young Irelanders applauded it for promoting secular and mixed education, a feature that they hoped would encourage a more pluralistic nationality. Davis and O'Connell clashed bitterly over the measure at a famous meeting of the Repeal Association on 26 May 1845 and though they were reconciled afterward, their debate symbolized the widening gulf between the two versions of nationalism that the men represented.

Despite his outspokenness, Davis was a moderating force within the Young Ireland movement. His unexpected death in September 1845 allowed other, more militant voices to be heard. Among them was John Mitchel, who succeeded Davis as chief editorial writer for

the *Nation*. An article that he contributed in November 1845 described how railways might be sabotaged and troops ambushed. The piece immediately brought O'Connell's wrath down upon the paper, which published a retraction of sorts, but the whole affair was a foretaste of what was to come.

The militancy of Mitchel and others needs to be seen against the backdrop of the Great Famine, which began at precisely this time and which colored many subsequent actions of the Young Irelanders. It seemed to many of them that the desperate conditions of the Great Famine called for desperate remedies and that the current crisis made the need for repeal more pressing than ever. They were openly critical of O'Connell for making overtures to the Whig party in hopes of gaining temporary concessions for Ireland on such matters as lower grain duties. This suggested to them that the older man was becoming "soft" on the issue of repeal. O'Connell responded in July 1846 by calling upon the members of the Repeal Association to adopt a resolution renouncing violence as a means of obtaining self-government for Ireland. This resulted in a series of lengthy debates that saw the Young Ireland leadership—including Mitchel, Duffy, the Protestant landowner and MP William Smith O'Brien, and a fiery young orator named Thomas Francis Meagher—walk out of the meeting and, in effect, secede from the Association.



Head of the Irish Confederation and a reluctant leader of the abortive 1848 "rising," the well-born and Cambridge-educated William Smith O'Brien (1803–1864) was arrested at the railway station in Thurles (depicted in this sketch) on 5 August 1848. Though originally sentenced to death, he was instead transported to Tasmania and remained there until his release in 1854. FROM ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 12 AUGUST 1848.

THE IRISH CONFEDERATION AND REBELLION

On 13 January 1847 the Young Irelanders formed a separate organization called the Irish Confederation which they hoped would become a less centralized and more democratic body than the Repeal Association. To this end they established clubs in Dublin and a number of provincial towns that were intended to give their members a sense of direct participation in national affairs. The Confederate Clubs sponsored lectures on a range of topics, created their own libraries and reading rooms, held formal classes and debates on various subjects, and provided social outlets for young men of various backgrounds. By the end of 1847 the clubs had attracted only a few thousand members. This changed in February 1848 when news arrived of the revolution that had broken out in Paris. During the next five months the number of clubs grew from around 30 to

225 and total membership rose to more than 40,000, most of it concentrated in Dublin and Munster.

Meanwhile, a split developed within the movement between Mitchel and his supporters, who advocated a French-style uprising, and those who, like Smith O'Brien and Duffy, favored a more moderate approach. The government arrested and convicted Mitchel in late May on a charge of treason-felony and sentenced him to transportation (exile) to Tasmania. With this, the other Young Ireland leaders and the clubs began to plan for an armed rising toward the end of the year, though they had few arms, little military experience, and no clear notion of what they hoped to achieve. The government forced their hand in late July by suspending habeas corpus, after which Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and a few others were arrested following a confused attempt at rebellion in south Tipperary.

The more prominent Young Irelanders suffered transportation or fled abroad, many of them going on to notable careers in politics, the law, and journalism in Australia, the United States, and elsewhere. The movement that they represented, though short-lived, had a profound impact upon Irish nationalists of the early twentieth century such as Arthur Griffith and Patrick Pearse, for it seemed to combine an exhilarating vision of Irishness and the Irish nation with heroic action.

SEE ALSO Balladry in English; Davis, Thomas; Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Great Famine; Mitchel, John; Newspapers; O'Connell, Daniel; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; **Primary Documents:** Speech on the Use of Physical Force (28 July 1846)

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Gary Owens

List of Primary Documents



Primary documents furnish the basic materials with which scholars work in describing and analyzing the history and culture of any country. The editors of this encyclopedia have selected and, especially in the case of more modern texts, edited a large number of original sources relating to the history and culture of Ireland; we present them below with the aim of deepening the knowledge of interested readers on subjects of major importance.

The editors wish to acknowledge the special usefulness of the pioneering collection—Irish Historical Documents, 1172–1922—edited by the late Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell and published in London in 1943 by Methuen and Co. Many of the documents reproduced in this encyclopedia can be found in the Curtis and McDowell collection. In most cases it has been the practice of the encyclopedia editors to cite the original source of the documents appearing here.

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Primary Documents



CONFESSIO (DECLARATION)

c. 450

St. Patrick

This is one of the two fifth-century historical documents which seem to prove the existence of an historical St. Patrick. Written in the form of a self-defense of his missionary career, the Confessio sets forth his conviction that his mission has been inspired by God and hence is not subject to failure due to his personal foibles. This work also served as a basis for the subsequent lives of the saint, such as Muirchú's.

SEE ALSO Religion: The Coming of Christianity; Saint Patrick, Problem of

1. I, Patrick, a sinner, quite uncultivated and the least of all the faithful and utterly despicable to many, had as my father the deacon Calpornius, son of the late Potitus, a priest, who belonged to the town of Bannavem Taburniae; he had a small estate nearby, and it was there that I was taken captive. I was then about sixteen years old. I did not know the true God and I was taken into captivity in Ireland with so many thousands; and we deserved it, because we drew away from God and did not keep His commandments and did not obey our priests who kept reminding us of our salvation; and the Lord brought on us the fury of His anger and scattered us among many peoples even to the ends of the earth, where now I in my insignificance find myself among foreigners.

2. And there the Lord opened up my awareness of my unbelief, so that I might, however late, remember my faults and turn with all my heart to the Lord my

God, who had regard for my lowly estate and took pity on my youth and ignorance and watched over me before I knew Him and before I learned sense or could distinguish between good and evil and who protected me and comforted me as a father might his son. . . .

16. But after I reached Ireland, well, I pastured the flocks every day and I used to pray many times a day; more and more did my love of God and my fear of Him increase, and my faith grew and my spirit was stirred, and as a result I would say up to a hundred prayers in one day, and almost as many at night; I would even stay in the forests and on the mountain and would wake to pray before dawn in all weathers, snow, frost, rain; and I felt no harm and there was no listlessness in me—as I now realise, it was because the Spirit was fervent within me.

17. And it was in fact there one night while asleep I heard a voice saying to me: “You do well to fast, since you will soon be going to your home country”: and again, very shortly after, I heard this prophecy: “See, your ship is ready.” And it was not near at hand but was perhaps two hundred miles away, and I had never been there and did not know a living soul there. And then I soon ran away and abandoned the man with whom I had been for six years, and I came in God's strength, for He granted me a successful journey and I had nothing to fear, till I reached that ship. . . .

23. And again a few years later I was in Britain with my kinsfolk, and they welcomed me as a son and asked me earnestly not to go off anywhere and leave them this time, after the great tribulations which I had been through. And it was there that I saw one night in a vision a man coming as it were from Ireland (his name was Victoricus), with countless letters, and he gave me one of them, and I read the heading of the letter, “The Voice of the Irish.” and as I read these opening words

aloud, I imagined at that very instant that I heard the voice of those who were beside the forest of Foclut which is near the western sea; and thus they cried, as though with one voice: “We beg you, holy boy, to come and walk again among us”; and I was stung with remorse in my heart and could not read on, and so I awoke. Thanks be to God, that after so many years the Lord bestowed on them according to their cry. . . .

41. And how has it lately come about in Ireland that those who never had any knowledge of God but up till now always worshipped idols and abominations are now called the people of the Lord and the sons of God, and sons and daughters of Irish underkings are seen to be monks and virgins of Christ? . . .

58. And so may God never allow me to be separated from His people which He has won in the ends of the earth. I pray to God to give me perserverance and to deign to grant that I prove a faithful witness to Him until I pass on, for my God’s sake. . . .

62. But I beg those who believe in and fear God, whoever deigns to look at or receive this document which the unlearned sinner Patrick drew up in Ireland, that no-one should ever say that if I have achieved anything, however trivial, or may have shown the way according to God’s good pleasure, it was my ignorance at work, but consider and accept as the undeniable truth that it would have been God’s gift. And this is my declaration before I die.

ST. PATRICK: HIS WRITINGS AND MUIRCHU’S LIFE, *edited and translated by A. B. E. Hood (1978), pp. 41, 44, 45-46, 50, 53, 54. © Text and translation: A. B. E. Hood, 1978. Reproduced by permission.*



“COLUMBANUS TO HIS MONKS”

c. 600(?)

Attributed to St. Columbanus

Born in Leinster c. 543, Columbanus (d. 615) became a member of the monastery at Bangor in Ulster, one of the most celebrated in sixth-century Ireland. In c. 590, he and a band of twelve companions set out on pilgrimage, traveling first to Britain (or Brittany), followed by Western Gaul, Burgundy, the Merovingian courts of Europe, and up the Rhine to Switzerland (when he presumably could have composed this Latin song). He ended up in Lombardy, receiving a strip of land there from the King and Queen, where he founded the monastery of Bobbio. This boat song

(which the translator, James Carney, sees as an “exhortation to his monks to persevere to the end”) captures the adventurous mood and robust faith of the wandering Irish monks. His writings certainly reflect a knowledge of classical Latin (e.g., this poem in hexameters with a recurring refrain).

SEE ALSO Hiberno-Latin Culture

See, cut in woods, through flood of twin-horned Rhine passes the keel, and greased slips over seas—
Heave, men! And let resounding echo sound our “heave.”

The winds raise blasts, wild rain-storms wreak their spite
but ready strength of men subdues it all—
Heave, men! And let resounding echo sound our “heave.”

Clouds melt away and the harsh tempest stills,
effort tames all, great toil is conqueror—
Heave, men! And let resounding echo sound our “heave.”

Endure and keep yourselves for happy things;
you suffered worse, and these too God shall end—
Heave, men! And let resounding echo sound our “heave.”

Thus acts the foul fiend: wearing out the heart
and with temptation shaking inmost parts—
You men, remember Christ with mind still sounding “heave.”

Stand firm in soul and spurn the foul fiend’s tricks
and seek defence in virtue’s armoury—
You men, remember Christ with mind still sounding “heave.”

Firm faith will conquer all and blessed zeal
and the old fiend yielding breaks at last his darts—
You men, remember Christ with mind still sounding “heave.”

Supreme, of virtues King, and fount of things,
He promises in strife, gives prize in victory—
You men, remember Christ with mind still sounding “heave.”

MEDIEVAL IRISH LYRICS WITH THE IRISH BARDIC POET,
translated by James Carney (1967), pp. 9, 11.



FROM MUIRCHU’S LIFE OF ST. PATRICK

c. 680

Based on both legend and historical sources, such as St. Patrick’s own *Confessio*, this version became the basis for

subsequent Lives of the saint. Here is the account of his early life and mission to convert the Irish. Patrick's birthplace has never been satisfactorily identified, though it is generally thought to have been in western Britain.

SEE ALSO Hagiography; Religion: The Coming of Christianity; Saint Patrick, Problem of

1. Patrick, who was also called Sochet, was of British nationality, born in Britain, the son of the deacon Calpurnius, whose father, as Patrick himself says, was the priest Potitus, who came from the town of Bannavem Taburniae, not far from our sea; we have discovered for certain and beyond any doubt that this township is Ventre; and the mother who bore him was named Concessa.

At the age of sixteen the boy, with others, was captured and brought to this island of barbarians and was kept as a slave in the household of a certain cruel pagan king. He spent six years in captivity, in accordance with the Jewish custom, in fear and trembling before God, as the psalmist says (Psalms 54, 6), and in many vigils and prayers. He used to pray a hundred times a day and a hundred times a night, gladly giving to God what is due to God and to Caesar what is due to Caesar and beginning to fear God and to love the Lord Almighty; for up to that time he had no knowledge of the true God, but at this point the Spirit became fervent within him.

After many hardships there, after enduring hunger and thirst, cold and nakedness, after pasturing flocks, after visits from Victoricus, an angel sent to him by God, after great miracles known to almost everyone, after divine prophecies (of which I shall give just one to two examples: "You do well to fast, since you will soon be going to your home country," and again: "See, your ship is ready," though it was not near at hand but was perhaps two hundred miles away, where he had never been to) after all these experiences, as we have said, which can hardly be counted by anyone, in the twenty-third year of his life he left the earthly, pagan king and his words, received the heavenly, eternal God and now sailed for Britain by God's command and accompanied by the Holy Spirit in the ship which lay ready for him; with him were barbarian strangers and pagans who worshipped many false gods. . . .

8. And so, when a suitable opportunity so directed, with God's help to accompany him he set out on the journey which he had already begun, to the work for which he had long been prepared the work, that is, of the Gospel. And Germanus sent an older man with him, namely the priest Segitius, so that Patrick would have

a witness and companion, since he had not yet been consecrated to the rank of bishop by the holy lord Germanus. For they were well aware that Palladius, the archdeacon of Pope Celestine, the bishop of the city of Rome who then held the apostolic see as forty-fifth in line from St. Peter the apostle, that this Palladius had been consecrated and sent to convert this island, lying as it does in frozen wintriness. But God prevented him, because no one can receive anything from this earth unless it has been given him from heaven. For these wild, uncivilised people did not take kindly to his teaching, nor did he himself want to spend time in a land which was not his own; he returned to him who sent him. But on his return journey from here, after making the first sea crossing and proceeding by land, he died in the land of the British.

9. And so, when the word came of the death of St. Palladius in Britain, since Palladius' disciples, Augustine, Benedict and the others, returned to Eboria with the news of his death, Patrick and his companions turned aside to a wonderful man, a very important bishop called Amator, who lived nearby. And there St. Patrick, knowing what was to happen to him, received the rank of bishop from the holy bishop Amator, as also Auxilius and Iserninus and others received lesser orders on the same day as St. Patrick was consecrated. They received the blessings, everything was performed in the customary way, and the following verse of the psalmist was also sung, especially appropriate for Patrick: "You are a priest for ever, in the manner of Melchisedek" (Psalms 109:4). Then in the name of the holy Trinity the venerable traveller went on board the ship which had been prepared and reached Britain; and as he made his way on foot he avoided all detours, except for the ordinary business of travelling (for no one seeks the Lord by idleness), and then he hurried across our sea with all speed and a favourable wind.

10. Now in the days in which these events took place in the aforesaid area there was a certain king, the fierce heathen emperor of the barbarians, who reigned in Tara, which was the Irish capital. His name was Loegaire, the son of Niall and the ancestor of the royal house of almost the whole of this island. He had had wise men, wizards, soothsayers, enchanters and inventors of every black art who were able in their heathen, idolatrous way to know and foresee everything before it happened; two of them were favoured above the rest, their names being Lothroch, also called Lochru, and Lucetmael, also known as Ronal.

These two repeatedly foretold by their magical arts that there would come to be a certain foreign practice like a kingdom, with some strange and troublesome doctrine; a practice brought from afar across the seas,

proclaimed by a few, adopted by many and respected by all; it would overthrow kingdoms, kill kings who resisted, win over great crowds, destroy all their gods, and after driving out all the resources of their art it would reign for ever and ever. They also identified and foretold the man who would bring and urge this practice in the following words, often repeated by them in a sort of verse form, especially in the two or three years preceding Patrick’s arrival. This is how the verse ran; the sense is less than clear because of the different character of the language:

’Adize-head shall come, with his crook-headed staff and his house with a hole in its head. He shall chant blasphemy from his table, from the eastern part of his house, and all his household will answer him: “So be it, so be it!” (This can be expressed more clearly in our own language.) “So when all these things happen, our kingdom, which is heathen, shall not stand.”

And this is just as it later turned out. For the worship of idols was wiped out on Patrick’s arrival, and the Catholic faith in Christ filled every corner of our land. So much for this topic; let us return to our subject. . . .

22. And St. Patrick, according to the Lord Jesus’ command going and teaching all nations and baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, set out from Tara and preached, with the Lord working with him and confirming his words with the following signs.

ST. PATRICK: HIS WRITINGS AND MUIRCHU’S LIFE, *edited and translated by A. B. E. Hood (1978), pp. 83, 85–86, 93.*
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“TO MARY AND HER SON”

c. 750

Blathmac, Son of Cú Brettan

A member of the Fir Rois of modern-day County Monaghan, Blathmac was a son of the chieftain who took part in the Battle of Allen (722) and the brother of a saga character named Donn Bó (d. c. 759). His poems, in Old Irish, reflect a knowledge of Latin learning and also demonstrate that the cult of the Virgin Mary was established in Ireland by the eighth century. These verses, part of a much longer poem of 149 stanzas, use the caoineadh (keen) as a structuring

device, with the poet asking if he can join Mary in keening her dead son Jesus and ending with a moving invocation of Mary.

SEE ALSO Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity

Come to me, loving Mary,
 that I may keen with you your very dear one;
 Alas! The going to the cross of your son,
 that great jewel, that beautiful champion.

That with you I may beat my two hands
 for your fair son’s captivity.
 Your womb has conceived Jesus —
 it has not marred your virginity.

You have conceived him and no sin with man,
 you brought him forth without ailing wound;
 without grief he strengthened you (fair grace!)
 at the time of his crucifixion.

I ask: Have you heard of a son like this,
 one who could do these three things?
 Such has not come upon the thighs of women
 and such will not be born.

The first-begotten of God, the Father, in heaven
 is your son, Mary, virgin;
 he was begotten in a pure conception
 through the power of the septiform Spirit.

No father has found, Mary,
 the like of your renowned son;
 better he than prophet, wise than druid,
 a king who was bishop and full sage.

His form was finer than that of other beings,
 this stout vigour greater than any craftsman’s,
 wiser he than any breast under heaven,
 juster than any judge.

More beautiful, more, pleasant, bigger than other boys
 since he was in his swaddling clothes;
 it was known what would come of him,
 a being for the saving of multitudes.

Noble the being born from you!
 You were granted, Mary, a great gift:
 Christ, son of the Father in heaven,
 him have you borne in Bethlehem.

May I have from you my three petitions,
 beautiful Mary, little white-necked one;
 get them, sun amongst women,
 from your son who has them in his power.

That I may be in the world till old
serving the Lord who rules starry heaven,
and that then there be a welcome for me
into the eternal, ever-enduring kingdom.

That everyone who uses this as a vigil prayer
at lying down and at rising,
that it may protect him from blemish in the other world
like breastplate and helmet.

Everyone if any sort shall recite it
fasting on Friday night,
provided only that it be with full-flowing tears,
Mary, may he not be for hell.

When your son comes in anger
with his cross on his reddened back,
that then you will save
any friend who shall have keened him.

For you, beautiful Mary,
I shall go as guarantor:
anyone who says the full keen,
he shall have reward.

I call you with true words,
Mary, beautiful queen,
that we may have talk together
to pity your heart's darling.

So that I may keen the bright Christ
with you in the most heartfelt way,
shining precious jewel,
mother the great Lord.

Were I rich and honoured
ruling the people of the world to every sea,
they would all come with you and me
to keen your royal son.

There would be beating of hands
by women, children and men,
that they might keen on every hill-top
the king who made every star.

I cannot do this. With heartfelt feeling
I will bewail your son with you
if only you come at some time
on a visit to me.

Come to me, loving Mary,
you, head of unsullied faith,
that we may have talk together
with the compassion of unblemished heart.

MEDIEVAL IRISH LYRICS WITH THE IRISH BARDIC POET,
translated by James Carney (1967), pp. 13, 15, 17, 19, 21.



“THE VIKINGS”

Early Ninth Century

Anonymous

*Possibly written by a monk who had escaped the Viking
onslaughts in Ireland, which began in about 800, this verse
indicates that stormy weather means that the poet need not
fear Vikings tonight.*

SEE ALSO Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Lit-
erature: Early and Medieval Literature

Bitter and wild is the wind to-night
tossing the tresses of the sea to white.
On such a night as this I feel at ease:
fierce Northmen only course the quiet seas.

MEDIEVAL IRISH LYRICS WITH THE IRISH BARDIC POET,
translated by James Carney (1967), p. 23.



“WRITING OUT OF DOORS”

Early Ninth Century

Anonymous

*Found in the margin of Priscian's treatise on Latin
grammar from the monastery of St. Gall near Lake
Constance, Switzerland, together with the poem entitled
“The Vikings,” this work describes the Irish monk/scribe
writing a poem under the trees. The manuscript in which
these poems occur was probably copied in a Leinster
monastery and brought to the continent by Irish monks in
approximately 848.*

SEE ALSO Early Medieval Ireland and Christianity; Lit-
erature: Early and Medieval Literature

A wall of forest looms above
and sweetly the blackbird sings;
all the birds make melody
over me and my books and things.

There sings to me the cuckoo
from bush-citadels in grey hood.

God's doom! May the Lord protect me
writing well, under the great wood.

MEDIEVAL IRISH LYRICS WITH THE IRISH BARDIC POET,
translated by James Carney (1967), p. 23.



nature. They are not placed in cradles, or swathed, nor are their tender limbs either fomented by constant bathings, or adjusted with art. For the midwives make no use of warm water, nor raise their noses, nor depress the face, nor stretch the legs; but nature alone, with very slight aids from art, disposes and adjusts the limbs to which she has given birth, just as she pleases. As if to prove that what she is able to form she does not cease to shape also, she gives growth and proportions to these people, until they arrive at perfect vigour, tall and handsome in person, and with agreeable and ruddy countenances. But although they are richly endowed with the gifts of nature, their want of civilisation, shown both in their dress and mental culture, makes them a barbarous people. For they wear but little woollen, and nearly all they use is black, that being the colour of the sheep in this country. Their clothes are also made after a barbarous fashion.

Their custom is to wear small, close-fitting hoods, hanging below the shoulders a cubit's length, and generally made of parti-coloured strips sewn together. Under these, they use woollen rugs instead of cloaks, with breeches and hose of one piece, or hose and breeches joined together, which are usually dyed of some colour. Likewise, in riding, they neither use saddles nor boots, nor spurs, but only carry a rod in their hand, having a crook at the upper end, with which they both urge forward and guide their horses. They use reins which serve the purpose both of a bridle and a bit, and do not prevent the horses from feeding, as they always live on grass. Moreover, they go to battle without armour, considering it a burthen, and esteeming it brave and honourable to fight without it.

But they are armed with three kinds of weapons: namely, short spears, and two darts; in which they follow the customs of the Basclenses (Basques); and they also carry heavy battle-axes of iron, exceedingly well wrought and tempered. These they borrowed from the Norwegians and Ostmen, of whom we shall speak hereafter. But in striking with the battle-axe they use only one hand, instead of both, clasping the haft firmly, and raising it above the head, so as to direct the blow with such force that neither the helmets which protect our heads, nor the plating of the coat of mail which defends the rest of our bodies, can resist the stroke. Thus it has happened, in my own time, that one blow of the axe has cut off a knight's thigh, although it was incased in iron, the thigh and leg falling on one side of his horse, and the body of the dying horseman on the other. When other weapons fail, they hurl stones against the enemy in battle with such quickness and dexterity, that they do more execution than the slingers of any other nation.



FROM THE TOPOGRAPHY OF IRELAND

1188

Giraldus Cambrensis

One of the founding texts for English discourse on Ireland, this work was one of the most widely circulated accounts available to premodern students of Irish history. Here Giraldus, who was related to several of the Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland, describes the "strange" character and customs of the Irish people, including his sense of their degeneration from the true faith and the way in which more recent settlers in Ireland have become infected with the same "vices."

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

I have considered it not superfluous to give a short account of the condition of this nation, both bodily and mentally; I mean their state of cultivation, both interior and exterior. This people are not tenderly nursed from their birth, as others are; for besides the rude fare they receive from their parents, which is only just sufficient for their sustenance, as to the rest, almost all is left to

The Irish are a rude people, subsisting on the produce of their cattle only, and living themselves like beasts—a people that has not yet departed from the primitive habits of pastoral life. In the common course of things, mankind progresses from the forest to the field, from the field to the town, and to the social condition of citizens; but this nation, holding agricultural labour in contempt, and little coveting the wealth of towns, as well as being exceedingly averse to civil institutions—lead the same life their fathers did in the woods and open pastures, neither willing to abandon their old habits or learn anything new. They, therefore, only make patches of tillage; their pastures are short of herbage; cultivation is very rare, and there is scarcely any land sown. This want of tilled fields arises from the neglect of those who should cultivate them; for there are large tracts which are naturally fertile and productive. The whole habits of the people are contrary to agricultural pursuits, so that the rich glebe is barren for want of husbandmen, the fields demanding labour which is not forthcoming.

Very few sorts of fruit-trees are found in this country, a defect arising not from the nature of the soil, but from want of industry in planting them; for the lazy husbandman does not take the trouble to plant the foreign sorts which would grow very well here. There are four kinds of trees indigenous in Britain which are wanting here. Two of them are fruit-bearing trees, the chestnut and beech; the other two, the *arulus* and the box, though they bear no fruit, are serviceable for making cups and handles. Yews, with their bitter sap, are more frequently to be found in this country than in any other I have visited; but you will see them principally in old cemeteries and sacred places, where they were planted in ancient times by the hands of holy men, to give them what ornament and beauty they could. The forests of Ireland also abound with firtrees, producing frankincense and incense. There are also veins of various kinds of metals ramifying in the bowels of the earth, which from the same idle habits, are not worked and turned to account. Even gold, which the people require in large quantities, and still covet in a way that speaks their Spanish origin, is brought here by the merchants who traverse the ocean for the purposes of commerce. They neither employ themselves in the manufacture of flax or wool, or in any kind of trade or mechanical art; but abandoning themselves to idleness, and immersed in sloth, their greatest delight is to be exempt from toil, their richest possession the enjoyment of liberty.

This people, then, is truly barbarous, being not only barbarous in their dress, but suffering their hair and beards (*barbis*) to grow enormously in an uncouth manner, just like the modern fashion recently intro-

duced; indeed, all their habits are barbarisms. But habits are formed by mutual intercourse; and as this people inhabit a country so remote from the rest of the world, and lying at its furthest extremity, forming, as it were, another world, and are thus secluded from civilized nations, they learn nothing, and practise nothing but the barbarism in which they are born and bred, and which sticks to them like a second nature. Whatever natural gifts they possess are excellent, in whatever requires industry they are worthless. . . .

The faith having been planted in the island from the time of St. Patrick, so many ages ago, and propagated almost ever since, it is wonderful that this nation should remain to this day so very ignorant of the rudiments of Christianity. It is indeed a most filthy race, a race sunk in vice, a race more ignorant than all other nations of the first principles of the faith. Hitherto they neither pay tithes nor first fruits; they do not contract marriages, nor shun incestuous connections; they frequent not the church of God with proper reverence. Nay, what is most detestable, and not only contrary to the Gospel, but to every thing that is right, in many parts of Ireland brothers (I will not say marry) seduce and debauch the wives of their brothers deceased, and have incestuous intercourse with them; adhering in this to the letter, and not to the spirit, of the Old Testament; and following the example of men of old in their vices more willingly than in their virtues. . . .

Thus it appears that every one may do just as he pleases; and that the question is not what is right, but what suits his purpose; although nothing is really expedient but what is right. However, the pest of treachery has here grown to such a height—it has so taken root, and long abuse has so succeeded in turning it into a second nature—habits are so formed by mutual intercourse, as he who handles pitch cannot escape its stains—that the evil has acquired great force. A little wormwood, mixed with a large quantity of honey, quickly makes the whole bitter; but if the mixture contains twice as much honey as it does wormwood, the honey fails to sweeten it. Thus, I say, “evil communications corrupt good manners”; and even strangers who land here from other countries become generally imbued with this national crime, which seems to be innate and very contagious. It either adopts holy places for its purposes, or makes them; for, as the path of pleasure leads easily downwards, and nature readily imitates vice, who will doubt the sacredness of its sanctions who is predisposed and foretaught by so many sacrilegious examples, by so many records of evil deeds, by such frequent forfeitures of oaths, by the want of all obligations to honesty?

STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND
FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, *edited by Andrew
Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 26–29.*



FROM EXPUGNATIO HIBERNICA

1189

Giraldus Cambrensis

In Giraldus's second founding text, he presents the "five-fold" claim to Ireland, long used by the English crown to support their conquest of the island. To the mythical and legendary conquests by "Gurguntius, son of Belinus," and by Arthur, he adds Henry II's intervention and the authority of the twelfth-century popes.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

Therefore let the envious and thoughtless end their vociferous complaints that the kings of England hold Ireland unlawfully. Let them learn, moreover, that they support their claims by a right of ownership resting on five different counts, two of long standing and three of recent origin, as is revealed in the *Topography*. For the British History bears witness to the fact that when Gurguntius, son of Belinus and king of Britain, was returning in triumph from Dacia, he founded the Basque fleet in Orkney, and having provided them with guides, sent them for the first time into Ireland. It also recalls the fact that the kings of Ireland were among the rulers who paid tribute to Arthur, that famous king of Britain, and that Gillomar king of Ireland was present at his court at Caerleon along with other island kings. Besides, the city of Bayonne, which today is included in our province of Gascony, is the chief city of the territory of the Basques from which the Irish originally came. Again, while a man is always free to give up his lawful claims, in our own times all the princes of Ireland, although hitherto not subject to the domination of any overlord, freely bound themselves in submission to Henry II king of England by the firm bonds of their pledged word and oath. For although they may not hesitate to go back on their word within a very short space of time, thanks to that fickleness which comes from their innately unstable temperament, they are not therefore absolved from this bond of their pledged word and oath of fealty. For men are free to make contracts of this sort, but not to break them.

As well as this there is the added weight of the authority of the supreme pontiffs, who have responsibility for all islands by reason of their own peculiar rights, and of the princes and rulers of all Christendom. This should in itself be sufficient to perfect our case and put the finishing touch to it.

STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND
FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, *edited by Andrew
Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 25–26.*



of the Apostolic See, Peter, bishop of Winchester [and ten other bishops], William the Marshall, earl of Pembroke [and other earls and nobles], Hubert de Burgh, our justiciar, and others.

Firstly, we have granted to God, and by his present charter confirmed for us and our heirs for ever, that the Irish Church shall be free, and have all her rights entire and her liberties inviolable.

We have also granted to all free men of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the liberties underwritten, to have and to hold to them and their heirs of us and our heirs.

[The principal liberties that follow are summarized.]

If any earl, baron or other holding of us in chief by knight service die, and at the time of his death his heir is of full age and owes relief, he shall have his heritage by the old relief, viz. a hundred pounds for the whole barony of an earl, a hundred pounds for the whole barony of a baron, and a hundred shillings at most for the whole knight's fee of a knight; and he who owes less shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.

But if the heir of any such be under age, his lord shall not have wardship of him before he take homage of him, and when he comes to age, that is to say twenty-one years, he shall have his heritage without relief or fine; provided that, if while under age he becomes a knight, nevertheless his land shall remain in the wardship of his lord up to that time.

The guardian of such an heir under age shall not take of his land aught save rightful issues, customs and services, and these without destruction of men [tenants] or goods. And if we commit the custody of such land to the sheriff or any other and he make destruction or waste of what is in his custody, we shall take amends of him, and commit the land to two lawful, and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer for the issues to us or to him to whom we assign them. And if we give or sell to anyone the custody of such land and he make destruction or waste thereof, he shall lose the custody, and it shall be committed to two lawful men of that fee, who shall likewise answer to us thereof, as aforesaid.

The guardian as long as he has custody, shall keep up the houses, parks, ponds, mills, etc. pertaining to that land out of the issues thereof, and restore to the heir when he shall have come of age, all his land stocked with ploughs etc. as fully as he received them.

And similarly with the custody of vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, priories, churches and ecclesiastical dignities, save that such custodies ought not be sold.

MAGNA CARTA HIBERNIÆ (THE GREAT CHARTER OF IRELAND)

12 November 1216

Drawing from the English Magna Carta promulgated by King John in 1215, this document was executed by his nine-year-old son, Henry III, in the first year of his reign, then under the regency of William the Marshall (d. 1219) and Hubert de Burgh until 1232. "The Great Charter of Ireland" grants the same rights and liberties to the Anglo-Irish settlers as to their English counterparts. Note particularly the references to the freedom of the Irish Church, probably in reference to the papal grants of 1155 and 1172.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, etc., to all his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, reeves, ministers, etc., and to all his faithful people, greeting.

Know that to the honour of God, the exaltation of Holy Church, and the amendment of our kingdom, by advice of Gualo, cardinal priest of St. Martin's, Legate

Heirs shall be married without disparagement. A widow, immediately on her husband's death, shall have her marriage portion and inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, marriage portion, or inheritance which she and her husband held at his death. No widow shall be compelled to marry again as long as she wishes to live unmarried, provided that she give security not to marry without our assent, if she hold to us, or her lord's assent, if she hold to another.

The city of Dublin shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs. We further will and grant that all other cities, towns, boroughs and ports shall have their liberties and free customs. No one shall be distrained to do more service for a knight's fee or any other freehold than is due therefrom.

Common pleas shall not follow our court but shall be held in some certain place.

Assises of Novel Disseisin, Mort D'Ancestor and Darrein Presentment shall not be taken save in our own counties, and in this way. We, or if we are out of the realm, our Chief Justiciar, shall send two justices through each county four times in the year, who, with four knights of every county elected by the county, [court] on that day shall remain, by whom it may be competent to make judgements, according as the business shall be more or less.

No freeman shall be amerced for a small fault, but according to the measure of the fault, and for a great fault according to the magnitude of the fault, saving his tenement; and a merchant in the same way, saving his warnage, if he fall into our mercy. And none of the said ameracements shall be assessed but by the oath of good and lawful men of the venue. Earls and barons shall not be amerced except by their peers, and according to the measure of their fault. No clerk shall be amerced except as aforesaid, and not according to the quantity of his ecclesiastical benefice.

No town nor individual shall be distrained to make bridges over rivers, except those who from of old and of right ought to make them.

No sheriff, constable, coroners, or other bailiffs shall hold pleas of our crown.

We shall not hold the lands of those who shall be convicted of felony, save for a year and a day, and then the lands shall be restored to the lords of the fees.

Also all weirs shall henceforth be put down through the whole of the Anna Liffey and all Ireland, except by the sea coast.

The writ which is called "precipe" from henceforth not be granted to anyone of any tenement whereby a freeman may lose his court.

There shall be one measure of wine throughout our entire kingdom, and one measure of ale, and one measure of corn, that is to say, the quarter of Dublin; and one breadth of dyed cloth, russets and habergets, that is to say, two ells within the lists.

Nothing shall henceforth be given for the writ of inquisition of life or limbs, but it shall be freely granted and not denied.

No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or dis-seised or outlawed or exiled, or in any otherwise destroyed; nor will we pass upon him nor send upon him but by the lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land. We will sell to no man, we will deny to no man, or delay, right or justice.

All merchants, unless they were before publicly prohibited, shall have safe and secure [conduct] to depart from Ireland, and come into Ireland, and to tarry in and go through Ireland, as well by land as by water, to buy and sell, without all the evil extortions, by the old and rightful customs, except in time of war.

All men who have founded abbeys, for which they have charters of the Kings of England or ancient tenure, shall have the custody of them when they become vacant, as they ought to have, and as is above declared.

All forests which were afforested in the time of King John, our father; shall be immediately disafforested; and so let it be done in the case of rivers which were placed in defence by the said John in his time.

All those customs and liberties, aforesaid, which we have granted to be held in our kingdom, as far as to us appertains towards our men, everyone in our realm, as well clergy as laymen, shall observe, as far as appertains to them, towards other men.

Given by the hands of the aforesaid Legate and Marshall at Bristol, the twelfth day of November, in the first year of our reign [1216].

EARLY STATUTES OF IRELAND, *edited by Henry FitzPatrick Berry (1907), pp. 5-19.*



THE STATUTES OF KILKENNY

1366

These thirty-five acts were promulgated five years after the arrival in Ireland of Lionel, duke of Clarence and, through his marriage to Elizabeth de Burgo, also earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht. Written in Norman French, which

remained the legal language of the time, they sought to create a permanent division between the native, or "mere" Irish, and the Anglo-Irish colonizers—on the basis of language, law, and customs—in an early form of "apartheid." These acts ultimately helped to create the complete estrangement of the two "races" in Ireland for almost three centuries.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland; Gaelic Society in the Late Middle Ages; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence

A STATUTE OF THE FORTIETH YEAR OF KING EDWARD III., ENACTED IN A PARLIAMENT HELD IN KILKENNY, A.D. 1366, BEFORE LIONEL DUKE OF CLARENCE, LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND

Whereas at the conquest of the land of Ireland, and for a long time after, the English of the said land used the English language, mode of riding and apparel, and were governed and ruled, both they and their subjects called *Betaghés*, according to the English law, in which time God and holy Church, and their franchises according to their condition were maintained and themselves lived in due subjection; but now many English of the said land, forsaking the English language, manners, mode of riding, laws and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies; and also have made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies aforesaid; whereby the said land, and the liege people thereof, the English language, the allegiance due to our lord the king, and the English laws there, are put in subjection and decayed, and the Irish enemies exalted and raised up, contrary to reason; our lord the king considering the mischiefs aforesaid, in the consequence of the grievous complaints of the commons of his said land, called to his parliament held at Kilkenny, the Thursday next after the day of Cinders Ash Wednesday in the fortieth year of his reign, before his well-beloved son, Lionel Duke of Clarence, his lieutenant in his parts of Ireland, to the honour of God and His glorious Mother, and of holy Church, and for the good government of the said land, and quiet of the people, and for the better observation of the laws, and punishment of evils doers there, are ordained and established by our said lord the king, and his said lieutenant, and our lord the king's counsel there, which the assent of the archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors (as to what appertains to them to assent to), the earls, barons, and others the commons of the said land, at the said parliament there being and assembled, the ordinances and articles under

written, to be held and kept perpetually upon the pains contained therein.

I. First, it is ordained, agreed to, and established, that holy Church shall be free, and have all her franchises without injury, according to the franchises ordained and granted by our lord the king, or his progenitors, by any statute or ordinance made in England or in Ireland heretofore; and if any (which God forbid) do to the contrary, and be excommunicated by the ordinary of the place for that cause, so that satisfaction be not made to God and holy Church by the party so excommunicated, within the month after such excommunication, that then, after certificate thereupon being made, by the said ordinary, into the Chancery, a writ shall be directed to the sheriff, mayor, seneschal of franchise, or other officers of our lord the king, to take his body, and to keep him in prison without enlarging him by main prize or bail, until satisfaction be made to God and holy Church, notwithstanding that the forty days be not passed; and that no prohibition from Chancery be henceforth granted in any suit against the franchise of holy Church; saving at all times the right for our lord the king, and of his crown; so that the franchises of holy Church be not overturned or injured; and in case that by suggestion of the party prohibition be granted, that as soon as the articles of franchise shall be shown by the ordinary in the Chancery, a consultation shall thereupon be granted to him without delay.

II. Also, it is ordained and established, that no alliance by marriage, gossipred, fostering of children, concubinage or by amour, nor in any other manner, be henceforth made between the English and Irish of one part, or of the other part; and that no Englishman, nor other person, being at peace, do give or sell to any Irishman, in time of peace or war, horses or armour, nor any manner of victuals in time of war; and if any shall do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, he shall have judgment of life and member, as a traitor to our lord the king.

III. Also, it is ordained and established, that every Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish; and that every Englishman use the English custom, fashion, mode of riding and apparel, according to his estate; and if any English, or Irish living amongst the English, use the Irish language amongst themselves, contrary to the ordinance, and thereof be attainted, his lands and tenements, if he have any, shall be seized into the hands of his immediate lord, until he shall come to one of the places of our lord the king, and find sufficient surety to adopt and use the English language, and then he shall have restitution of his said lands or tenements, his body shall be taken by any

of the officers of our lord the king, and committed to the next gaol, there to remain until he, or some other in his name, shall find sufficient surety in the manner aforesaid: And that no Englishman who shall have the value of one hundred pounds of land or of rent by the year, shall ride otherwise than on a saddle in the English fashion; and he that shall do to the contrary, and shall be thereof attainted, his horse shall be forfeited to our lord the king, and his body shall be committed to prison, until he pay a fine according to the king's pleasure for the contempt aforesaid; and also, that beneficed persons of holy Church, living amongst the English, shall have the issues of their benefices until they use the English language in the manner aforesaid; and they shall have respite in order to learn the English language, and to provide saddles, between this and the feast of Saint Michael next coming.

IV. Also, whereas diversity of government and different laws in the same land cause difference in allegiance, and disputes among the people; it is agreed and established, that no Englishman, having disputes with any other Englishman, shall henceforth make caption, or take pledge, distress or vengeance against any other, whereby the people may be troubled, but that they shall sue each other at the common law; and that no Englishman be governed in the termination of their disputes by March law nor Brehon law, which reasonably ought not to, be called law, being a bad custom; but they shall be governed, as right is, by the common law of the land, as liege subjects of our lord the king; and if any do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, he shall be taken and imprisoned and adjudged as a traitor; and that no difference of allegiance shall henceforth be made between the English born in born in Ireland, and the English born in England, by calling them English hobbe, or Irish dog, but that all be called by one, name, the English lieges of our Lord the king; and he who shall be found doing to the contrary, shall be punished by imprisonment for a year, and afterwards fined, at the king's pleasure; and by this ordinance it is not the intention of our Lord the king but that it shall be lawful for any one that he may take distress for service and rents due to them, and for damage feasant as the common law requires.

V. Also, whereas the liege people of our lord the king of his land of Ireland, or the wars of the same land cannot reasonably be controlled, unless the sale of victuals be reasonably regulated, it is ordained and established as to the merchandizes which are come, or shall come, to the same land by any merchants, and at whatever port, town or city they shall arrive, that before the said merchandizes be put up to sale, the mayor, sovereign, bailiff, or other officer who shall have care of the

place where the said merchandizes shall be sold, do cause to come before them two of the most respectable and sufficient men of the said place, who meddle not in such merchandizes, and that the said mayor, seneschal, sovereign or bailiff; with the said two persons, do cause to come before them the merchants to whom the said merchandizes shall belong, and the sailors, and they shall be sworn truly to tell and show the amount of the first purchase prime cost of the said merchandizes, and of the expenses on them to the port, and thereupon that a reasonable price be put upon the said merchandizes by the said mayor, seneschal, bailiff or provost, and by the two discreet men aforesaid, without favour, as they may be able to vouch before our lord the king's council of these parts; and at such prices they shall be sold, without more being taken for them, upon forfeiture of the same, although the said merchandizes should have there become chargeable afterwards.

VI. Also, whereas a land, which is at war, requires that every person do render himself able to defend himself, it is ordained, and established, that the commons of the said land of Ireland, who are in the different marches at war, do not, henceforth, use the plays which men call hurlings, with great sticks and a ball upon the ground, from which great evils and maims have arisen, to the weakening, of the defence of the said land, and other plays which men call coiting; but that they do apply and accustom themselves to use and draw bows, and throw lances, and other gentlemanlike games, whereby the Irish enemies may be the better checked by the liege people and commons of these parts; and if any do or practise the contrary, and of this be attainted, they shall be taken and imprisoned, and fined at the will of our lord the king.

VII. Also, whereas by conspiracies, confederacies, champerties, maintainors of quarrel, false swearers, retainers, sharers of damages, the liege commons of the said land in pursuit of their rights are much disturbed, aggrieved, and deprived of their inheritance; it is ordained and established, that diligent inquiry be made of such in every county, by the Justices to hold pleas in the chief place, and of their maintainors, and that due and expeditious execution be had against those who shall be attainted thereof, according to the form of the Statute in this respect made in England, without fine or redemption to be taken of them, that others may, by such speedy execution, be deterred from doing or maintaining such horrible acts contrary to law, in grievance of the said liege commons: and that, thereupon, the archbishops and bishops of the said land, each within his diocese, shall have letters patent of our lord the king, from his chancery of Ireland, to inquire of the articles aforesaid when they think fit; and, thereupon, according to

the law of holy Church to proceed against them by censures, and to certify into the said Chancery the names of those who shall be before them found guilty thereof, so that our lord the king, to the honour of God and the holy Church, the government of his laws, and the preservation of his said people, may inflict due punishment for the same.

VIII. Also, whereas, of right, no lay person whatsoever ought to meddle with tithes, or any spiritual goods, against the will of the governors of the Church, to whom tithes or such spiritual goods belong, it is ordained and established, that no man, great or little, shall interfere with or take by sale, in any other manner, manner, the tithes appertaining to holy Church or religion, by extortion or menace, nor at a less price than they may be sold at to another, against the will of him to whom the said tithes belong, and he who does to the contrary, and hereof shall be attainted, shall make restitution to him who shall be aggrieved, if he will complain, of the double of the said price, and make fine at the king's pleasure.

IX. Also, whereas persons guilty of disobedience to God and holy Church, and put out of the communion of Christians, cannot, nor ought, of right, to be received to the favour of our lord the king, or to the communion of his officers; it is ordained and established, that when the archbishops, bishops and other prelates of holy Church, have excommunicated, interdicted or fulminated the censures of holy Church against any English person or Irish, for reasonable cause, at the request of our lord the king, or ex-officio, or at the suit of the party, that after the notification of these censures shall come to our lord the king, nor into communion or alliance with his ministers, nor to maintenance in their error by any of the liege people, until they shall have made satisfaction to God and holy Church, and shall be restored as the law of holy Church requires; and if a maintainer of such excommunicated person be found and attainted against the ordinance aforesaid, he shall be taken and imprisoned, and fined at the king's will.

X. Also, whereas divers wars have often heretofore been commenced and not continued, nor brought to a good termination, but by the party taking from the enemy at their departure a small tribute, whereby the said enemies were and are the more emboldened to renew the war; it is agreed and established, that any war which shall be commenced hereafter, shall be undertaken by the council of our lord the king, by the advice of the lords, commons, and inhabitants of the marches of the county where the war shall arise; and shall be continued, and finished and supplied, by their advice and counsel; so that the Irish enemies shall not be admitted to peace, until they shall be finally de-

stroyed, or shall make restitution fully of the costs and charges expended upon that war by their default and rebellion, and make reparation to those by whom the said charges and costs were incurred, and moreover, pay a fine for the contempt at the king's will; and in case that hostages be taken and given to our lord the king, or to his officers, for keeping the peace, by any of the Irish, that, if they shall renew the war against the form of their peace, execution of their said hostages shall without delay or favour be made, according to the ancient customs of the said land in such case used.

XI. Also for the better maintaining of peace, and doing right, as well to the Irish enemies being at peace as to the English, it is ordained and established, that if any Irishman, being at peace, by borrowing, or purchase of merchandize, or in any other manner, become debtor to an English, or Irishman being at peace, that for this cause no other Irish person belonging to him, under him, or in subjection to him, nor his goods, shall be seized nor ransomed for such debt; but his remedy shall be against the principal debtor, as the law requires. Let him be well advised to give his merchandise to such person as he can have recovery from.

XII. Also, it is ordained and established, that in every peace to be henceforth made, between our lord the king and his liege English of the one part, and the Irish of the other part, in every march of the land, there shall be comprised the point which follows, that is to say, that no Irishman shall pasture or occupy the lands belonging to English, or Irish being at peace, against the will of the lords of the said lands; and if they so do, that it shall be lawful for the said lords to lead with them to their pound the said beasts so feeding or occupying their said lands, in name of a for their rent and their damages, so that the beasts be not divided nor scattered as heretofore has been done; but that they be kept altogether as they were taken, in order to deliver them to the party in case that he shall come to make satisfaction to the lords of the said lands reasonably, according to their demand; and in case any one shall divide or separate from each other the beasts so taken, he shall be punished as a robber and disturber of the peace of our lord the king; and if any Irish rise by force to the rescue of those reasonably taken, that it is lawful for the said English to assist themselves by strong hand, without being impeached in the court of our lord the king on this account; and that no Englishman do take any distress upon any Irishman of any part between this and the Feast of St. Michael next to come; so that the Irish of every part may be warned in the meantime.

XIII. Also, it is ordained that no Irishman of the nations of the Irish be admitted into any cathedral or collegiate church by provision, collation, or presentation of

any person, nor to any benefice of Holy Church, amongst the English of the land; and that if any be admitted, instituted or inducted, into such benefice, it be held for void, and the king, shall have the presentation of the said benefice for that avoidance, to whatever person the advowson of such benefice may belong, saving their right to present or make collation to the said benefice when it shall be vacant another time.

XIV. Also, it is ordained and established that no religious house which is situate amongst the English be it exempt or not, shall henceforth receive any Irishmen to their profession, but may receive Englishmen without taking into consideration whether they be born in England or in Ireland; and that any that shall act otherwise, and thereof shall be attainted, their temporalities shall be seized into the hands of our lord the king, so to remain at his pleasure; and that no prelates of holy Church shall receive any . . . to any orders without the assent and testimony of his lord, given to him under his seal.

XV. Also, whereas the Irish agents who come amongst the English, spy out the secrets, plans, and policies of the English, whereby great evils have often resulted; it is agreed and forbidden, that any Irish agents, that is to say, pipers, story-tellers, babblers, rimers, mowers, nor any other Irish agent shall come amongst the English, and that no English shall receive or make gift to such; and that shall do so, and be attainted, shall be taken, and imprisoned, as well the Irish agents as the English who receive or give them any thing, and after that they shall make fine at the king's will; and the instruments of their agency shall forfeit to our lord the king.

XVI. Also, it is agreed and assented, that no man's escape henceforth shall be adjudged against any, by any inquest of office, before the party against whom the escape ought to be adjudged, be himself put to answer or acknowledge the fact, or plea of record, although heretofore, it has been otherwise practised.

XVII. Also it is agreed and assented that no man, of what estate or condition he be, upon forfeiture of life or of members, shall keep kerns, hoblers nor idlemen in land at peace, to aggrieve the loyal people of our lord the king; but that he who will have such shall keep them in the march at his own expense, without taking anything from any person against his will: and if it happen that any man, whether a kern or any other, shall take any manner of victuals or other goods of any other against his will, hue and cry shall be raised against him, and he shall be taken and committed to gaol if he will surrender himself; and if not, but he rise to make resistance by force, so that he will not suffer the attachment, it shall be done to him as to open robbers; and such

manner of taking shall be considered a robbery; and in case such malefactors fly from the attachment, so that no man can take them, then his lord or leader shall answer for him, and shall make satisfaction to the party who has been damaged; and if he shall have made satisfaction to the party, the king shall end the flight against him as well for himself as for the party; and those who do not rise at such hue and cry shall be holden and punished as maintainors of felons; and if any man keep or maintain kerns, hoblers, or idlemen, otherwise than is abovesaid, he shall be in judgment of life and members, and his lands and tenements shall be forfeited.

XVIII. Also, that it shall be proclaimed that all those who are now idlemen, and are willing to take land of the king, shall come to the Lord duke, lieutenant of our lord the king of Ireland, the chancellor or treasurer of the king, and shall take waste lands of the king, in fee or to farm, and if they wish to take of other lords, they shall come to them, or to their seneschal, in like manner. And that no marcher, or other shall hold parley or alliance with any Irish or English who shall be against peace, without leave of the Court, or in the presence of the sheriff of our lord the king, or the wardens of the peace, that they may see that such parley or alliance is for common and not for particular benefit; and he who does to the contrary, shall be imprisoned, and make fine at the kings will.

XIX. Also, it is ordained and established, that if any of the lineage, or of the adherents or retainers of any chieftain of English lineage, within the land of Ireland, whom the said chieftain can correct, shall commit any trespass or felony, the said chieftain, after he shall have had notice thereof; shall cause the said malefactor to be taken and commit him to the next gaol, there to remain until he shall be delivered by law; and if the said chieftain shall not do so, that his body shall be taken for the said malefactor, and detained in prison until the body of the malefactor be given up to the court of our lord the King, to be amenable to justice as is above said; and nevertheless the said chieftain for the contempt shall be fined at the king's will, and make satisfaction to the party so aggrieved.

XX. Also, it is agreed and assented that one peace and war be throughout the entire land, so that if any Irish or English shall make a hostile inroad in any county, the counties surrounding them shall make war and harrass them in their marches, so soon as they shall be warned by the wardens of the peace of the said county, or by the sheriff where the war shall arise; and if they shall not so do, they shall be held as maintainors of felons; and if they of the country where the war arises, suffer their marches to be laid waste by the enemy, and will not rise to check the malice of the enemy after they

shall be reasonably warned by the wardens of the peace, or by the sheriff, or proclamation has been made publicly throughout the said county, that then they shall be considered as maintainors of felons.

XXI. Also, whereas divers people commit divers robberies and felonies in franchises, and fly with their goods into guildable lands, so that the officers of the franchises are unable to execute their office there, or to take the felons or their goods, but they are there with their goods received; and in like manner divers people who commit divers robberies and felonies in guildable lands, fly with their goods into franchises, so that the officers of our lord the King cannot there execute their office, nor take the felons with their goods, but they are there with their goods received: it is agreed and assented that if any officer of a franchise make pursuit after any such felon into guildable land, that those of the guildable land shall assist to take such felon, and to deliver him to said officer, together with the goods found with him, and thereupon deliver up both his body and goods to the said officer to do that which to law appertains; and that those of a franchise shall act in like manner towards the sheriff of our lord the king, or his officers that shall make pursuit after such felons, who commit felonies and fly with their goods into franchises; and if any man commit felony in one county, and fly into another county, or into a franchise, and shall remain there, that the sheriff of that county where the felony was committed shall have power to order by his precepts, the sheriffs or seneschals of the parts where the said felon remains, as well within franchises as without, to take the body of the said felon, and to send it back; and that the said sheriffs and seneschals shall be obedient each in such case to the order of the other. And if any person of guildable land or of franchise shall rise in aid of such misdoers, so that the officers cannot execute their office on them, that they shall be considered as notorious felons as those who commit the robberies, and be punished in the same manner. And if the officers aforesaid be remiss in the execution of the orders aforesaid, and thereof be attainted, that they shall be condemned to prison, and make fine at the king's will. And it is not the intention of the King nor of the council, that, by such entry into a franchise, or order to the seneschal, the franchise shall be injured.

XXII. Also, whereas divers people enfeof their children or other strangers of their lands, and give their goods and chattels by fraud and collusion, in order to bar and delay our lord the King of his debt, and parties of their action; and also make many feofments of their lands and tenements, in order to have divers vouchers, and abate writs; it is agreed and assented that if such alienors or feoffors take the profit of the said lands and

tenements after such alienations or enfeofments made, that they, notwithstanding the said feigned alienations or feofments made, shall be adjudged tenants to all the writs purchased, and that they shall not vouch any of the persons so enfeofed; and that our lord the King, and the parties, shall have execution and recovery of the lands, goods and chattels so aliened, as well as of the proper goods and chattels of the said alienors; and if it happen that any man, in purposing to levy war against the king, or to commit any felony, do enfeof any person of his land, in order to commit such felonies and treasons after the enfeofment, and if afterwards he be attainted of the treasons or felonies abovesaid, that the lands aforesaid, into whatever hands they shall come, shall be forfeited, notwithstanding the feofment, as if they were in his hand the very clay of the felony committed: and this ordenance shall have place in respect to feofments on this account, as well heretofore made as hereafter to be made.

XXIII. Also, in every county there shall be appointed four of the most substantial men of the county, to be wardens of the peace, who shall have full power to assess horsemen-at-arms, hoblers and footmen, each according to the value and quantity of his lands, goods and chattels, so that they shall be ready whensoever there shall be occasion for them, to arrest the malice of the enemy, according to what they shall be assessed by the wardens aforesaid; and that the said wardens, after array made in manner aforesaid, shall review the said men-at-arms, hoblers, and footmen, from month to month, in a certain place in the county, where they shall see best to do the same in ease of the people: and if the said wardens shall find any rebel who will not obey their commands, they shall have power to attach them, and commit them to the next gaol, there to remain until the law shall take its course respecting them. And if the wardens of the peace shall be remiss or negligent in performing their duty, and thereof be attainted, that then they shall be taken and imprisoned, and make fine at the king's will. And if any one so chosen a warden shall refuse to receive the king's commission, he shall be taken and imprisoned, and his lands seized into the hands of our lord the king, and so shall remain until the king shall have otherwise ordained concerning him; and the said wardens shall make oath legally to perform their duty in the manner abovesaid.

XXIV. Also, it is ordained that the marshals of the one bench, and of the other, and within franchises do not henceforth take for their fee more than they take in England; that is to say five pence, as it has been proved to the council that they do in England, according to the Statute in England in this behalf provided; and this after a man shall be acquitted or convicted, and finally deliv-

ered out of the court, and not before; and if they do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, their bailiwicks, shall be seized into the king's hand at the complaint of him who shall be aggrieved contrary to this Statute, and shall moreover make satisfaction to those who shall be so damaged by them, and be detained in prison until their satisfaction be made. Also, that the marshal of the Exchequer shall only take half a mark every term while a man remains in his custody for arrears of account or for the king's debt; and he who does to the contrary, and thereof shall be attainted, shall suffer as is above-said. And that no constable of castles, within franchise or without, shall take of any prisoner put into his custody for his fee but only five pence, except the constable of the Castle of Dyvelin, which is the king's chief castle in Ireland, by reason that it has been proved to the council that he is entitled to take more, and from ancient time has done so; and he who does otherwise, and thereof shall be attainted, his office of constable shall be seized into the hands of the king, and he who shall have acted so shall be taken and imprisoned until he make satisfaction to the party, and pay a fine to the king. And that the marshals or constables aforesaid within franchises or without, shall not put the prisoners which they have in their custody to distress and severity of punishment, for the purpose of obtaining individual profit or suit; and if they shall do so they shall be taken and detained in prison until they shall have rendered double to him from whom they have received such wrongful profit, and shall moreover pay a fine to the king. And hereupon writs shall be issued to every place of the land where there is a marshal or constable, as well within franchise as without, commanding the justice of each place, and also the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, to cause charge to be given to the marshal of their place, that they do not take of any person otherwise than as aforesaid; and to inquire from them from time to time respecting those who do the contrary, and to punish them in the form abovesaid.

XXV. Also, it is ordained and established that if any man commit felony, and shall fly, or be attainted by outlawry, or in any other way, whereby his goods and chattels shall be forfeited to the king, that the sheriffs of the same county where the said felonies are committed shall seize the said goods and chattels into the king's hands, into whatever hands they may have afterwards come; and that our lord the king shall be answered in respect thereof in their accounts; and if they put such goods and chattels into any custody, they shall put them into such custody, that they will be able to answer for them, and that such shall not be exchanged, as it has been practised before this time.

XXVI. Also it is ordained that if truce or peace be made by the justices, or wardens of the peace, or the sheriff, between English and Irish, and they shall be broken by any English, and thereof be attainted, he shall be taken and put in prison until satisfaction be made by him to those who shall be disturbed or injured by that occasion, and he shall moreover make fine at the King's will; and if there is not wherewith to make restitution to those who shall be injured, he shall remain in perpetual confinement. And such wardens and sheriffs shall have power to inquire concerning those who shall have broken the peace.

XXVII. Also, it is ordained that if dispute shall arise between English and English, whereby the English on one side and on the other shall gather to to themselves English and Irish being at peace, there to remain to make war upon and aggrieve the other, to the great damage and destruction of the King's liege people; it is agreed and assented that no English shall be so daring as to make war with each other, or henceforward to draw away any English or Irish at peace for such purpose, and if they shall so do, and thereof be attainted, there shall be judgement of life and members, and their goods forfeited.

XXVIII. Also, it is agreed that no man of what state or condition he be, shall make any manner of disturbance against any of the officers of our Lord the King, whereby he may be unable to execute his office; and he who so does, and thereof shall be attainted, shall be taken and imprisoned, and make fine at the King's pleasure.

XXIX. Also it is ordained that no English, being common malefactors, or common robbers or barrators, shall be maintained by any of the King's court, nor by the great or little of the land, upon the peril that awaits it, that is to say, that if he be a lord of the franchise, he shall lose his franchise, and if any other person, he shall be taken and make fine at the King's pleasure.

XXX. Also, it is ordained that the chief serjeants of fees, and their attorneys, do duly execute the writs of the King, and of his sheriffs, as they ought to do; and if they shall not so do, and thereof be attainted, their bailiwicks shall be seised into the King's hands, and their bodies be sent to prison: and that henceforth they shall not lease their bailiwicks at a higher rent than anciently it was, according to what by the Statute thereupon made in England is ordained.

XXXI. Also, whereas the summonses of the Exchequer of our Lord the King, of Ireland, come to divers sheriffs and seneschals of franchise, to levy the debts of our Lord the King off divers persons in their bailiwicks; the which sheriffs and seneschals, together with the ser-

jeants of counties and franchises do accordingly levy divers sums of the said debts off divers persons of counties and franchises, and do not discharge them in their accounts at the Exchequer, but excuse themselves by the serjeants of fee and their deputies, whereby the payment of the debts of our Lord the King is so retarded and delayed, and the people greatly injured, in this respect, that they are not discharged of the money that they have paid; it is agreed and assented, that when the sheriffs and seneschals of Louth, Meath, Trim, Dublin, Kildare, Catherlogh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary, shall come to render up their accounts before the treasurer and barons, of the issues of their bailiwicks, that the serjeants of the fee that shall be present, and the deputies of those that shall be out of the land, shall be distrained to come into the Exchequer, and there remain with the said sheriffs and seneschals, until the said sheriffs and seneschals shall have fully accounted; and if it shall so be, that the said sheriffs and seneschals can charge the said serjeants or their deputies, that they have received the King's money of any one, and have not made payment to the said sheriffs or seneschals, and they thereupon shall be attainted, their bodies shall remain in custody of the marshal, until satisfaction be made to our Lord the King, for his money, in discharge of the debtors of our Lord the King, or of the said sheriffs or seneschals, if they have wherewithal, and if not, that they shall remain in prison until they be delivered by the council, and nevertheless the sheriff and seneschals shall be charged therewith in their accounts as before. And that all debts levied by the serjeants be paid to the sheriffs by indenture made between them; so that when the said serjeants shall come on the account of the sheriff in the Exchequer, they may show their indenture, and prove from whom they have received the King's money, and from whom not. And whereas the counties of Connaught Kerry, Cork, and Limerick, are so far from the court, that the serjeants of the said counties cannot conveniently come to the said Exchequer, to be present on the accounts of the sheriffs and seneschals of the said counties, as other serjeants do, it is agreed and assented that when one of the barons, or a clerk assigned by the treasurer and baron, shall come by the commission of the Exchequer to the parts aforesaid, in order to examine the truth, and to deny the debt of our Lord the King, the serjeants of the said counties or their deputies shall then remain with the said baron or clerk, as long as the said sheriffs and seneschals shall remain, and if it shall happen that they shall have received any part thereof from any person, without making payment to the said sheriffs or seneschals, in the manner aforesaid, that then they shall be arrested, and suffer the punishment aforesaid.

XXXII. Also, whereas the fees of sheriffs are settled by statute, and the sheriffs in the land of Ireland take in their tourns of every barony in their bailiwick, one mark yearly, and of every market town at a time, twenty shillings, ten shillings, and half a mark, to the great oppression of the people; it is agreed and assented that the aforesaid sheriffs shall hold their tourns twice in the year, that is to say, after the feast of Saint Michael, and after Easter; and that they shall take only forty pence off every barony at each tourn, however numerous the market towns or boroughs may be within the said barony: and if he be so paid by the lord of the barony, unless he be requested or invited to eat he shall take nothing; and that no clerks of the sheriffs on account of such tourn shall take any thing; and also, that from henceforth no money shall be levied out of any ploughland, nor in any other manner, on account of executing this office, except half a mark yearly as is aforesaid; and if any person shall act contrary to the ordinance aforesaid, and thereof be attainted, he shall be committed to prison, and moreover, shall render to those from whom he shall have taken any thing of this account against the said ordinance, double thereof if they will complain, and shall moreover make fine at the King's will. And that no sheriffs of franchises, who of reason ought to have certain fees from the lords of the said franchise for executing their office, shall take any thing for their tourns from the people of their bailiwicks, but shall consider themselves paid by what they shall receive from the said lords of franchises; and if they do so, and thereof be attainted, they shall suffer the same punishment.

XXXIII. Also, whereas the commons of the said land complain that they are in divers ways distressed by want of servants, whereof the justices appointed for labourers, are a great cause, by reason that the common labourers are for the greatest part absent, and fly out of the said land; it is agreed and assented, that, because living and victuals are dearer than they were wont to be, each labourer in his degree, according to the discretion of two of the most substantial and discreet men of the city, town, borough, village, or hamlet, in the country where he shall perform his labour, shall receive his maintenance reasonably, in gross or by the day, and if they will not do so, nor be obedient, they shall be taken before the mayor, seneschal, sovereign, provost or bailiff of the cities or towns where they are, or by the sheriff of the county, and put in prison, until the coming of the justices assigned, who will come twice in the year into every county and the justice of the chief place, who shall award due punishment for the same, and right to the parties who shall feel themselves aggrieved thereby. And that no labour shall pass beyond sea; and in case that he shall do so and shall return, he shall be taken and

put in prison for a year, and afterwards make fine at the King's will. And moreover, writs shall be issued to the sheriffs, mayors, seneschals, sovereigns, and bailiffs, of counties, cities and towns throughout the land where the sea reaches, commanding them that they do not suffer any such passage of labourers. And it is also agreed that the commissions issued to justices of labourers in every county he repealed, and that henceforth none such be granted.

XXXIV. Also, it is agreed and established, that in maintenance of the execution of the Statutes aforesaid, two prudent men, learned in the law, having with them two of the most substantial men of the county, by the King's council associated, be assigned by commission to inquire twice a year in every county respecting, those who shall break the articles aforesaid, and to hear and determine such cases thereunder as shall come before them by indictment, or at the suit of the party, and of the different other articles which shall be contained in the said commission, according to the penalties thereof in the said statutes contained, without doing favour to any one, and to certify unto the Chancery from time to time that which by them shall have been done therein.

XXXV. Also, our lord the duke of Clarence, lieutenant of our lord the King, in Ireland, and the council of our said lord the King there, the earls, barons and commons of the land aforesaid, at this present Parliament assembled, have requested the archbishops and bishops, abbots, priors and other persons of religion, that they do cause to be excommunicated, and do excommunicate the persons contravening the statutes and ordinances aforesaid, and the other censures of holy church to fulminate against them, if any, by rebellion of heart, act against the statutes and ordinances aforementioned. And we, Thomas archbishop of Duvelin Dublin, Thomas archbishop of Cashel, John archbishop of Thueme Tuam, Thomas bishop, of Lismore and Waterford, Thomas bishop of Killalo, William bishop of Ossorie, John bishop of Leighlin, and John bishop of Clon, being present in the said parliament, at the request of our said most worthy lord the Duke of Clarence, lieutenant of our lord the King, in Ireland, and the lords and commons aforesaid, against those contravening the Statutes and ordinances aforesaid, passing over the time preceding, do fulminate sentence of excommunication, and do excommunicate them by this present writing, we and each of us reserving absolution for ourselves and for our subjects if we should be in peril of death.

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KING RICHARD II IN IRELAND

1395

As part of the effort to shore up the decaying English lordship in Ireland, Richard II arrived in Waterford in October 1394. Between January and May 1395, Richard received the homage and submission of eighty paramount chiefs in Dublin or other centers. An example of these is the treaty with Niall Oge O'Neill, who submitted to the king in the name of his father, "prince of the Irish of Ulster." The situation with the Leinster chiefs was somewhat different, reflected in Art Mac Murrough's pledge to quit Leinster and go conquer lands elsewhere occupied by rebels and the king's enemies, thereby releasing his hereditary lands for English settlement and creating an extension of the English "Pale" in Ireland.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland; Norman Invasion and Gaelic Resurgence; Richard II in Ireland

TREATIES WITH IRISH CHIEFS

(1) With Niall Oge O'Neill

On the 16th day of March 1395, in a room of the Friars Preachers in Drogheda, in the presence of King Richard, Nellanus *juvenis* O Nel [Niall Oge O'Neill] in person, captain of his nation, removing his girdle, dagger and cap, and on bended knee, fell at the feet of our said lord the King and, raising his two hands with the palms together and hold them between the hands of the King, took these words in the Irish language, which were rendered into English by Thomas O Locheran, interpreter, in the presence of many well understanding the Irish language, viz.

I, Niall junior O'Neill, captain of my nation, swear to be faithful liegeman of my Lord Richard, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, my sovereign lord, and of his heirs and successors, being kings of England, from this day henceforth in life, limb, and earthly honour, so that he and they shall have over me power of life and death, and I will be faithful to the same and his heirs for ever in all things and will help to defend him and his heirs against all worldly enemies whatsoever, and will be obedient to the laws, commands, and ordinances of the same or any of them according to my power and that of all mine; and I will come to the said lord my King and his heirs, being kings of England, and to his or their parliament and council or otherwise

whensoever he or they shall send for me or whenever I shall be required, called, or summoned on his or their part or the part of their lieutenants: and I will well and faithfully come to said Lord King, his heirs and their lieutenants, or to any of them, to give counsel, and I will do in all singular that which a good and faithful liegeman ought to do and is bound to do to his natural liege lord, so help me God and these God's holy Gospels.

For the observing of which allegiance and fealty to the Lord our King etc., he bound himself if he should violate the said oath in whole or part that he would pay to the Papal Curia 20,000 marks of English money. Whereupon the King admitted him to the kiss of peace as his liege, and Niall requested the notary to make a public instrument thereof.

Witnesses being, Thomas, archbishop of York, John of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, the bishops of London, Chichester and Llandaff, Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, Thomas Percy, Marshal of the Household, and William Scrope, the King's Chamberlain.

(2) *With Art Oge MacMurrough Kavanagh*

This indenture, made on Thursday the 7th day of January, in the 18th year of King Richard (1395), in a field between Tullow and Newcastle, between the noble lord Thomas, Earl of Nottingham and Marshal of England, etc., on one part, and Art MacMurrough, born liege Irishman of our said lord the King, for himself and his men on the other, witnesses: that at the instance and supplication of the said Art our lord the King received the said Art to his grace and peace under the form which follows, viz. that the said Art has sworn by the holy Cross and on the holy Gospels, touched by him, to keep fealty for ever to our lord the King, his heirs, and successors, being kings of England, and that he will deliver to our lord the King, or any of his deputies, or any whom he shall depute, full possession of all lands, tenements, castles, fortresses, woods, and pastures with all their appurtenances, which have been of late occupied by the said Art of his allies, men, or adherents within the land of Leinster, without any reservation to himself made or to be made in any manner and without fraud or guile; and that the said Art has sworn and promised as for himself and all his, that all his subjects and tenants of any condition whatsoever in the lands and places aforesaid shall likewise swear to keep fealty for ever to the Lord King and his successors and deputies, or those whom he shall depute, as above, and that they will stand to and obey the laws, commands, and ordinances of the King and his successors; and that the said Art has

likewise sworn that by the first Sunday of Lent next (28 February), he will leave the whole country of Leinster to the true obedience, use, and disposition of the King, his heirs, and successors, as above, saving and excepting always to him (Art) all his movable goods, and that for greater security of observance of the above fealty the said Art shall deliver to the said Lord our King and to his deputies or those whom he shall depute the son of Thomas Carragh Kavanagh his brother, as a true hostage within the next fortnight following after the date of these presents and sooner, if he can, without fraud or guile, and that, the said hostage thus received, our Lord the King shall of special grace kindly treat the said Art as his true liege, and that he will grant to the said Art to go and return well and peacefully in security; and that the Lord our King after these things are done shall generously make provision for the said Art and will grant to him and his heirs eighty marks yearly for ever, together with the heritage of the said Art's wife in the barony of Norragh with its appurtenances; and that all the armed men, warriors, or fighting men of the following, household, or nation of the said Art shall quit the whole land of Leinster aforesaid and shall go with him and shall have fitting wages from the King, for the time being, to go and conquer other parts occupied by rebels of the said Lord King, and that Art and all his men aforesaid shall have all lands which they may thus acquire and hold them of the Lord King, his heirs, and successors as above, and as his true lieges and obedient and subject to his laws, by liege homage and befitting duty done therefor as above to the King, his heirs, and successors, and that they shall enjoy them in perpetuity and by hereditary descent. Also subsequently by the above indenture it was understood and agreed between the Earl Marshal on one hand and O'Byrne, O'More, O'Nolan, O'Morchoe, MacEochaidh [Keogh], O'Dunn, Mackerelt, David Moore MacManus, and all those of Hy Kinsella on the other, that all the aforesaid O'Byrne, etc., and all of Hy Kinsella have sworn by the holy Cross and on the holy Gospels that they and all their armed upon men, warriors, and fighting men shall deliver all their possessions in Leinster to the said Lord King, his heirs, and successors, his deputies and those whom he may depute, and quit that country, saving however their movable goods always to themselves. And that when that is done the Lord King shall maintain those captains at expense of his Household at good and fitting wages, fees, or salaries, payable yearly from the King's Treasury to all and sundry these captains for the term of their lives, and that the Lord King will give to them and their fighting men aforesaid fitting wages to go, attack, and conquer other parts occupied by rebels of the King. And he will give to them all lands which they shall so acquire and they shall hold them of our Lord the King, his heirs and

successors, by liege homage and befitting the duty, as his true lieges, obedient and subject to his laws. And that they shall deliver hostages to the said King, his deputies and those whom he shall depute, for the fulfilment on their part of all the above as they have sworn it. And that the peace of all the aforesaid shall be publicly proclaimed in the said field by the said Earl in the name of the King, and that likewise it is understood that all the aforesaid Irishmen, so sworn, shall abide in peace in their places even to the first Sunday of Lent above-named, nor shall they permit any rebels of our Lord the King or evil-doers to be received in their localities, but shall expel them to the best of their power from their borders. And in case, which God forbid, that any mischance shall happen between the date of these presents and the first Sunday of Lent aforesaid against these conventions through any of the aforesaid parties or their adherents, the peace shall not on account of that be broken, but within a fortnight after due notice made it shall be amended and fittingly restored without guile or fraud. And that the said Art has sworn and promised that if any of the aforesaid who have thus sworn shall rashly presume to go against the said conventions, he will make war on them according to his power as his deadly and capital enemies. And so that all these conventions shall be faithfully observed by the aforesaid parties, the said Earl Marshal of England swore by the holy Cross on the holy Gospels and likewise the said Art and all the others for their part swore by the holy Cross and on the holy Gospels.

In witness whereof for his part of the indenture the said Earl affixed his seal in presence of the said Art Mac-Murrough, and for their part of the indenture the said Art and O'Byrne affixed their seals, in presence of the said Earl Marshal.

Witnesses: John Griffin, bishop of Leighlin, John Golafre, Lawrence Verkerell, lord of Coytyf, John Greyly of Gascony, etc., Brother Edmund Vale, Master of the Hospital of Kyllergy, and many others.

Which indenture, sealed with two seals in red wax, the notary saw, read, and has faithfully turned into a public deed. Whereupon the said Irishmen requested him to make them public instruments.

Witnesses: John Golafre and other knights.

RICHARD II IN IRELAND, 1394–5, edited by Edmund Curtis (1927), pp. 159–160, 169–173.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

1460

By the mid-fifteenth century the English colony in Ireland was clearly on the defensive. They were looking to King Henry VI to shore up the Pale, and when he appointed Richard, duke of York, lieutenant of Ireland in 1447, the Anglo-Irish hoped that this would improve their fortunes. However, in October 1459 the Yorkist forces in England were defeated by the Lancastrians, and the duke of York fled to Ireland. This "Declaration of Independence" was passed by the Irish parliament in Drogheda in the following winter to ensure support for York, confirming him in his office and making it a treasonable offense for anyone to challenge his authority. However, the document also reaffirmed the separateness of the Anglo-Irish colony, and even if its validity was later questioned, its very existence is memorable.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland

Statutes, ordinances and acts published in a parliament of the Lord King at Drogheda on Friday next after the feast of St. Blaise in the 38th year of King Henry VI [7 February 1460], held before Richard, Duke of York, Lieutenant of Lord King, and thence adjourned to Dublin on Saturday next before the feast of St. Matthias, Apostle, next following [22 February], until Monday next after the feast of St. David next following; and there on Friday next after the feast of St. David until Monday next before the feast of the apostles Philip and James next following prorogued. And from that Monday to Monday next after the feast of Holy Trinity next following prorogued. And on Wednesday next before the feast of Corpus Christi next following to Monday next after the feast of St. Margaret, Virgin [21 July 1460] next following prorogued, and there ended and terminated in the form which follows:

I. Firstly it is ordained and agreed that Holy Church be free and have and enjoy all her franchises, liberties, and free usages without any infringement, as it has been used heretofore.

II. Also it is ordained and agreed that the land of Ireland have and enjoy all its franchises, good usages and customs as it has been used heretofore.

III. Also it is ordained and established that the cities of Dublin, Waterford and the town of Drogheda and all

the other cities and good towns in the said land of Ireland have and enjoy all their good customs, liberties, franchises, privileges and usages as they have had and used heretofore.

IV. Also at the request of the Commons: That whereas the King our sovereign lord by his letters patent given at Coventry the 6th day of March in the 35th year of his reign [1457] ordained and constituted his well-beloved cousin Richard, duke of York, his lieutenant of his land of Ireland to have and to hold [the same] office from the 8th day of December next following, in manner and form as is more fully specified and declared in the said letters patent enrolled of record in the rolls of the Chancery of the said land that it may be ordained, established and enacted in the said Parliament that by authority of the said Parliament the said letters patent be confirmed ratified and approved and that the said Duke may have occupy and enjoy the office and all things contained in the said letters patent according to the tenor form and effect thereof from the said eighth day to the end of the said ten years. Whereupon the premises considered: It is ordained established and enacted in the said Parliament that the said letters patent be confirmed ratified and approved and that the said Duke may have occupy and enjoy the said office and all things contained in the said letters patent, according to the tenor form and effect thereof from the said 8th day to the end of the said ten years.

V. Also at the request of the Commons: That, whereas the King of sovereign lord has constituted and appointed his well-beloved cousin Richard duke of York lieutenant and governor of his land of Ireland, wherein he represents in the absence of our said sovereign lord out of the same land his right noble person and estate; and that to the said lieutenant and governor in the said absence such reverence, obedience and fear ought to be given in the said land as to our sovereign lord whose estate is thereby honoured feared and obeyed. Whereupon, the premises considered, it is ordained, established and enacted in the said Parliament and by authority of the same that if any person or persons imagine, compass, excite or provoke the destruction or death of the said lieutenant and governor, or to that intent confederate or assent with the Irish enemies of our said sovereign lord or with any other persons, or provoke any rebellion or disobedience towards the said lieutenant and governor or by any statute made in the said parliament be proved a rebel to our said sovereign lord, that the said person or persons upon whom such imagining, compassing, excitement or provocation, confederacy, assent or rebellion is lawfully proved be and stand as attainted of high treason committed against the high person of our said sovereign lord. And it is ordained established

and enacted in the said Parliament . . . that if any person or persons shall hereafter listen to the said imagining, compassing, etc. and assent to them, they be attainted of rebellion. And that thereupon the King shall send his writ to any sheriff of any county of the said land, any mayor, bailiff and commonalty, any mayor, sheriff and commonalty, any mayor and commonalty, or any sovereign portreeve and commonalty of any city or town or any other his subject of his said land to assist his said lieutenant and governor in resistance to the said person or persons in their said intention; and to chastise, punish, and subdue them as law requires, and that every of the said mayor, bailiff, sheriff, sovereign, portreeve, commonalty and subject shall put himself with all his force and power into due and immediate [readiness] for obedience to the said writ. And if any mayor, bailiff and commonalty, etc. [as before] herein disobey or harbour, receive, aid or favour the person or persons in the said writ specified, that they shall forfeit all such profits and commodities or other things as they have of the grant of the King or of any of his noble progenitors and moreover a thousand pounds to the King. And if any of the sheriffs of any county of the said land or any of the said subjects do contrary [to this Act] that then they so doing shall forfeit one thousand pounds, one moiety to the King for the defence of the said land and the other moiety to the party who in that case will sue a writ of "scire facias" upon this act. Provided that this act be not prejudicial to the franchises of any city or town of the said land granted to the same city or town by our said sovereign lord of any of his progenitors. This to continue so long as the said lieutenant and governor shall be resident in his own person in the said land.

VI. Also at the request of the Commons: That, whereas the land of Ireland is, and at all times has been, corporate of itself by the ancient laws and customs used in the same, freed of the burthen of any special law of the realm of England save only such laws as by the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of the said land had been in Great Council or Parliament there held, admitted, accepted, affirmed and proclaimed, according to sundry ancient statutes thereof made. And whereas also of ancient custom, privilege, and franchise of the said land there is, and at all times has been, the seal of the King current by which the laws there and also the King's subjects of the same land are guided and directed, which seal is called the seal of the said land to which all the said subjects ought to do lawful obedience. And it has not been seen or heard that nay person or persons inhabiting or resident in any other Christian land so corporate of itself ought to obey any mandate within the same land given or made under any other seal than the proper seal of the same by which any person should be had or compelled to go by any such mandate out of

the said land. And if such mandate were obeyed in the said land of Ireland very great prejudice and derogation and very perilous inconveniences would result to the same contrary to the franchises, liberties and ancient customs thereof and to the very great and immeasurable vexations of the said subjects of the same, of which many instances have been in late days seen and experienced. And moreover, whereas in no realm or land which has within itself a Constable and Marshal of the same ought any person of that realm or land to sue or prosecute any appeal or other matter determinable before the said Constable and Marshal, before the Constable and Marshal of any other land where such appeal or matter took [can take] no foundation or effect. And this notwithstanding, that although there are in the said land, and of ancient custom have been, a Constable and Marshal, yet divers persons of the same land have oftentimes heretofore sued and procured of great malice many of the King's subjects of the same to be sent for to come into England by colour of such appeals in great derogation and prejudice of the said liberty and franchise. Whereupon, the premises considered: It is ordained, enacted and established in the said Parliament and by authority thereof that henceforth no person or persons being in the said land of Ireland shall be, by any command given or made under any other seal than the said seal of the same land, compelled to answer to any appeal or any other matter out of the said land. And that no officer or minister of the same land to whom any such command comes shall put that command or any proclamation or any other thing contrary or prejudicial to the said ancient, custom, privilege or franchise in execution, on pain of the forfeiture of all the lands and goods which he or any other to his use has in the said land, as well as [a fine] of a thousand marks, the one moiety to the King, and the other moiety to the party who will sue in this case against the said officer or minister by writ of "scire facias" or by any other action at the law proper in this behalf. It is also ordained by the said authority that any appeal of treason taken in this land shall be determined before the Constable and the Marshal of the said land for the time being and within the said land in no other place. And if any person shall hereafter appeal any other person in the said land, and the matter of said appeal shall be found and proved not true, that then such person taking or commencing such appeal for the same shall be adjudged to death, and that no pardon shall serve him in such case.

VII. Also at the request of the Commons: That, whereas the defence of the English nation of this land from the danger and malice of the Irish enemies of the same land rests and depends on English bows, which give to the said enemies the greatest resistance and terror of any weapon of war used in the said land [which

is] now very nearly destitute of any great number of the said bows which are not in these days employed in the exercise of the occupation of archery, whereby the said enemies have grown into such great hardihood and audacity as to ride upon the King's subject of the said land by night, so that they suffer from the said enemies very great and hard rebuke, spoliations and robberies, to their outrageous injury and loss. Whereupon, the premises considered: It is ordained in the said Parliament and by authority thereof that every of the said subjects, for and upon every twenty pounds of lands, tenements, rents, fees, annuities or other livelihood and possessions with their appurtenances which he has in the said land of yearly rent, shall provide in his house one archer mounted and arrayed defensively with bow and arrows fit for the war according to the English fashion, to be ready at all times upon warning for the defence of he said land in manner and form as heretofore it has been accustomed, so long as the most high puissant prince the Duke of York may remain in the said land. And that in every county of the said land the archers, mounted and arrayed as above with the said bows and arrows according to the assessment of their said yearly possessions, shall every quarter make their musters in the same county before the justices or wardens of the peace having authority and power to enquire in their sessions b those to whom [the power] is given. And that by this act the same justices or wardens shall have power and authority to enquire in their sessions from time to time the value of the possession of every man within the same, and also the amerce in the same sessions according to their discretions such person and persons as ought to find the said archers and who therein make default contrary to the intent and tenor of the said act, Holy Church excepted.

STATUTE ROLLS, IRELAND, HENRY VI, *edited by Henry Fitzpatrick Berry (1910), pp. 639–649.*



POYNINGS' LAW

1494

To render the Dublin parliament harmless as an instrument of the king's enemies and as a Yorkist center (opposed to the Tudor succession), this law indicated that henceforth Irish law would be subject to approval by the English parliament. Poynings' Law was to have a long and

interesting history until overthrown by the Irish parliament in 1782.

Queen Mary cut the ground out from under him and forced him to return to England.

SEE ALSO English Government in Medieval Ireland

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

AN ACT THAT NO PARLIAMENT BE HOLDEN IN
THIS LAND UNTIL THE ACTS BE CERTIFIED
INTO ENGLAND

Item, at the request of the commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted and established, that at the next Parliament that there shall be holden by the King's commandment and licence, wherein amongst other, the King's grace intendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues fith [since] the last day of the reign of King Edward the second, no Parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such season as the King's lieutenant and council there first do certify the King, under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemeth should pass in the same Parliament, and such causes, considerations, and acts affirmed by the King and his council to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained; that done, a Parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed: and if any parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law.

Upon the xxi. daye of January we entered into the shippe; I, my wyfe, and one servaunt; and beinge but ii. nyghtes and ii. dayes upon the sea, we arryved most prosperously at Waterforde, in the coldest time of the yeare, so mercifull was the Lorde unto us.

In beholdynge the face and the ordre of that cytie, I see many abhomynable ydolartryes maintained by the Epicurysh prestes, for their wicked bellies sake. The Communion, or Supper of the Lorde, was there altogither used lyke a popysh masse, with the olde apysh toyes of Antichrist, in bowynges and beckynges, knelinges and knockinges, the Lordes death, after S. Paule's doctrine, neyther preached nor yet spoken of. There wawled they over the dead, with prodigyouse howlynges and patterynges, as though their sowles had not bene quyeted in Christe and redemed by hys passion, but that they must come after and helpe at a pinche with Requiem Eternam, to delyver them out of helle by their sorrowfull sorceryes. Whan I had beholden these heathenysh behavers, I seyde unto a Senatour of that citye, that I wele perceyved that Christe had there no Bishop, neyther yet the Kynges Majestie of England any faythful officer of the mayer, in suffering so horrible blasphemies. . . .

Upon the assension daye, I preached again at Kikennie, likewyse on Trinite sondaye, and on S. Peters Daye at midsomer than followinge.

On the xxv daye of July, the prestes were as pleasauntly disposed as might be, and went by heapes from taverne to taverne, to seke the best Rob Davye and aquavite, which are their speciall drinkes there. Thei cawsed all their cuppes to be filled in, with Gaudeamus in dolio, the misterie therof only knowne to them, and, at that time, to none other els.

Which was, that Kynge Edwarde was dead, and that they were in hope to have up their maskynge masses againe. . . For ye must consydre that the prestes are comenly the first that receive suche news. The next day folowinge, a very wicked justice called Thomas Hothe, with the Lorde Mountgarret, restored to the Cathedrall church, requyrynge to have a communion, in the honour of S. Anne. Marke the blasphemouse blyndnesse and wyfull obstinacye of thys beastly papyst. The prestes made hym answere, That I had forbydden them that celebracion, savyng only upon the Sondayes. As I had, in dede, for the abhomynable ydolatries

THE STATUTES AT LARGE, PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENTS HELD IN IRELAND: FROM THE THIRD YEAR OF EDWARD THE SECOND, . . . (1786-1804), p. 44.



FROM VOCATION OF JOHN BALE TO THE
BISHOPERY OF OSSORIE

1553

John Bale

John Bale (1495-1563) was the Cambridge University-educated Protestant cleric who served briefly (1552-1553) as bishop of Ossory (a diocese in and around Waterford). A determined reformer, he was vexed and frustrated by the deep-seated resistance he encountered among the Irish, and he bitterly denounced it after the accession of the Catholic

that I had seane therein. I discharge you (sayeth he) of obedience to your Bishop in this point, and commaunde yow to do as ye have done heretofore, which was, to make of Christes holy communion an ydolatrouse masse, and to suffre it to serve for the dead, cleane contrarye to the Christen use of the same.

Thus was a wicked justice not only a vyolatour of Christes institution, but also a contempner of his princes earnest commaundement, and a provoker of the people by his ungraciouse example to do the lyke. Thys coulede he do whith other mischefes more, by his longe beyng there by a whole monthe's space, but for murderers, theftes, ydolatryes, and abhominable whoredomes, wherewith all that nacion haboundeth, for that time he sought no redresse, neyther appointed any correction. The prestes thus rejoycing that the Kinge was dead, and that they had bene that daye confirmed in their supersticiouse obstinacie, resorted to the forseyd false justice the same night at supper, to gratifye him with Rob Davye and Aqua vite; for that he had bene so frendly unto them, and that he might styll continue in the same. The next daye after was the Layde Jane Gylforde proclaimed their Quene, with solemnite of processions, bonefyres, and banquettes, they seyde justice, as I was infourmed, sore blamyng me for my absence that daye; for, in dede, I muche doubted that matter.

So sone as it was there rumoured abrode that the kynge was departed from this lyfe, the ruffianess of that wilde nacyon, not only rebelled against the English captaines, as their lewde custome, in suche chaunges, hath bene alwayes, chefly no English deputye beinge within the lande, but also they conspired into the very deathes of so many English men and women, as were left therein alyve: Myndinge, as they than stoughtly boasted it, to have set up a kinge of their owne. And to cause their wilde people to beare the more hate to our nacion, very subtilly, but yet falsely, they caused it to be noysed over all, that the younge Earl of Ormonde, and Barnabe, the Barne of Upper Ossorie's sonne, were both slaine in the court at London.

Upon the wylle practyse of myschefe, they raged without ordre, in all places, and assaulted the English fortes every where.

And at one of them, by a subtyle trayne, they got out ix our men, and slew them. . . .

On the xx. daye of August, was the ladye marye with us at Kylkennye proclaymed Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, with the greatest solemnyte, that there coulede be devysed, of processions, musters and disgysinges, all the noble captaynes and gentilmen there being present. What-a-do I had that daye with the prebendaryes and prestes abought wearinge the cope,

crosser, and myter in procession, it were to muche to write.

I tolde them earnestly, whan they wolde have compelled me thereunto, that I was not Moyses minister but Christes, I desyred them that they would not compell me to his denyall, which is (S. Paule sayth) in the repetinge of Moyses sacramentes and ceremoniall shadowes Gal. v. With that I toke Christes Testament in my hande, and went to the market crosse, the people in great nombre followinge. There toke I the xiii. chap. of S. Paule to the Romanes, declaringe to them brevely, what the autoritie was of the worldly powers magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the meane tyme, had the prelates gotten ii. dysgysed prestes, one to beare the myter afore me, and an other the crosser, makinge iii. procession pageauntes of one. The yonge men, in the forenone, played a Tragedye of Gods Promyses in the olde lawe at the market crosse, with organe plainges and songes very aptely. In the after none agayne they played a Commedie of sanct Johan Baptiste's Preachinges, of Christe's baptyng, and of his temptacion in the wilderness; to the small contentacion of the prestes and other papistes there. . . .

Some men peradventure will marvele, that I utteringe matters of Irelande, shulde omitt in this treatise, to write of Coyne and lyverie. Which are so cruell pillages and opressions of the poor commens there, as are no where els in this whole earthe, neither undre wicked Saracene nor yet cruell Turke, besides all prodigiouse kindes of lecherie and other abhominacions therein committed. Thre causes there are, which hath moved me not to expresse them here. One is, for so muche as they pertaine nothinge to the tyttle of this boke, which all concerneth religion. An other is for that the matter is so large, as requireth a muche larger volume. The third cause is, for that I have known ii. worthie men, whome, I will not nowe name to have done that thinge so exactly, as noman (I suppose) therein can amende them. But this I will utter brevely, that the Irishe lords and their undrecaptaines, supportinge the same, are not only companions with theves, as the prophete reporteth, Esa. 1, but also they are their wicked maisters and maintainers. So that they both coupled togyther, the murtherer with his maistre, and the thefe with his maintainer, leyve nothinge undevoured behinde them that fertile region; no more than ded the devouringe locustes of Egypt, Exo. 10. Anon after their harvestes are ended there, the Kearnes, the Gallowglasses, and the other brechelesse souldiers, with horses and their horsegromes, sumtyme iii waitinge upon one jade, enter into the villages with much crueltie and fearceness, they continue there in great ravine and spoyle, and, whan

they go thens, they leave nothings els behinde them for payment, but lice, lecherie, and intollerable penureie for the yeare after. Yet set the rulers thereupon a very fayre colour, that is for defence of the English pale. I besicche God to sende such protection a shorte ende, and their lordes and Captaines also, if they see it not sone amended. For it is the utter confusion of that lande, and a maintenaunce to all vices.

Three peoples are in Irelande in these dayes, prestes, lawyers, and kearnes, which will not suffre faythe, trueth and honestye, to dwell there. And all these have but one God their Belye, and glory in that wicked feate to their shame, whose ende is dampnation, Phil. 3. I speake only of those which are bredde and borne there, and yet not of them all. These for the more part, are sworne bretherne together in myschefe, one to maintaine an others maliciose cause, by murther previly procured. And, to bringe their conceyved wickednesse to passe, they can do great miracles in this age, by vertue of transubstanciation belyke, for therein are they very conninge. For they can very wittely make, of a tame Irishe, a wilde Irishe for nede, so that they shall serve their turne so wele as though were of the wilde Irish in dede.

Reprinted in STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 31–35.



ACT OF UNIFORMITY

1560

After the brief (1553–1558) reign of the Catholic Queen Mary, the Protestant Reformation slowly resumed its progress under Mary's successor and half-sister, Elizabeth I. The Act of Uniformity of 1560, passed through an Irish parliament that was becoming heavily Protestant in its composition, extended to Ireland a variation of the Protestant (or "Anglican") faith that was being re-established in England.

SEE ALSO Burial Customs and Popular Religion from 1500 to 1690; Church of Ireland: Elizabethan Era; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1500 to 1690

AN ACT FOR THE UNIFORMITIE OF COMMON PRAYER AND SERVICE IN THE CHURCH, AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS

Where at the death of our late soverain lord King Edward the 6, there remained one uniforme order of common service, prayer and the administration of sacraments, rites and ceremonies in the church of England, which was set forth in one book, intituled, "The Book of Common Prayer, and administration of Sacraments" which was repealed and taken away by act of Parliament in the said realm of England in the first year of the reign of our late soveraign lady Queen Mary, to the great decay of the true honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion. Be it therefore enacted by the authoritie of this present Parliament. That the said book with the order of service, and of the administration of sacraments, rites and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this estatute, shall stand and bee from and after the feast of Pentecost, next ensuing, in full force and effect, . . .

II. And further be it enacted . . . that all and singular ministers in any cathedrall or parish church, or other place within this realm of Ireland, shall from and after the feast of Saint John Baptist, then next ensuing, be bounded to say and use the mattens, evensong, celebration of the Lord's supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book. . . .

STATUTES AT LARGE, IRELAND, vol. 1, pp. 284–290; 2 Eliz. I, c. 2.



FROM TWO BOKES OF THE HISTORIES OF IRELAND

1571

Edmund Campion

Edmund Campion, executed as a Jesuit in 1581, was English-born, but a guest of leading Old English families in Dublin in 1570–1571. His "Histories of Ireland," not published until 1633, glorified the Old English (as against the Gaelic Irish), and in manuscript form influenced Richard Stanihurst (who contributed the Irish portions of

Holinshead's famous chronicles), and others among his contemporaries.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

The people are thus enclined: religious, francke, amorous, irefull, sufferable of paynes infinite, veary glorious, many sorserers, excellent horsemen, delighted with warres, great almesgevers, passing in hospitalitie. The lewder sorte, bothe clerkes and laye, are sensuall and loose to leacherye above measure. The same being vertuously brede up or reformed, are suche myrrors of holynes and austeritie that other nations retaine but a shadoe of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fastynge, which theis daies make so dangerous, this is to them a familiare kinde of chastisement. In which vertue and diverse other how farr the best excell, so farr in glotonie and other hatefull crymes the vicious theie are worse than to bad. Theie folowe the deade course to grave with howling and barbarous owtcryes, pitiful in apparance, whereof grewe as I suppose the proverbe to weepe Irishe. The unplandishe are lightly abused to beleve and avouche idle miracles and revelations vaine and childishe. Greedie of praise theie be, and fearfull of dishonour. And to this ende they esteeme theire poetes, who wright Irishe learnedly, and penne therein sonettes heroicall, for the which they are bountefully rewarded: yf not, they sende owt lybells in dispraise, whereof the gentlemen, specially the meere Irishe, stand in greate awe. They love tenderly theire foster children and bequeathe to them a childes portyon, whereby they nourishe sure frendship, so beneficiall every waie that commonly five hundred kyne and better are geven in reward to wynne an noblemans childe to forster. They are sharpe witted, lovers of learning, capable of any studie whereunto they bende themselves, constant in travaile, adventurous, intractable, kynde hearted, secrete in displeasure.

Hitherto the Irishe of bothe sortes, meere and Englishe, are affected mutche indifferently, save that in theis by good order and breaking the same vertues are farr more pregnant, in those other by licentious and evill custome the same faultes are more extreame and odious. I saie by lycentiousnes and evil custome, for that there is daily triall of good natures among them; howe sone they be reclaymed and to what rare giftes of grace and wisdom they doe and have aspired, againe the veary Englishe of birthe conversant with the brutishe sorte of that people become degenerate in short space, and are quite altered into worst ranke of Irish rooges. Such a force hathe education to make or marre.

Reprinted in *STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE*, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 38–39.

FROM "NOTES OF HIS REPORT"

1576

Sir William Gerard

The English-born Sir William Gerard was lord chancellor of Ireland in 1576. The notes of his report constitute part of the swelling Elizabethan ethnography of the Irish. He distinguishes between the ungovernable Irish, the sometimes governable Old English, and the "degenerate" Old English who have become almost as troublesome (from the government's point of view) as the Gaelic Irish.

SEE ALSO Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; English Writing on Ireland before 1800

It is necessarye to understand whoe be the Irishe enymies and howe they annoy the state, and also whoe ar they so termid Englishe rebels, and howe they woorke harme, and then to thinke of the desire to reforme, and whether one lyke and one same course & waye to subdue bothe be to be followed.

The Irishe is knowen by name, speache, habitt, feadinge, order, rule, and conversacion. He accompteth him self cheife in his owne country and (whatsoever he saye or professe) lykethe of noe superior. He mortally hatethe the Englishe. By will he governethe those under him, supplyinge his and their wantes by prayinge and spoylinge of other countryes adjoyninge. These lyve as the Irishe lyved in all respects before the conqueste.

In twoe sortes, these ar to be dealte with: The one, totallye to conquere them, and that muste be by force of the sword, for so were the other of the Irishe subdued before the Englishe were settled: the other waye is by suche pollecy to keepe them quiett as with smalleste force, and by consequent with least chardge they may be defended from harminge the Englishe. Whiche pollecyes I finde by those recordes from age to age putt in use in that governmente.

The Englishe rebels ar people of our owne nacion, suche whose auncestors and them selves after the expulstion of the Irishe, ever sithence Henrye the secondes tyme, some of longer, some of shorter tyme, have there

contynued. These Englishe rebels may be devided into twoe kindes: the one, soche as enter into the field in open hostilitie and actuall rebellion agaynste the Prince, comparable to the rebellinge in England. To suppressse those, the sword muste also be the instrument. Thother sorte of Englishe rebels are suche as refuzinge Englishe nature growe Irishe in soche sorte as (otherwise then in name) not to be discerned from the Irishe.

All the force of the Irishe with all the helpe they had of anye actuall Englishe rebell harmed not (as the recordes verifie) untill this degeneratinge fell, which beganne about the xxxth yeare of the sayd Kinge Edwarde the third his reigne.

The cawsies which move theise recordes to call them Englishe degenerates apearethe in the same.

Theye (saye theise recordes) speake Irishe, use Irishe habitt, feadinge, rydinge, spendinge, coysheringe, coyninge; they exacte, oppresse, extorte, praye, spoyle, and take pledges and distresses as doe the Irishe. They marrye and foster with the Irishe, and, to conclude, they imbrace rather Irishe braghan lawes then sweete government by justice.

Soche as affirme the sword muste goe before to subdue theise, greatly erre. For can the sword teache them to speake Englishe, to use Englishe apparell, to restrayne them from Irishe exactions and extortions, and to shonne all the manners & orders of the Irishe. Noe it is the rodd of justice that muste scower out those blottes. For the sword once wente before, and setled their auncestors, and in them yet resteth this instincte of Englishe nature, generally to feare justice. . . .

I told their Honnors that so long as the Englishe kepte under the government of Englishe lawes they prospered, and when they fell to be Irishe and embraced the Irishe orders, customs and lawes they decayed, so as to restore them to former Englishe civilitie lawes had from tyme to tyme still bene made restrayninge the Englishe from the Irishe; forbiddinge them under a payne to foster or marrye with them or to use or followe anye their Irishe lawes or customs; to use or weare anye their habitt or apparell, to receive or seeke for judgement by anye of their lawes: forbiddinge all captens and marchers to retayne anye Kerne or idell followers, and under payne of deathe to take no prayes. . . .

I sayd to their Honnors all those lawes notwithstandinge the race of the Englishe throughout the pale were in everye forbidden respecte growen more Irishe then before and so the wound greater at this daye then ever before. I sayd if Irishe speache, habit and conditions made the man Irishe, the most parte of the Englishe were Irishe.

Reprinted in STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 39–41.



LETTER TO ELIZABETH

12 November 1580

Lord Arthur Grey de Wilton

Lord Arthur Grey de Wilton (1536–1593) was lord deputy of Ireland from 1580 to 1582. Zealously Protestant, he defeated and then slaughtered some six hundred Spanish and Italian soldiers who had been sent by the pope to aid a Catholic rebellion in Munster, and who landed in Smerwick harbor on County Kerry's Dingle peninsula. Grey's letter makes clear the ferocity of his actions.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

There was presently sent unto me one Alexandro, their campmaster; he told me that certain Spaniards and Italians were there arrived upon fair . . . speeches and great promises, which altogether vain and false they found, and t[hat] it was no part of their intent to molest or take any government from your Majesty, for proof that they were ready to depart as they came, and deliver in [to] my hands the fort. Mine answer was, that for that I perceived their people to stand of two nations, Italian and Spanish, I would give no a[nswe]r unless a Spaniard were likewise by. He presently went and returned [with] a Spanish captain. I then told the Spaniard that I knew their nation [to] have an absolute Prince, one that was in good league and amity with your Majesty, which made me marvel that any of his people should be found associate . . . them that went about to maintain rebels against you and to disturb . . . any your Highness' governments, and taking it that it could not be his Kings' will, I was to know by whom and for what cause they were sent. His reply was, that the King had not sent them, but that one John Martinez de Ricaldi, Governor for the King, at Bilboa, had willed them to levy a band and to repair with it to St. Andrews, and there to be directed by this their colonel here, whom he followed as a blind man, not knowing whither. The other avouched that they were all sent by the Pope for the defence of the Catholica fede. My answer was, that I would not greatly have marvelled if men being commanded by natural and absolute princes did sometimes take in hand wrong

actions, but that men, and that of account as some of them made show of, should be carried into unjust, desperate, and wicked actions by one that neither from God nor man could claim any princely power or empire, but indeed a detestable shaveling, the right Antichrist and general ambitious tyrant over all right principalities, and patron of the diabolica fede, I could not but greatly rest in wonder, their fault therefore, far to be aggravated by the vileness of the commander, and that at my hands no condition of composition they were to expect, other than that simply they should render me the fort, and yield their selves to my will for life or death.

With this answer he departed, after which there was one or two courses to and fro more, to have gotten a certainty for some of their lives, but finding that it would not be, the colonel himself about sunsetting came forth and requested respite with surcease of arms till the next morning, and then he would give a resolute answer.

Finding that to be but a gain of time for them and loss of the same for myself, I definitely answered, I would not grant it, and therefore presently either that he took my offer or else return, and I would fall to my business. He then embraced my knees simply putting himself to my mercy, only he prayed that for that night he might abide in the fort, and that in the morning all should be put into my hands. I asked hostages for the performance; they were given. Morning come; I presented my companies in battle before the fort, the colonel comes forth with 10 or 12 of his chief gentlemen, trailing their ensigns rolled up, and presented them unto me with their lives and the fort. I sent straight, certain gentlemen in, to see their weapons and armours laid down, and to guard the munition and victual there left for spoil. Then put I in certain bands, who straight fell to execution. There were 600 slain.

Reprinted in *STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE*, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 102–104.



FEROCITY OF THE IRISH WARS

The following are accounts of the cruelty and savagery of the Irish wars of the 1580s and 1590s. Captain Woodhouse's letter describes the annihilation by Sir William Bingham's forces of some 1,100 Scots who were allied with the Irish Burkes in their rebellion. O'Sullivan Beare's account is from a Catholic perspective. Chief Justice

Saxe reports atrocities committed on English settlers in Munster.

SEE ALSO Nine Years War; O'Neill, Hugh, Second Earl of Tyrone; Politics: 1500 to 1690

Defeat of the Scots by Sir Richard Bingham in Connacht (Captain Thomas Woodhouse to Geoffrey Fenton, 23 September 1586)

It pleased God that the Governor this day met with James MacDonnell's sons and all their forces, and with the number of about four score horsemen, he, like a brave gentleman, charged them. I was as near him as I could, and so cut off their wings, and they presently were like cowardly beggars, being in number, as we did judge, about 1,300 in that place, hard by their camp, William Burke's town, called Ardnaree. About one of the clock we did join the battle, and they did set their backs to the great river called the Moy, and the Governor and we that were but a small number did with him, who I protest in God like as brave a man, charge them before our battle came in [sic], and kept a narrow strait in our charging of them, so as they could not pass our foot battle, and there, God be thanked, we did drown and kill, as we all did judge, about the number of a thousand or eleven hundred, for there did, by swimming, about a hundred escape, and as the country saith on the other side the water, they have killed them, for we cannot this day get over this water into Tirawley to them for want of boats, but truly I was, never since I was a man of war, so weary with killing of men, for I protest to God, for as fast as I could I did but hough them and paunch them, sometimes on horseback, because they did run as we did break them, and sometimes on foot, and so in less space than an hour this whole and good field was done.

O'Donnell Attacks the English of Connacht (Philip O'Sullivan Beare, *Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium*, 1621)

[1595] O'Donnell, remembering the cruelty with which the English had thrown women, old men and children from the Bridge of Enniskillen, with all his forces invaded Connacht, which Richard Bingham was holding oppressed under heretical tyranny. In his raids extending far and wide he destroyed the English colonists and settlers, put them to flight, and slew them, sparing no male between fifteen and sixty years old who was unable to speak Irish.

He burnt the village of Longford in Annaly, which Browne an English heretic had taken from O'Farrell. He

then returned to Tyrconnel laden with the spoils of the Protestants. After this invasion of Connacht, not a single farmer, settler or Englishman remained, except those who were defended by the walls of castles and fortified towns, for those who had not been destroyed by fire and sword, despoiled of their goods, left for England, heaping curses upon those who had brought them to Ireland.

Massacre of Munster Settlers, 1598 (William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil Concerning the State of That Province, 26 October 1598)

About the 5th Oct., some 3,000 rebels came into the county of Limerick, sent from the archtraitor Tyrone, under the leading of John FitzThomas . . . elder brother to the last attainted Earl of Desmond . . . and burnt and spoiled most of the towns and villages there. . . . These combinations and revolts have effected many execrable murders and cruelties upon the English, as well in the county of Limerick, as in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and elsewhere; infants taken from the nurses' breasts, and the brains dashed against the walls; the heart plucked out of the body of the husband in the view of the wife, who was forced to yield the use of her apron to wipe off the blood from the murderer's fingers; [an] English gentleman at midday in a town cruelly murdered, and his head cleft in divers pieces; divers sent into Youghal amongst the English, some with their throats cut, but not killed, some with their tongues cut out of their heads, other with their noses cut off; by view whereof the English might the more bitterly lament the misery of their countrymen, and fear the like to befall to themselves.

IRISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES, *edited by*
Constantia Maxwell (1923), pp. 210–212.



FROM THE IMAGE OF IRELANDE

1581

John Derricke

Little is known of John Derricke, who was apparently connected to Sir Henry Sidney, and possibly a friend of his son Philip, to whom this work is dedicated. It lavishes considerable praise on Sir Henry's abilities and may have been intended to win him favor at court. In this poem he describes the Irish woodkern (here "Karne") or soldier,

though it probably represents his view of the native, or "wild," Irish.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

From Part One.

of feathered foules,
there breeds the cheef of all:
A mightie foule, a goodlie birde,
whom men doe Eagle call.
This builde her nast in highest toppe,
of all the Oken tree:
Or in the craftiest place, whereof
in Irelande many bee.
Not in the bounds of Englishe pale,
whiche is a ciuill place:
But in the Deuills Arse, a Peake,
where Rebels moste imbrace.
For as this foule and all the reste,
are wilde by Natures Kinde:
So do thei kepe in wildest nokes
and there men doe them finde.
For like to like the Proverbe saith,
the Leopard with the Beare:
Doth live in midst of desarts rude
and none doeth other feare.
For as the Irishe Karne be wilde,
in manners and in fashion:
So does these foules enhabite, with
that crooked generation.
Yet when as thei are taken yong,
(though wilde thei be by kinde:)
Entrusted through the fauconers lure,
by triall good I find.
That thei come as twere at becke,
and when as thei doe call:
She scarce will stint on twige or bowe,
till on his fiste she fall.
Thus thei obey their tutors hestes
and doe degenerate:
from wildnesse that belonged to,
their fore possessed state.
But Irishe Karne unlike these foules,
in burthe and high degree:
No chaunglyngs are thei love nowhit,
In civil state to bee.
Thei passe not for ciuillitie,
Nor care for wisdomes lore:
Sinne is their cheef felicitie,
whereof thei have the store.
And if perhappes a little Ape,
be taken from the henne:
And brought from Boggs to champion ground,
such thyngs happe now and then.
Yea though thei were in Courte trained up,

and yeres there lived tenne:
 Yet doe thei loke to shaking boggs,
 scarce provying honest menne.
 And when as thei have wonne the Boggs,
 suche vertue hath that grounde:
 that they are wurse than wildest Karne,
 And more in sinne abounde.

From Part Two.

Though that the royall soyle,
 and fertill Irishe grounde:
 With thousande sondrie pleasaunt thynges,
 moste nobly doe abounde.
 Though that the lande be free,
 from vipers generation:
 As in the former parte I made,
 a perfecte declaration.
 Though that the yearth I saie,
 be bliste with heauenly thyngs:
 And though tis like the fragrant flowre,
 in pleasante Maie that springs.
 Yet when I did beholde,
 those whiche possesse the same:
 Their manners lothsome to be told,
 as yrksome for to name.
 I mervuailede in my mynde,
 and thereupon did muse:
 Too see a Bride it is the Soile,
 the Bridegrome is the Karne.

Reprinted in STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS
 OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, edited by
 Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 41–43.



FROM "THE SONS OF CLANRICARD"

1586

John Hooker

This English account describes some of the travails of Sir William Fitzwilliam (1526–1599), lord deputy of Ireland from 1571 to 1575 and 1588 to 1594.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

And then his lordship [Fitzwilliam] prepareth to take a journie towards Waterford. . . . But when he was passed

a daies journey, word was brought unto him from the bishop of Meth, who laie then upon the confines of Meth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the maior of Gallewaie, and from diverse others, who affected well the state, crieng out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that basterlie brood, which not scarce two moneths past had humbled themselves to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craved pardon, and had most firmelie protested and sworne and most dutifull and continuall obedience.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stollen over the river of Shennon, and there cast awaie their English apparell, and clothed themselves in their old woonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come awaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglasses, and all their forces with them. Who when they met together, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenrie, and those few houses were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat awaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the queenes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set up. Bad and wicked they were before, but now ten times worse than ever they were; being come, even as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his woonted diet, returneth unto the house from whence he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other seven wicked spirits, and entreth and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is woorse than the first. And if a man should aske of these bastardlie boies, and of their sier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie revolve, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, having beene so courteouslie used, so gentlie interteined, so friendlie countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pithilie persuaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surelie nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a little of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For bastardlie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring fourth grapes.

Reprinted in STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS
 OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, edited by
 Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994),
 pp. 97–98.



FROM SOLON HIS FOLLIE

1594

Richard Beacon

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a profusion of English tracts on what would later be called the "Irish Problem." Most were couched, or even camouflaged, in the terms of antiquity where—among the ancient Greeks and Romans—colonies and colonial relationships were well-established and much discussed subjects. Richard Beacon's Solon His Follie was one of the earliest of these. Solon was the legendary reformer of sixth-century B.C. Athens.

SEE ALSO Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534–1690); Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Politics: 1500 to 1690

EPIMENIDES: There remaineth now that we deduct colonies, which is the last, but not the least meanes to suppress this distemperature, which of all others is the most beneficiall for the containing of a nation conquered in their duty and obedience; wherein foure matters are worthily considered: first the necessitie of deducting colonies; secondarily the benefite that redoundeth thereby unto common-weales; thirdly what order and manner in deducting colonies is to be used and observed; lastly, the impedimentes which are usuallie given unto the deducting of colonies.

SOLON: Shew us the necessitie of collonies.

EPI: A nation conquered may not be contained in their obedience without the strength of colonies or garrisons: for may we be induced to beleeve, that that people or nation, who daily bewaileth & accuseth his present state and condition, may persist therein longer then they be pressed therunto by necessitie? and more than this in the act of Absentes, the meere native borne people of Salamina, are tearmed to be mortall and naturall enemies unto their conquerer and all his dominions . . . for how many waies did this people incite the French King, how oft have they provoked the Pope to invade this lande of Salamina? Againe the Emperour and all other Princes and Potentates, what fortes and holdes have they not taken, and how many of our garrisons have

they most cruelly slaine and murdered, the same, in the severall actes of Attainder of Shane Oneile, Garralde Fitz Garralde, James of Desmond, and by severall other recordes, may appeare at large. Neither doth this forme of government drawe with it a perpetuall discontentment onelie, but also an infinite and continuall charge in maintaining these severall garrisons, as well to the Prince, as to the subject; for so in the act of subsidie and other recordes it may appeare. Neither be these all the discommodities that perpetual garrisons drawe with them, for these notwithstanding, we have beene forced to send at sundry times armies roiall to suppress disorders and rebellions, as the same more at large may appeare in the act of restraining of tributes; so as wee may conclude, that where colonies are not strongly and faithfully deducted, there the ende of the first warres, is but a beginning of the second more dangerous than the first; the which maie appeare by the recordes of Salamina: for no sooner were the people or sects, called Omores, Odempies, Oconores, and others, expelled by great forces and strengthes, to our great charges, out of the severall countries of Liece, Slewmargin, Irry, Glimnarliry, and Offalie, but eftsones for that we deducted not colonies, they traiterouslie entered the said countries by force, and long detained the same, untill they were with greater forces expelled, all which more at large may appeare in the act made for the deviding of countries, into shire groundes, so as we may conclude, that it is not for wise Princes to persevere in that course of government, which doth nourish as it were a perpetuall interest in troubles, charges, and expenses: for the which causes chiefly did the Venetians willingly abandon the government of Bybienna and Pisa, and wee of Athens, Salamina, the which did chiefly arise unto us, for that in steede of planting colonies, we placed garrisons. . . . [L]et us loose no opportunity of deducting of colonies, for they be deducted and maintained with small or no charges, & with no great offence, but onely to such whose landes and houses they possesse, the which remaine for the most part pacified, in that they enjoy their life which stode in the hands of the Prince, as well as their landes to dispose, for their offences: and if they should remaine discontented, for that having respect to the whole kingdome they be but a handfull, and also dispersed and poore, they may never be able to hurt or disturb the state, & all others which finde themselves free from their losses, shall rest pacified, partely fearing, least they commit any thing rashly or foolishly, and partly doubting, least the like befalleth

them as to those which remaine spoyled for their offences. . . .

SOL: Nowe sith the necessity of colonies doeth manifestly appeare by unfallible proofs and examples, let us proceede unto the profite and benefite that groweth thereby.

EPI: The benefites that hereby arise to the common-weale, are sundry and diverse: first the people poore and seditious which were a burden to the common-weale, are drawn forth, whereby the matter of sedition is remooved out of the Cittie; and for this cause it is said, that Pericles sent into the country of Cherronesus, a thousand free men of his Cittie there to dwell, and to deuide the landes amongst them; five hundreth also into the Ile of Naxus, into the Ile of Andros others, some he sent to inhabite Thracia, and others to dwell with the Bisaltes; as well thereby to ridde the Cittie of a number of idle persons, who through idlenes began to be curious and to desire a change of thinges, as also to provide for the necessity of the poore towns-men that had nothing, which being naturall Citizens of Athens served as garrisons, to keepe under those which had a desire to rebell, or to attempt any alteration or change: secondly by translating of colonies, the people conquered are drawn and intised by little and little, to embrace the manners, lawes, and government of the conquerour: lastly the colonies being placed and dispersed abroad amongst the people, like Beacons doe foretell and disclose all conspiracies. . . . lastly, they yeelde a yearely rent, profite, or service unto the crowne for ever.

Reprinted in *STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE*, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 109–111.



FROM A VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND

1596

Edmund Spenser

The great Elizabethan poet Edmund Spenser witnessed some of the worst of the Irish wars as secretary to Arthur Grey, Lord Grey de Wilton, lord deputy of Ireland in the 1580s, and subsequently as a resident planter at Kilcolman in County Cork. In his View of the Present State of Ireland,

he advocated the unrelenting application of martial law, but the tract takes the form of a mock-classical dialogue between a proponent of force and a proponent of conciliation.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

EUDOX.: But yf that countrey of Ireland, whence you lately came, be soe goodly and commodious a soyle, as ye report, I wonder that noe course is taken for the tourning thereof to good uses, and reducing of that savadge nation to better government and civilitye.

IREN.: Marry, soe there have beene divers good plottes devised, and wise counsells cast alleready about reformation of that realme; but they say, it is the fatall desteny of that land, that noe puposes, whatsoever are meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect . . .

IREN.: I will then, according to your advisement, beginne to declare the evils, which seeme to me most hurtfull to the common-weale of that land: and first, those which I sayd were most aunient and long growen. And they also are of three kindes; the first in the Lawes, the second in Customs, and the third in Religion. . . . It is a nation ever acquaynted with warres, though but amongst themselves, and in theyre owne kind of mylitary discipline, trayned up ever from theyr youthes; which they have never yet beene taught to lay aside, nor made to learne obedience unto lawe, scarcely to know the name of lawe, but insteede therof have always preserved and kept theyr owne lawe, which is the Brehoone lawe.

EUDOX.: What is that which ye call the Brehoone Lawe? It is a word to us altogether unknowen.

IREN.: It is a certayne rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth greate shewe of equitye, in determing the right betweene party and partye, but in many thinges repugning quite both to God and mans lawe: as for example, in the case of murder, the Brehoon, that is theyr judge, will compound betweene the murderer and the frendes of the party murdered, which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child or wife of him that is slayne, a recompence, which they call a Breaghe; by which bi lawe of theyrs, many murders are amongst them made up and smothered. . . . There be many wide countryes

in Ireland in which the lawes of England were never established nor any acknowledgment of subjection made; and also even in those that are subdued, and seeme to acknowledge subjection, yet the same Brehoone lawe is practised amongst themselves by reason, that dwelling as they doe, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, they may doe what they list . . .

EUDOX.: What is this that you call Tanistih and Tanistrye? They be names and termes never hard of nor knownen to us.

IREN.: It is a custome among all the Irish, that presently after the death of any theyr chief Lordes or Captaynes, they doe presently assemble themselves to a place, generally appoynted and knownen unto them, to choose another in his steede; where they doe nominate and elect, for the most part, not the eldest sonn, nor any of the children of theyre Lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and woorthyest; as commonly the next brother to him yf he have any, or the next cossin germayne, or soe fourth, as any is elder in that kinred or sept, and then next to him they choose the next of blood to be Tanistih, whoe shall next succede him in the sayd Captaynrye, yf he live thereunto. . . . when the Earle Strangbowe, having conquered that land, delivered up the same unto the handes of Henry the second, then King, whoe sent over thither great store of gentellmen, and other warlick people, amongst whom he distributed the land, and settled such a strong colonye therin, as never since could, with all the subtill practises of the Irish, be rooted out, but abide still a mighty people, of soe many as remayne English of them.

EUDOX.: What is this that you say, of soe many as remayne English of them? Why are not they that were once English abiding English still?

IREN.: Noe, for the most part of them are degenerated and growen allmost meere Irish yea and more malicious to the English then the very Irish themselves.

EUDOX.: What heare I? And is it possible that an Englishman, brought up naturally in such sweete civilitye as England affoordes, can find such liking in that barbarous rudeness, that he should forgett his owne nature, and forgoe his owne nation? . . .

IREN.: . . . there is one use amongst them [the Irish], to keepe theyr cattell, and to live themselves the most part of the yeare in bolyes, pasturing upon the mountayn, and wast wild places; and removing still to fresh land, as they have depastured

the former. The which appeareth playne to be the manner of the Scythians, as you may reade in Olaus Magnus, and Jo. Bohemus, and yet is used amongst all the Tartarians and the people about the Caspian Sea, which are naturally Scythians, to live in heardes as they call them, being the very same that the Irish bolyes are, driving theyr cattell continually with them, and feeding onely upon theyr milke and white meates.

EUDOX.: What fault can ye find with this custome?

For though it be an old Scythian use, yet it is very behoofull in that countrey of Ireland, where there are greate mountaynes, and wast desartes full of grasse, that the same should be eaten downe, and nourish many thousand of cattell for the good of the whole realme, which cannot (me thinkes) be well any other way, then by keeping those Bolyes there, as ye have shewed.

IREN.: But by this custome of bolyes there growe in the meane time many great enormities unto that Common-wealth. For first, yf there be any out-lawes, or loose people, (as they are never without some) which live upon stealthes and spoyles, they are evermore succoured and find relief onely in those Bolyes, being upon the wast places, wheras els they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come downe to the townes to steale relief, where, by one meane or other, they would soone be caught. Besides, such stealthes of cattell as they make, they bring commonly to those Bolyes, where they are received readilye, and the theif harboured from daunger of lawe, or such officers as might light uppon him. Moreover, the people that thus live in those Bolyes growe therby the more barbarons, and live more licentiously then they could in townes, using what meanes they list, and practising what mischeives and villanyes they will, either agaynst the government there, by theyr combinations, or agaynst privat men, whom they maligne, by stealing theyr goodes, or murdering themselves. For there they thinke themselves halfe exempted from lawe and obedience, and having once tasted freedome, doe, like a steere that hath bene long out of his yoke, grudge and repyne ever after to come under rule agayne.

EUDOX.: By your speache, Irenæus, I perceave more evils come by this use of bolyes, then good by theyr grazing; and therefore it may well be reformed: but that must be in his due course . . .

IREN.: They have another custome from the Scythians, that is the wearing of Mantells and long glibbes, which is a thick curled bush of heare, hanging downe over theyr eyes, and monstrous-

ly disguising them, which are both very badd and hurtfull. . . .

EUDOX.: Sith then the necessitye therof is soe comodious, as ye alleage, that it is insteede of howsing, bedding, and clothing, what reason have ye then to wish so necessary a thing cast of?

IREN.: Because the comoditye doth not countervayle the discomoditie, for the inconveniences that therby doe arise are much more many; for it is a fitt howse for an outlawe, a meete bedd for a rebell, and an apt cloke for a thief. First the outlawe being for his many crimes and villanyes bannished from the townes and howses of honest men, and wandring in wast places, furr from daunger of lawe, maketh his mantell his howse, and under it covereth himself from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men. When it rayneth it is his pent-howse; when it blowes it is his tent; when it freezeth it is his tabernacle. In Sommer he can weare it loose, in winter he can weare it close; at all time he can use it; never heavy, never combersome. Likewise for a rebell it is as serviceable; for in his warre that he maketh (yf at least it besemeth the name of warr) when he still flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thick woodes and straite passages, wayting for advantages, it is his bedd, yea, and almost his howsehold stuff. For the wood is his howse agaynst all weathers, and his mantell is his cave to sleepe in. Therin he wrappeth himself rounde, and encloseth himself strongly agaynst the gnattes, which in that countrey doe more annoy the naked rebelles, whilst they keepe the woodes, and doe more sharply wound them then all theyr enemyes swoordes or speares, which can come seldome nigh them: yea, and oftentimes theyr mantell serveth them when they are neere driven, being wrapt about theyr left arme in steede of a Targett, for it is as hard to cutt through it with a sword; besides it is light to beare, light to throwe away, and, being (as they then commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly, for a thief it is soe handsome, as it may seeme it was first invented for him; for under it he can cleanly convay any fitt pillage that cometh handsomely in his way, and when he goeth abrode in the night on free-booting, it is his best and surest frend; for lying, as they often doe, two or thre nightes together abrode to watch for theyr bootye, with that they can pretelye shrowde themselves under a bush or bankes side, till they may conveniently doe theyr errand: and when all is done, he can in his mantell pass through any towne or company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledge of any to

whom he is endaungered. Besides all this, yf he be disposed to doe mischeif or villanye to any man, he may under his mantell goe privilye armed without suspicion of any, carrying his head-peece, his skeane, or pistoll yf he please, to be allwaye in readiness. Thus necessarye and fitting is a mantell for a badd man, and surely for a badd howsewife it is noe less convenient, for some of those that be wandring women, there called of them Beantoolhe, it is half a wardrobe, for in Sommer you shall have her arrayed commonly but in her smocke and mantel, to be more readye for her light services; in Winter, and in her travell, it is her best cloke and safegard, and also a coverlett for her lewde exercise. And when she hath filled her vessell, under it she can hide both her burden and her blame; yea, and when her bastard is borne it serves insteede of a cradle and all her swadling cloutes. And as for all other good women which love to doe but little woorke, howe handsome it is to lye and sleepe, or to lowze themselves in the sunnshine, they that have bene but a while in Ireland can well witness. Sure I am that ye will thinke it very unfitt for good howsewives to stirre in, or to busy them selves about theyr howse-wiverye in such sort as they should. These be some of the abuses for which I would thinke it meete to forbidd all mantells.

EUDOX.: O evill mynded man, that having reckned up soe many uses of a mantell, will yet wish it to be abandoned! . . .

IREN.: I suppose that the cheifest cause of the bringing in of the Irish language, amongst them, was specially theyr fostring, and marrying with the Irish, the which are two most daungerous infections: for first the child that sucketh the milke of the nurse, must of necessitye learne his first speache of her, the which being the first that is enured to his tongue, is ever after most pleasing unto him, in soe much as though he afterward be taught English, yet the smacke of the first will allwayes abide with him; and not onely of the speache, but also of the manners and conditions. . . . Therefore are these evill customes of fostering and marrying with the Irish most carefully to be restrayned; for of them two, the third evill, that is the custome of language (which I speake of) cheifly proceedeth. . . . There is amongst the Irish a certayne kind of people called Bards, which are to them insteede of poetts, whose profession is to sett fourth the prayses and disprayses of men in theyr poems and rimes; the which are had in soe high request and estimation amongst them, that none dare to displease them for feare of running into reproche

through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouths of all men. For their verses are taken up with a generall applause, and usually songe at all feasts and meetinges, but certayne other persons, whose proper function that is, which also receive for the same greate rewardes and reputation besides. . . It is most true that such Poetts, as in their writings doe laboure to better the manners of men, and through the sweete bayte of theyre numbers, to steale into yonge spiritts a desire of honour and vertue, are worthy to be had in great respect. But these Irish Bards are for the most part of another mynd, and soe farr from instructing yong men in morall discipline, that they themselves doe more deserve to be sharply disciplined; for they seldome use to choose unto themselves the doinges of good men for the ornamentes of theyr poems, but whomsoever they find to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doinges, most daungerous and desperate in all partes of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they sett up and glorifye in theyr rimes, him they prayse to the people, and to yong men make an example to followe. . . such lycentious partes as these, tending for the most parte to the hurte of the English, or mayntenance of theyre owne lewde libertye, they themselves, being most desirous therof, doe most allowe. Besides this, evill thinges being decked and suborned with the gay attyre of goodly woordes, may easely deceave and carrye away the affection of a yong mynd, that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bold adventure to make prooffe of himself; for being (as they all be brought up idelly without awe of parentes, without precepts of masters, without feare of offence, not being directed, or employed in any course of life, which may carrye them to vertue, will easely be drawn to followe such as any shall sett before them: for a yong mynd cannot rest; and yf he be not still busyed in some goodness, he will find himself such busines as shall soone busye all about him. In which yf he shall finde any to prayse him, and to give him encouragement, as those Bards and rimers doe for a litle reward, or a share of a stollen cowe, then waxeth he most insolent and half madd with the love of himself, and his owne lewde deedes. And as for woordes to sett foorth such lewdness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly glose and paynted shewe thereunto, borrowed even from the prayses which are proper to vertue itself. . . .

EUDOX.: . . . But tell me (I pray you) have they any arte in theyr compositions? Or be they any thing witty or well savoured, as Poems should be?

IREN.: Yea truly; I have caused diverse of them to be translated unto me that I might understand them; and surely they savoured of sweete witt and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornamentes of Poetrye: yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowers of theyr owne naturall devise, which gave good grace and comliness unto them, the which it is greate pittye to see soe abused, to the gracing of wickedness and vice, which would with good usage serve to beautifye and adorne vertue. This evill custome therfore needeth reformation. . . . Nowe we will proceede to other like defectes, amongst which there is one generall inconvenience which raig-neth allmost throughout all Ireland: that is, of the Lordes of landes and Free-holders, whoe doe not there use to sett out theyr landes to farme, or for terme of yeares, to theyr tenautes, but only from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure; neither indede will the Irish tenaunt or husbandman otherwise take his land then soe longe as he list himselfe. . . . Marye! the evils which cometh thereby are greate, for by this meane both the land-lord thinketh that he hath his tenaunte more at comaunde, to followe him into what action soever he shall enter, and also the tenaunte, being left at his libertye, is fitt for everye occasion of chaunge that shal be offred by time; and soe much also the more readye and willing is he to runne into the same, for that he hath noe such estate in any his holding, noe such building upon any farme, noe such costes employed in fencing and husbanding the same, as might with-hold him from any such willfull course, as his lordes cause, or his owne lewde disposition may carry him unto. All which he hath forborne, and spared so much expence, for that he had noe firme estate in his tenement, but was onely a tenaunt at will or litle more, and soe at will may leave it. . . . Therefore the faulte which I finde in Religion is but one, but the same is universall throughe out all the countrey; that is, that they are all Papistes by theyr profession, but in the same soe blindely and brutishly enforced, (for the most parte) as that you would rather thinke them Atheistes or Infidells for not one amongst an hundred knoweth any grounde of religion, or any article of his faythe, but can perhaps say his Pater noster, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one worde therof meaneth. . . . yet what good shall any English minister doe amongst them, by preaching or teaching, which either cannot understand him, or will not heare him? Or what comforte of life shall he have, when all his parishioners are soe unsociable, soe intractable, so

ill-affected-unto him, as they usually be to all the English? . . . all chaunge is to be shunned, where the affayres stand in such state as that they may continue in quietness, or be assured at all to abide as they are. But that in the realme of Ireland we see much otherwise, for everye day we perceave the troubles to growe more upon us, and one evill growing upon another, insoemuch as there is noe parte sounde nor ascertayned, but all have theyr eares upright, wayting when the watch-woord shall come that they should all rise generally into rebellion, and cast away the English subjection. To which there nowe litle wanteth; for I thinke the woorde be allreadye given, and there wanteth nothing but opportunitye, . . . But all the realme is first to be reformed, and lawes are afterwarde to be made for keeping and conteyning it in that reformed estate.

EUDOX.: Howe then doe you thinke is the reformation therof to be begunne, yf not by lawes and ordinaunces?

IREN.: Even by the swoorde; for all those evils must first be cutt away with a strong hand, before any good can be planted . . . by the swoorde I meane the royall power of the Prince, which ought to stretche it self foorth in the cheifest strength to the redressing and cutting of of those evils, which I before blamed . . . The first thing must be to send over into that realme such a stronge power of men, as that shall perforce bring in all that rebellious route of loose people, which either doe nowe stande out in open armes, or in wandring companies doe keepe the woodes, spoyling the good subject.

EUDOX.: You speake nowe, Irenæus, of an infinite charge to her Majestie, to send over such an armye as should treade downe all that standeth before them on foote, and laye on the grounde all the stiff-necked people of that lande; for there is nowe but one outlawe of any greate reckning, to weete, the Earle of Tyrone, abrode in armes, agaynst whom you see what huge charges she hath bene at, this last yeare, in sending of men, providing of victuals, and making head agaynst him: yet there is litle or nothing at all done, but the Queenes treasure spent, her people wasted, the poor countrey troubled, and the enemye nevertheless brought unto noe more subjection then he was, or list outwardly to shewe, which in effect is none, but rather a scorne of her power, and an emboldening of a proude rebell, and an encouradgement unto all like lewde disposed traytors that shall dare to lift up theyr heeles agaynst theyr Sovereaigne Ladye. . . .

EUDOX.: Surely of such desperat persons as will willfully followe the course of theyr own follye, there is noe compassion to be had, and for others ye have propose da mercifull meanes, much more then they have deserved: but what then shalbe the conclusion of this warre? For you have prefixed a shorte time of the continuance therof.

IREN.: The end (I assure me) wil be very shorte and much sooner then can be (in soe greate a trouble, as it seemeth) hoped for although there should none of them fall by the swoorde, nor by slayne by the souldiour, yet thus being kept from manurance, and theyr cattell from running abroad, by this harde restraynte they would quickly consume themselves, and devoure one another. The proof wherof I sawe sufficiently ensampled in those late warres in Mounster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most riche and plentifull country, full of corne and cattell, that you would have thought they would have bene able to stand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stonye harte would have rued the same. Our of every corner of the woodes the glinnes they came creeping foorth upon theyr handes, for theyr legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghostes crying out of theyr graves; they did eate of the dead carrions, happy were they yf they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, insoemuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of theyr graves; and yf they founde a plotte of water-cresses or sham-rokes, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in shorte space there were none allmost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrey suddaynly made voyde of man or beast. . . .but all the landes I will give unto Englishmen whom I will have drawn thither, who shall have the same with such estates as shal be thought meete, and for such rentes as shall eft-sones be rated: under everye of these Englishmen will I place some of the Irish to be tenauntes for a certayne rente, according to the quantite of such land, as everye man shall have allotted unto him, and shalbe founde able to weelde, wherin this speciall regarde shal be had, that in noe place under any land-lorde there shall remayne manye of them planted together, but dispersed wide from theyr acquayntance, and scattred farre abroad through all the countrey: For that is the evill which I nowe finde in all Ireland, that the Irish dwell together by theyr septs, and severall nations, soe as they may practize or conspire what

they will; whereas yf there were English shedd amongst them and placed over them, they should not be able once to styrre or murmure, but that it shoulde be knowen, and they shortened according to theyr demerites.

THE WORKS OF EDMUND SPENSER, *edited by R. Morris (1895)*,
pp. 609, 610, 611, 629, 630, 631–632, 638, 640–641,
644, 645, 647, 650, 654, 663.



TYRONE'S DEMANDS

1599

Hugh O'Neill

This document articulates the demands of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, for a Catholic Ireland and for the domination of the Catholic Irish within it. Note that they do not renounce loyalty to the Protestant Queen Elizabeth but attempt to impose qualifications or preconditions on it. O'Neill was ultimately defeated and the demands were never achieved. Had they been, Ireland's development as a Catholic kingdom under the British crown would have been very different.

SEE ALSO Nine Years War; O'Neill, Hugh, Second Earl of Tyrone

ARTICLES INTENDED TO BE STOOD UPON BY TYRONE

1. That the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion be openly preached and taught throughout all Ireland, as well in cities as borough towns, by Bishops, seminary priests, Jesuits, and all other religious men.

2. That the Church of Ireland be wholly governed by the Pope.

3. That all cathedrals and parish churches, abbeys, and all other religious houses, with all tithes and church lands, now in the hands of the English, be presently restored to the Catholic churchmen.

4. That all Irish priests and religious men, now prisoners in England or Ireland, be presently set at liberty, with all temporal Irishmen, that are troubled for their conscience, and to go where they will without further trouble.

5. That all Irish priests and religious men may freely pass and repass, by sea and land, to and from foreign countries.

6. That no Englishman may be a churchman in Ireland.

7. That there be erected an university upon the Crowns rents of Ireland, wherein all sciences shall be taught according to the manner of the Catholic Roman Church.

8. That the Governor of Ireland be at least an Earl, and of the Privy Council of England, bearing the name of Viceroy.

9. That the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, the Council of State, the Justices of the laws, Queen's Attorney, Queen's Serjeant, and all other officers appertaining to the Council and law of Ireland, be Irishmen.

10. That all principal governments of Ireland, as Connaught, Munster, etc., be governed by Irish noblemen.

11. That the Master of Ordnance, and half the soldiers with their officers resident in Ireland, be Irishmen.

12. That no Irishman's heirs shall lose their lands for the faults of their ancestors.

13. That no Irishman's heir under age shall fall in the Queen's or her successors' hands, as a ward, but that the living be to put to the heir's profit, and the advancement of his younger brethren, and marriages of his sisters, if he have any.

14. That no children nor any other friends be taken as pledges for the good abearing of their parents, and, if there be any such pledges now in the hands of the English, they must presently be released.

15. That all statutes made against the preferment of Irishmen as well in their own country as abroad, be presently recalled.

16. That the Queen nor her successors may in no sort press an Irishman to serve them against his will.

17. That O'Neill, O'Donnell, the Earl of Desmond, with all their partakers, may peaceably enjoy all lands and privileges that did appertain to their predecessors 200 years past.

18. That all Irishmen, of what quality they be, may freely travel in foreign countries, for their better experience, without making any of the Queen's officers acquainted withal.

19. That all Irishmen may freely travel and traffic all merchandises in England as Englishmen, paying the same rights and tributes as the English do.

20. That all Irishmen may freely traffic with all merchandises, that shall be thought necessary by the Council of State of Ireland for the profit of their Republic, with foreigners or in foreign countries, and no Irishman shall be troubled for the passage of priests or other religious men.

21. That all Irishmen that will may learn, and use all occupations and arts whatsoever.

22. That all Irishmen may freely build ships of what burden they will, furnishing the same with artillery and all munition at their pleasure.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS RELATING TO IRELAND, 1599–1600 (1899), 279–281; reprinted in IRISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 1172–1922, edited by Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell (1943), pp. 119–120.



ACCOUNTS OF THE SIEGE AND BATTLE OF KINSALE

1601

The Battle of Kinsale (24 December 1601) effectively ended the challenge of Hugh O'Neill and Red Hugh O'Donnell in the Nine Years War (1594–1603). The English commander Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy (1563–1606), besieged a small Spanish naval force which had taken the town in support of the Irish insurgency. The Ulster earls marched south to relieve the siege but were overwhelmed by Mountjoy before they could raise the siege and unite with their foreign allies.

SEE ALSO *Annals of the Four Masters*; Nine Years War; O'Neill, Hugh, Second Earl of Tyrone

From a Majesty's Soldier's Letter to a Friend in London (1602)

Those of the battle were almost all slain, and there were (of Irish rebels only) found dead in the place, about twelve hundred bodies, and about eight hundred were hurt, whereof many died that night; and the chase continuing almost two miles, was left off, our men being tired with killing. The enemy lost two thousand arms brought to reckoning, besides great numbers embezzled, all their powder, and drums, and eleven ensigns, whereof six Spanish. Those of the Irish that were taken prisoners, being brought to the camp, though they offered ransom, were all hanged. . . . And thus were they utterly overthrown, who but the very night before, were so brave and confident of their own good success, as that they reckoned us already theirs, and as we since have understood, were in contention whose prisoner the Lord Deputy should be, whose the Lord President, and so of the rest. The Early of Clanrickarde carried himself

this day very valiantly, and after the retreat sounded, was knighted by the Lord Deputy, in the field amongst the dead bodies. So did all the rest of the captains, officers and soldiers . . . and especially the Lord Deputy himself, who brake, in person, upon the flower of the army [of] the Spaniards, and omitted no duty of a wise diligent conductor and valiant soldier. Upon the fight ended, he presently called together the army, and with prayers gave God thanks for the victory. A victory indeed given by the God of Hosts, and marvellous in our eyes, if all circumstances be duly considered, and of such consequence for the preservation and assurance to her Majesty, of this deeply endangered Kingdom, as I leave to wiser consideration.

From the Annals of the Four Masters (1632–1636)

Manifest was the displeasure of God, and misfortune to the Irish . . . on this occasion; for, previous to this day, a small number of them had more frequently routed many hundreds of the English, than they had fled from them, in the field of battle, in the gap of danger (in every place they had encountered), up to this day. Immense and countless was the loss in that place, although the number slain was trifling, for the prowess and valour, prosperity and affluence, nobleness and chivalry, dignity and renown, hospitality and generosity, bravery and protection, devotion and pure religion, of the Island, were lost in this engagement. The Irish forces returned that night with O'Neill and O'Donnell to Inishannon (Co. Cork). Alas! The condition in which they were that night was not as they had expected to return from that expedition, for there prevailed much reproach on reproach, moaning and dejection, melancholy and anguish, in every quarter throughout the camp. They slept not soundly, and scarcely did they take any refreshment. When they met together their counsel was hasty, unsteady and precipitate, so that what they at length resolved upon was, that O'Neill . . . with subchieftains and the chiefs of Leath-Chuinn in general, should return back to their countries, to defend their territories and lands against foreign tribes, [and] that O'Donnell (and others) should go to Spain to complain of their distress and difficulties to the King of Spain.

From Thomas Stafford's Pacata Hibernia (1633)

Now are we come to the siege of Kinsale, a place ordained, wherein the honour and safety of Queen Elizabeth, the reputation of the English nation, the cause of religion, and the Crown of Ireland must be by arms disputed; for upon the success of this siege, these great and important consequences depended. And here the malice of Rome and Spain (if they had prevailed) would not

have ceased, for their purpose did extend itself (Ireland having been conquered), to make it their bridge to have invaded England, the conquest and ruin whereof was the main mark whereat they aimed. . . . Tyrone . . . with the choice force, and, in effect, all the rebels of Ireland, being drawn into Munster, and joined with Spaniards that landed at Castlehaven, who brought to Tyrone's camp six ensigns of Spaniards, and the greatest part of the Irish of Munster . . . resolved to relive the town of Kinsale, and to that purpose sat down, the one-and-twentieth of December, a mile and a half from the town, between the English camp and Cork, and on that side of the army, kept from them all passages and means for forage; the other side, over the River of Ownyboy, being wholly at their disposition, by reason of the general revolt of these parts. It seemed they were drawn so far by the importunity of Don Juan Del Aquila, as we perceived by some of his letters intercepted, wherein he did intimate his own necessity, their promise to succour him, and the facility of the enterprise. . . . During the abode of the rebels in that place, we had continual intelligence of their purpose to give alarms from their party, and sallies from the town, but to little other effect than to weary our men, by keeping them continually in arms, the weather being extremely tempestuous, cold, and wet.

IRISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES, *edited by*
Constantia Maxwell (1923), pp. 195–197.



ENGLISH ACCOUNT OF THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

1607

Sir John Davies

To most Protestant observers, including Sir John Davies (attorney general for Ireland, 1606–1619), the flight of the earls to Catholic Europe in 1607 was both good riddance and implicit evidence of their complicity in continuing outbreaks of rebellion in the north.

SEE ALSO O'Neill, Hugh, Second Earl of Tyrone

It is true that they are embarked and gone with the most part of that company of men, women and children, who are named the proclamation: it is true they took shipping the 14th of this present September; that the

Saturday before the Earl of Tyrone was with my Lord Deputy at Slane . . . that from thence he went to Mellifont, Sir Garret Moore's house, where he wept abundantly when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because it was not his manner to use such compliments. From thence, on Sunday, he went to Dundalk; on Monday he went to Dungannon, where he rested two whole days; on Wednesday night, they say, he travelled all night with his impediments, that is, his women and children; and it is likewise reported that the Countess, his wife, being exceedingly weary, slipped down from her horse, and, weeping, said she could go no farther; whereupon the Earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath that he would kill her in the place, if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance withal. Yet, the next day, when he came near Lough Foyle, his passage that way was not so secret but the Governor there had notice thereof, and invited him and his son to dinner; but their haste was such that they accepted not that courtesy, but they went on, and came that Thursday night to Rathmullan, a town on the west side of Lough Swilly, where the Earl of Tyrconnel and his company met him. . . .

It is certain that Tyrone, in his heart, repines at the English government in his country, where, until his last submission, as well before his rebellion as in the time of his rebellion, he ever lived like a free prince, or rather like an absolute tyrant there. But now the law of England, and the ministers thereof, were shackles and handlocks unto him, and the garrisons planted in his country were as pricks in his side; besides, to evict any part of that land from him, which he has hitherto held after the Irish manner, making all the tenants thereof his villeins . . . this was a grievous unto him as to pinch away the quick flesh from his body. Those things, doubtless, have bred discontentment in him; and now his age and his burdened conscience . . . have of late much increased his melancholy, so that he was grown very pensive and passionate; and the friars and priests perceiving it, have wrought nightly upon his passion. Therefore it may be he has hearkened unto some project of treason, which he fears is discovered, and that fear has transported [him] into Spain. . . . As for them that are here, they are glad to see the day wherein the countenance and majesty of the law and civil government hath banished Tyrone out of Ireland, which the best army in Europe and the expense of two millions of sterling pounds did not bring to pass. And they hope His Majesty's happy government will work a greater miracle in this Kingdom than ever St. Patrick did, for St. Patrick only banished the poisonous worms, but suffered the men full of poison to inhabit the land still; but His Majesty's blessed

genius will banish all those generations of vipers out of it, and make it, ere it be long, a right fortunate island.

IRISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES, *edited by*
Constantia Maxwell (1923), pp. 203–204.



IRISH ACCOUNT OF THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

1608

Tadhg Ó Cianáin

In contrast to Sir John Davies's account, Tadhg Ó Cianáin, a Gaelic chronicler of the Maguires who accompanied the earls into exile, describes the event less as a flight than as a noble progress through a Catholic Europe which welcomed and celebrated these aristocratic Irish visitors.

SEE ALSO O'Neill, Hugh, Second Earl of Tyrone

About the middle of the same night they hoisted their sails. . . . They went out a great distance in the sea. The night was bright, quiet and calm, with a breeze from the south-west. . . . An exceeding great storm and very bad weather arose against them, together with fog and rain, so that they were driven from proximity to land. . . . Afterwards, leaving Tyrconnel on the left, they direct their course past the harbour of Sligo, straight ahead until they were opposite Croagh Patrick in Connacht. Then they feared that the King's fleet, which was in the harbour of Galway, would meet with them. They proceeded out into the sea to make for Spain straight forward if they could. After that they were on the sea for thirteen days with excessive storm and dangerous bad weather. A cross of gold which O'Neill had, and which contained a portion of the Cross of the Crucifixion and many other relics, being put by them in the sea trailing after the ship, gave them great relief.

On Sunday, the thirtieth of September, the wind came right straight against the ship. The sailors, since they could not go to Spain, undertook to reach the harbour of Le Croisic in Brittany at the end of two days and nights. The lords who were in the ship, in consequence of the smallness of their food supply, and also because of all the hardship and sickness of the sea they had received up to that gave it as their advice that it was right for them to make straight ahead towards France. . . .

On the next day, the fifteenth of October, they left Rouen with thirty-one on horseback, two coaches, three

wagons, and about forty on foot. The Governor of Quilleboeuf and many of the gentry of the town came to conduct them a distance from the city. . . .

On Monday, the twenty-second of the same month, they bade farewell to the people of the city (Arras). They proceeded five more leagues to a famous city called Douai. The people there received them with great respect. They alighted at the Irish College, which was supported by the King of Spain in the town. They themselves stayed in the College, and they sent the better part of those with them through the city. They remained there until the following Friday. . . . Assemblies of the colleges received them kindly and with respect, delivering in their honour verses and speeches in Latin, Greek and English. . . .

The thirty-first of October, O'Neill's son (Henry), the Colonel of the Irish [regiment] came to them with a large well-equipped company of captains and of noblemen, Spanish and Irish and of every other nation. On the following Saturday the Marquis Spinola, the commander-in-chief of the King of Spain's army in Flanders, came to them from Brussels with a large number of important people and welcomed them. He received them with honour and gave them an invitation to dinner on the next day in Brussels. . . .

Early the next morning they went to Brussels. . . . Colonel Francisco, with many Spanish, Italian, Irish and Flemish captains, came out of the city to meet them. They advanced through the principal streets of the town to the door of the Marquis's palace. The Marquis himself, the Papal Nuncio, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Duke of Ossuna came to take them from their coaches. . . . Afterwards they entered the apartment where the Marquis was accustomed to take food. He himself arranged each one in his place, seating O'Neill in his own place at the head of the table, the Papal Nuncio to his right, the Earl of Tyrconnel to his left, O'Neill's children and Maguire next [to] the Earl, and the Spanish Ambassador and the Duke of Aumale on the other side, below the Nuncio. . . . The excellent dinner which they partook of was grand and costly enough for a king. . . .

On Sunday, the twenty-third March, they proceeded to the great remarkable famous city Milan. . . . A great respected earl, Count de Fuentes by name, was chief governor and representative of the King of Spain over that city and over all Lombardy. He sent the King's ambassador at Lucerne, who happened to be in the city, to welcome them and to receive them with honour. On Wednesday the nobles went in person into the presence of the earl. He received them with honour and respect. There were many noblemen and a very great guard on either side of him. They remained three full weeks in the

city. During that time the earl had great honour shown them. . . . The lords took their leave of Count de Fuentes on the twelfth of April. . . . He gave them as a token of remembrance a collection of rapiers and fine daggers, with hilts of ornamented precious stones, all gilt, and belts and expensive hangers. . . .

Peter Lombard, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, came . . . having a large number of coaches sent by cardinals to meet them to that place. . . . Then they proceeded in coaches (and) went on . . . through the principal streets of Rome in great splendour. They did not rest until they reached the great church of San Pietro in Vaticano. They put up their horses there and entered the church . . . afterwards they proceeded to a splendid palace which his Holiness the Pope had set apart for them in the Borgo Vecchio [and in the Borgo] Santo Spiritio. . . .

On the Thursday of Corpus Christi an order came from the holy Father to the princes that eight of their noblemen should go in person to carry the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament while it was being borne solemnly in the hands of the Pope in procession from the great Church of San Pietro in Vaticano to the Church of St. James in Borgo Vecchio and from there back to the Church of Saint Peter. . . . They carried the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament and the Pope, and never before did Irishmen receive such an honour and privilege. The Italians were greatly surprised that they should be shown such deference and respect, for some of them said that seldom before was any one nation in the world appointed to carry the canopy. With the ambassadors of all the Catholic kings and princes of Christendom who happened to be then in the city it was an established custom that they, in succession, every year carried the canopy in turn. They were jealous, envious and surprised, that they were not allowed to carry it on this particular day. The procession was reverent, imposing and beautiful, for the greater part of the regular Order and all the clergy and communities of the great churches of Rome were in it, and many princes, dukes and great lords. They had no less than a thousand lighted waxen torches. Following them there were twenty-six archbishops and bishops. Next there were thirty-six cardinals. The Pope carried the Blessed Sacrament, and the Irish lords and noblemen to the number of eight, bore the canopy. About the Pope was his guard of Swiss soldiers, and on either side of him and behind him were his two large troops of cavalry. The streets were filled with people behind. It was considered by all that there were not less in number than one hundred thousand.

Edited and translated from the Irish by the Reverend Paul Walsh and printed as an appendix to ARCHIVIUM HIBERNICUM

(*Catholic Record Society of Ireland, 1916*). Reprinted in *IRISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES, edited by Constantia Maxwell (1923), pp. 205–208.*



CONDITIONS OF THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER

1610

What the English and Scottish planters understandably desired was to get rich on Irish land with the least risk, inconvenience, or discomfort. What the government desired was that English and Scottish settlers should be numerous, hard-working, public-spirited, and attentive to the conditions of plantation which they had accepted in return for Irish land. These two sets of desires were immediately and enduringly in conflict.

SEE ALSO Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690

Conditions to Be Observed by the British Undertakers of the Escheated Lands in Ulster, etc.

1. What the British Undertakers Shall Have

First, the lands to be undertaken by them, are divided into sundry precincts of different quantities.

Every precinct is subdivided into proportions of three sorts, great, middle, and small.

The great proportion containeth 2000 English acres at the least.

The middle proportion containeth 1500 acres at the least.

The small proportion containeth 1000 acres at the least.

Unto every of which proportions such bog and wood shall be allowed, as lieth within the same, for which no rent shall be reserved.

The precincts are by name distinguished, part for the English, and part for the Scottish, as appeareth by the table of distribution of the precincts.

Every precinct shall be assigned to one principal undertaker and his consort, as will appear by the table of assignation of the precincts.

The chief undertakers shall be allowed two middle proportions if they desire the same; otherwise no one undertaker is to be allowed above one great proportion.

They shall have an estate in fee simple to them their heirs.

They shall have power to create manors, to hold courts baron twice every year and not oftener, and power to create tenures in socage to hold of themselves. . . .

2. *What the Said Undertakers Shall for Their Parts Perform*

They shall yearly yield unto his majesty for every proportion of 1000 acres, five pound six shillings eight pence English, and so rateably for the great proportions; the first half year's payment to begin at Michaelmas 1614.

Every of said undertakers shall hold the lands so undertaken in free and common socage, as of the castle of Dublin, and by no greater service.

Every of the said undertakers of a great proportion, shall within 3 years to be accounted from Easter next, build there-upon a stone house, with a strong court or bawn about it; and every undertaker of a middle proportion shall within the same time build a stone or brick house thereupon, with a strong court or bawn about it; and every undertaker of a small proportion, shall within the same time make thereupon a strong court or bawn at least.

Every undertaker shall within three years, to be accounted from Easter next, plant or place upon a small proportion, the number of 24 able men of the age of 18 years or upwards, being English or inland Scottish; and so rateably upon the other proportions; which numbers shall be reduced into 10 families at least, to be settled upon every small proportion, and rateably upon the other proportions, in this manner, viz. the principal undertaker and his family to be settled upon a demesne of 300 acres, two fee-farmers upon 120 acres a piece, three leaseholders for three lives or 21 years upon 100 acres a piece, and upon the residue being 160 acres, four families or more of husbandmen, artificers or cottagers, their portions of land to be assigned by the principal undertaker at his discretion.

Every of the said undertakers shall draw their tenants to build houses for themselves and their families, not scattering, but together, near the principal house or bawn, as well for their mutual defence and strength, as for the making of villages and townships.

The said undertakers, their heirs and assigns, shall have ready in the houses at all times, a convenient store of arms, wherewith they may furnish a competent number of men for their defence, which may be viewed and mustered every half year according to the manner of England.

Every of the said undertakers before he be received to be an undertaker, shall take the oath of supremacy . . . and shall also conform themselves in religion according to his majesty's laws; and every of their undertenants being chief of a family, shall take the like oath. . . . And they and their families shall also be conformable in religion, as aforesaid. . . .

The said undertakers, their heirs and assigns, shall not alien or demise their portions or any part thereof to the mere Irish, or to such persons as will not take the said oath of supremacy. . . .

Reprinted in IRISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 1172-1922, edited by Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell (1943), pp. 128-131.



FROM A DIRECTION FOR THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER

1610

Thomas Blennerhasset

After the defeat of the Ulster earls in the Nine Years War (1594-1603) and their subsequent flight to the European mainland, six of Ulster's nine traditional counties were thrown open to English and Scottish "plantation." Thomas Blennerhasset (c. 1550-c. 1625) became one of these planters or "undertakers" and urged careful attention to fortification and military preparedness in an area where great hostility and resistance from the displaced Irish could reasonably be expected.

SEE ALSO Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; English Political and Religious Policies, Responses to (1534-1690); Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Politics: 1500 to 1690

For these undertakers to plant themselves so in this time of quiet, I doe verilie beleeve it would be to small availe, and not the best way to secure themselves with their goods, and that wilde country to the Crowne of England; for although there be no apparent enemy, nor any visible maine force, yet the wood-kerne and many other (who now have put on the smiling countenance of contentment) doe threaten every houre, if opportunitie of time and place doth serve, to burne and steale whatsoever: and besides them there be two, the chief

supporters of al their insolencie, the inaccessible woods, & the not passible bogs: which to subject to our desires is not easie, and that not performed, it is not possible to make a profitable improvement, no not by any meanes in any place.

Moreover the frowning countenance of chance and change, (for nothing so certaine as that all thinges are moste uncertaine doth also incite a provident undertaker to lay such a foundation, as it should be rather a violent storme than a fret of foule weather that should annoy him. A scattered plantation will never effect his desire: what can the countenance of a Castle or Bawne with a fewे followers doe? even as they at this present doe: which is nothing to any purpose.

What shall we then say? or to what course shall we betake ourselves? surely by building of a wel fortified Towne, to be able at any time at an houres warning with five hundred men well armed, to encounter all occasions: neither will that be sufficient, except that be seconded with such another, and that also (if it may be, as easily it may) with a third: so there will be helpe on every side, to defend, & offend: for as in England, if a privy watch be set, many malefactors are apprehended, even amongst their cuppes: so there when the spaces in the Woods be cut out, and the bogges be made somewhat passible, then these new erected townes intending a reformation, must ten times at the first set a universall great hunt, that a suddaine search may be made in all suspitious places, for the Woolfe and the Wood-Kerne, which being secretly and wisely appointed by the governors, they with the helpe of some Irish, well acquainted with the holes and holdes of those offenders, the generalitie shall search every particular place. . . .

Throughout all Ireland where there be Fortes and garrisons in paye, if all those places were planted with this kinde of undertaking, & the old worthy Soldiers, who in those places have garrisons in pay, with every one of their Soldiers, if they were rewarded with the fee simple thereof, to them & to their heires, paying after one life yearly unto his Majestie a fee farme, as the other undertakers doe: but these Captaines and Soldiers would have their pay continued, otherwise, they shall not be able to procede with the charge of planting, and then other lands there next adjoining laide also to such places, that many might joine with them to erect corporations: which may be performed now ten times better cheape then it will be hereafter: their security would be much better and the societie farre excell, & so the charge of the garrisons might be withdrawne, the olde worthy warriour who hath gone already through with the brunt of that busines, shall with a good satisfaction be rewarded, and all Ulster a whole hundred times better secured unto the Crowne of England: for the generation

of the Irish, (who doe at this time encrease ten to one more then the English, nay I might say twenty) will never otherwise be sufficiently brided. . . .

The Conclusion, contayning an exhortation to England.

Fayre England, thy flourishing sister, brave Hibernia, (with most respective terms) commendeth unto thy due consideration her youngest daughter, depopulated Ulster: not doubting (for it cannot but come into thy understanding) how the long continuance of lamentable warres, have raced & utterly defaced, whatsoever was beautiful in her to behold, and hath so bereaved all her royalties, goodly ornaments, & well beseeming tyers, as there remaineth but onely the Majesty of her naked personage, which even in that plite is such, as whosoever shall seeke and search all Europe's best Bowers, shal not finde many that may make with her comparison. Behold the admirable worth of her worthiness! even now shee gives to the world to understand by testimoniall knowne sufficiently to all that knowne her, that if thou wilt now but assist her with meanes to erect her ruynes, she well nourish thee with much dainty provision, and so furnish thee, as thou shall not neede to send to thy neighbour-kingdomes for corne, nor to the Netherlands for fine Holland: shee will in requitall of thy kindnesse provide those thinges, with some other, such as thy heart most desireth. Art thou overcharged with much people? Ulster her excellency will imbrace that thy overplus in her amouros sweete armes: she will place them as it were Euphrates, and feed them with better Ambrosia then ever Jupiter himselfe knew.

Reprinted in STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 112–114.



FROM A NEW DESCRIPTION OF IRELAND

1610

Barnaby Rich

A military man and vehement Protestant, Barnaby Rich served in the Dutch wars until 1573, when he joined the first earl of Essex's first expedition to colonize Ulster. After serving as a spy in Ireland, he was forced to return to England. In 1599 he fought with the second earl of Essex's army against Hugh O'Neill and later participated in Mountjoy's campaign. He tried unsuccessfully to obtain

lands in Ulster after 1607, remaining in Dublin until his death in 1617 or 1618. This extract comes from his longest published treatise on Ireland. Here he describes the Irish, noting their physical appearance and temperament as different from the English.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

To speake now of the Irish more at large, for to them my talke doth especially belong, I say they are behoulding to Nature, that hath framed them comly personages of good proportion, very well limbed, & to speak truly, the English, Scottish and Irish are easie to be discerned from all the Nations of the world: besides, aswel by the excellency of their complexion, as by the rest of their lineaments, from the crown of the head, to the sole of the foot. And although that in the romote places, the uncivill sort so disfigure themselves with their Glybs [forelocks], their Trowes [trousers], and their misshapen attire, yet they appear to every mans eye to be men of good proportion, of comly stature, and of able body. Now to speak of their dispositions, whereunto they are adicted and inclined. I say, besides they are rude, uncleanlie, and uncivill, so they are very cruell, bloodie minded, apt and ready to commit any kind of mischief. I do not impute this so much to their naturall inclination, as I do to their education, that are trained up in Treason, in Rebellion, in Theft, in Robbery, in Superstition, in Idolatry, and nuzeled [nursed, educated] from their Cradles in the very puddle of Popery.

This is the fruits of the Popes doctrine, that doth preach cruelty, that doth admit of murthers and bloody executions; by poisoning, stabbing, or by any other manner of practice howsoever: the pope teacheth subjects to resist, to mutinie, and to rebel against their Princes.

From hence it proceedeth, that the Irish have ever beene, and still are, desirous to shake off the English government.

From hence it doth proceed, that the Irish can not endure to love the English, bicause they differ so much in Religion.

From hence it proceedeth, that as they cannot indure to love the English, so they cannot be induced to love anything that doth come from the English: according to the proverbe, love me, and love my dog: so contrariwise, he that hateth me, hateth in like manner all that commeth from me.

From hence it is, that the Irish had rather stil retaine themselves in their sluttishnesse, in their uncleanli-

nesse, in their rudenesse, and in their inhumane loathsomenes, then they would take any example from the English, either of civility, humanity, or any manner of Decencie.

We see nowe the author of this enmity, is hee that never did other good, where hee had to doe with mens consciences.

There is yet a difference to bee made, of those that do proceed from our malice: and the Irish in this are the more to be pittied, that are no better taught; whose educations, as they are rude, so they are blinded with ignorance, and I thinke for devotions sake, they have made a vow to be ignorant.

But although the vulgar sort, through their dul wits, and their brutish education, cannot conceive what is profitable for themselves, and good for their Countrey, yet there bee some other of that Countrey birth, whose thoughts and mindes being enriched with knowledge and understanding, that have done good in the Country, and whose example hereafter may give light to many others: For I thinke, that if these people did once understand the pretiousnesse of vertue, they would farre exceed us; notwithstanding, our long experience in the Sovereignty of vertue.

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FROM A DISCOVERY OF THE TRUE CAUSES WHY IRELAND WAS NEVER ENTIRELY SUBDUED

1612

Sir John Davies

Sir John Davies was a lawyer whose poetry also served to make him famous. Under James I he was appointed solicitor-general for Ireland (1603) and later attorney general (1606). In the latter capacity he inspected the courts in the country and helped to establish the Ulster Plantation. In 1613 he became speaker of the Irish House of Commons. In this treatise, one of the most important on Ireland from the Jacobean period, Davies seeks to show that failure to sweep away Irish laws and customs has resulted in a division of the country. This extract deals with Irish customs, social conventions, and institutions.

SEE ALSO Brehon Law; Colonial Theory from 1500 to 1690; English Writing on Ireland before 1800; Legal Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

For, if we consider the Nature of the Irish customes, wee shall finde that the people which doth use them must of necessitie be rebels to all good government, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live, and bring Barbarisme and desolation upon the richest and most fruitful Land of the world. For, whereas by the just and Honourable Law of England, & by the Lawes of all other well-governed Kingdomes and Commonweals, Murder, Manslaughter, Rape, Robbery, and Theft are punished with death; By the Irish Custome, or Brehon Law, the highest of these offences was punished only by Fine, which they call an Ericke [Mod. Ir. *éiric*]. Therefore, when Sir William Fitzwilliams, being Lord Deputy, told Maguyre that he was to send a sheriffe into Fermanagh, being lately before made a County, Your sheriffe (sayde Maguyre) shall be welcome to me; but let me knowe his Ericke, or the price of his head, aforehand; that if my people cut it off I may cut the Ericke upon the Countrey. As for the Oppression, Extortion, and other trespasses, the weaker had never anie remedy against the stronger: whereby it came to passe that no man could enjoy his Life, his Wife, his Lands, or Goodes in safety if a mightier man than himselfe had an appetite to take the same from him. Wherein they were little better than Canniballes, who doe hunt one another, and hee that hath most strength and swiftnes doth eate and devoure all his fellowes.

Againe, in England and all well ordered Commonweales men have certaine estates in their Lands & Possessions, and their inheritances discend from Father to Son, which doth give them encouragement to builde and to plant and to improve their Landes, and to make them better for their posterities. But by the Irish Custome of Tanistry the cheefetanes of every Countrey and the chiefe of every Sept had no longer estate then for life in their Cheeferies, the inheritance whereof did rest in no man. And these Cheeferies, though they had some portions of land alloted unto them, did consist chiefly in cuttings and Cosheries, and other Irish exactions, whereby they did spoyle and impoverish the people at their pleasure: And when their chieftanes were dead their sonnes or next heires did not succede them, but their Tanistes, who were Elective and purchased their elections by stronge hand; And by the Irish Custome of gavellkinde, the inferior Tennantries were partible amongst all Males on the Sept, both Bastards and Legitimate; and after partition made, if any one of the Sept had died, his portion was not divided among his Sonnes,

but the cheefe of the Sept made a new partition of all Lands belonging to that Sept, and gave evere one his part according to his antiquity.

These two Irish Customes made all their possessions uncertain, being shuffled, and changed, and removed so often from one to another, by new elections and partitions, which uncertainty of estates hath bin the true cause of such Desolation & Barbarism in this land, as the like was never seen in any Countrey that professed the name of Christ. For though the Irishry be a Nation of great Antiquity, and wanted neither wit nor valour, and though they had received the Christian Faith, above 1200 years since; and were Lovers of Musicke, Poetry, and all kind of learning, and possessed a land abounding with all things necessary for the Civill life of man; yet (which is strange to be related) they did never build any houses of Brick or stone (some few poor Religious Houses excepted) before the reign of King Henrie the second, though they were Lords of this Island for many hundred yeares before, and since the Conquest attempted by the English: Albeit, when they sawe us builde Castles uppon their borders, they have only in imitation of us, erected some few piles for their Captaines of the Country: yet I dare boldly say, that never any particular person, eyther before or since, did build any stone or bricke house for his private Habitation; but such as have latelie obtained estates, according to the course of the Law of England. Neither did any of them in all this time, plant any Gardens or Orchards, Inclose or improve their Lands, live together in settled villages or Townes, nor made any provision for posterity, which, being against all common sense and reason, must needes be imputed to those unreasonable Customes which made their estates so uncertaine and transitory in their possessions.

For who would plant or improve, or build upon that Land, which a stranger whom he knew not, should possesse after his death? For that (as Solomon noteth) is one of the strangest Vanities under the Sunne. And this is the true reason Ulster and all the Irish Countries are found so wast and desolate at this day, and so would they continue till the worlds end if these Customes were not abolished by the Law of England.

Again, that Irish custom of Gavell-kinde did breed another michiefe, for thereby every man being borne to Land, as well Bastard as Legitimate, they al held themselves to be Gentlemen. And though their portions were never so small, and them-selves never so poor (for Gavellkinde must needes in the end make a poor Gentility) yet did they scorne to discend to Husbandry or Merchandize, or to learn any Mechanicall Art or Science. And this is the true cause why there were never any Corporate Towns erected in the Irish Countries. As for the Maritime

Citties and Townes, most certaine it is that they were peopled and built by Ostmen or Easterlings [i.e., the Vikings]; for the natives of Ireland never performed so good a worke as to build a City. Besides, these poor Gentlemen were so affected unto their small portions of Land, as they rather chose to live at home by Theft, Extortion, and Coshering, than to seek any better fortunes abroad, which increased their Septs or Syrnames into such numbers, as there are not to be found in any Kingdome of Europe, so many gentlemen of one Blood, Familie, and Surname as there are of the O'Nealles in Ulster; of the Bourkes in Conaght, of the Geraldines, and Butlers, in Munster & Leinster. And the like may be saide of the Inferiour Bloodes and Families; whereby it came to passe in times of trouble & Dissention, that they made great parties and factions adhering one to another, with much constancie because they were tyed together Vinculo Sanguinis ["by the chain of blood"]; whereas Rebels and Malefactors which are tyed to their Leaders by no band, either of Dutie or Blood, do more easily breake and fall off one from another: And besides, their Coe-habitation in one Countrey or Territory, gave them opportunity suddenly to assemble, and Conspire, and rise in multitudes against the Crowne. And even now, in the time of peace, we finde this inconvenience, that ther can hardly be an indifferent triall had between the King & the Subject, or between partie and partie, by reason of this generall Kindred and Consanguinity.

But the most wicked and mischeevous Custome of all others was that of Coigne and livery, often before mentioned; which consisted in taking of Man's meat, Horse meat & Money of all the inhabitants of the Countrey, at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who as the phrase of Scripture is, "Did eat up the people as it were bread," for that he had no other entertainment. This Extortion was or originally Irish, for they used to lay Bognight [military service] upon their people, and never gave their Soldier any other pay. But when the English had Learned it, they used it with more insolency, and made it more intollerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time; but because there was everywhere a continuall warre, either Offensive or Defensive; and every lord of a Countrey and every Marcher made war and peace at his pleasure, it became Universall and Perpetuall; and was indeed the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any Christian of Heathen Kingdom. And therefore, Vox Oppressorum ["the voice of the oppressed"], this crying sinne did draw down as great, or greater plagues upon Ireland, then the oppression of the Isrelites, did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues of Egypt, though they were griveous, were but of a short continuance. But the plagues of Ireland, lasted 400 years together. This extortion of Coigne and Livery, did produce two notorious

effects, First, it made the Land waste; Next, it made the people, ydle. For, when the Husbandman had laboured all the yeare, the soldier in one night, did consume the fruites of all his labour, *Longique perit labor irritus anni* ["The labor of a long year perishes barren"]. Head hee reason then to manure the Land for the next year? Or rather might he not complaine as the Shepherd in "Virgil": —

*Impuris haec tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia Cives Per-
duxit miseros! En quies conservimus agros!* [Did we for these barbarians plant and sow? On these, on these, our happy lands bestow? Good heaven, what dire effects from civil discord flow.] (Virgil, *Eclogue* 1, ll. 97–99, translated by John Dryden)

And hereupon of necessity came depopulation, banishment, & extirpation of the better sort of subjects, and such as remained became ydle and lookers on, expecting the event of those miseries and evill times: So as this extreame extortion and Oppression, hath been the true cause of the Idleness of the Irish Nation; and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in forraigne Countries, than to manure their own fruitful Land at home.

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ON CATHOLIC IRELAND IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The following documents are contemporary reports of the fidelity of the Irish (Gaelic and Old English alike) to the Roman Catholic faith, and also of the oppressions that they suffered because of this under Protestant English rule in their homeland.

SEE ALSO Politics: 1500 to 1690; Religion: 1500 to 1690

Italian Report (1613)

Sufficiency of priests in Ireland.—The population Catholic, nearly all openly professing their religion.—The English penal laws not enforced.—A comparatively small number infected with heresy in the cities.—The

rural population ignorant to a large extent in matters of faith.—The nobility and gentry nearly all Catholic; hence the possibility of a large number of priests.—Estimated number of the clergy in Ireland: 800 seculars, 130 Franciscans, 20 Jesuits, a few Benedictines and Dominicans. The Franciscans always held in great esteem.—Greater learning and acquirements desirable in many of the secular clergy, the best being those educated in the Continental seminaries: at Douai, Bordeaux, Lisbon, and Salamanca.—The people have preserved the faith because naturally inclined to it; always attached to the Holy See; always hating the English; always opposed to novelty and tenacious of old customs.—Heresy introduced by violence and against their wish; externally Protestantism is in the ascendancy, all the archbishoprics and bishoprics being in the hands of the heretics.—Ireland counted 4 archbishops and 37 bishops; 9 under Armagh, 5 under Dublin, 12 under Cashel, 11 under Tuam.—No factions among the clergy.

[Original in Italian.]

Memorial Presented to the King of Spain on Behalf of the Irish Catholics (1619)

Conditions of the Catholics in Things Spiritual

Every Catholic is condemned to pay 12*d.* Irish if he does not attend the Protestant service—which is held in one of his own violated churches. Four times a year the judges going on circuit enquire from the parson the names of all such Catholics as do not obey this law, in order to punish them severely. . . .

No Catholic is permitted to teach anything, even grammar. The schoolmaster must be a Protestant, in order to bring the children up in heresy. If, contrary to the command of the Viceroy and Privy Council, a Catholic dare to teach Catholic children, he is fined heavily and kept in prison during the pleasure of the Viceroy; then on pretence of restoring him to liberty they banish him out of the Kingdom. Thus they force Catholics either not to teach or else to quit the country.

They forbid a Catholic, unless he has leave from the Viceroy and the Privy Council, under penalty of imprisonment for life, to go to Spain for the purpose of education; and in case anyone does go, even without the leave of his parents, they confiscate their property and imprison them until they give bail that they will bring him back and not let him go again. . . . Besides fining Catholics for not going to church, the pseudo-archbishops and bishops of Ireland excommunicate them. If after the third warning they do not conform, they are imprisoned and cruelly treated. They get no food, and if they are not to die of hunger must incur great expenses. At the present day there are many of them in prison

throughout Ireland, and especially in Dublin Castle there are many gentlemen and respectable merchants who have been confined for years. . . .

When the Lord Deputy and Council have arrested a Catholic, either a layman or an ecclesiastic, they ask him whether the Pope can depose the King for his disobedience, deprive heretics of their possessions, etc., and they suggest an affirmative answer, in order to condemn him to death and to confiscate his property. . . .

Every Protestant justice of the peace has authority to arrest priests and to search for them in any house, and the fact of having such authority is publicly announced over and over again: last year (1617), a Proclamation to this effect was posted up everywhere. . . .

If a Catholic is convicted of having heard Mass; for the first offence he is fined 200 crowns and imprisoned for 6 months, for the second he is fined 400 crowns and imprisoned for a year, for the third he is fined 800 and imprisoned for life. The imprisonment may be escaped by bribery, but there is no chance of escaping the fines. . . .

No Irish Catholic can get any title or honourable employment, unless he takes the Oath of supremacy, goes to church, and swears to bring up his children Protestants: if he fails to do so, he loses his title or office and his property is confiscated.

Some cities and towns in Ireland have lost their ancient privileges because they would not elect a Protestant to be mayor or because the Catholic whom they elected would not take the Oath of Supremacy and go to church. This is the case at the present day in Waterford, where though all the Irish are Catholics, the civic offices are conferred on Protestants by the government. . . .

The Protestants have broken up all the stone altars that were in our churches and have altered the arrangement of the churches, in order that the marks of their original destination should disappear. And they compel the unfortunate Catholic inhabitants of the parish to contribute towards defraying the cost of altering the churches and of providing a wooden table and 2 silver cups for what they call Communion. . . .

No Catholic merchant, etc., can share in the rights or privileges of his town, unless he takes the Oath of Supremacy. . . .

The Protestants have taken possession of all the religious houses and of the property belonging to them; some monasteries have been thrown down in order to furnish materials for building palaces and houses; other monasteries are occupied by families; other monasteries are used as law courts where ecclesiastics are condemned to death. And the churches of the monasteries are turned into stables. . . .

Conditions of the Catholics in Things Temporal

All the government officials are English or Scotch heretics.

No Irish Catholic, however learned he may be, is permitted to plead as advocate in court, unless he first takes the Oath of Supremacy. . . . In the civil and criminal cases where Catholics are in question, some of those appointed to serve on the juries are Catholics, and if they do not act against their consciences and join the Protestant jurymen in injuring the Catholics, they are fined and imprisoned. . . .

When the officials are going on the King's business, they live luxuriously at the expense of the poor Catholics. If a Catholic refuses to admit them into his house and to supply them with food and money, they take it by force and then fine and imprison him. For these wrongs there is no hope of redress. The plantation of Ireland with English and Scottish heretics which is going on at present is effected in this way. The King commands the Catholics because they are Irish to quit their lands, and if he does give them a little land elsewhere, it is at a great distance from their old homes, in order that their very names may be forgotten there.

The Catholics whom the King dispossesses in this way are confined in prison until they give large sums of money as security that they will not sue or otherwise molest the heretics to whom their lands have been granted. . . . The above mentioned plantation of Ireland with Scotch heretics has for its object to create discord between the Irish and Scotch who from ancient times were on most friendly terms, and to prevent the Scotch from joining the Irish against the King, and to unite the Scotch and English against the Irish. . . .

Any government official may with impunity extort money from the Catholics or inflict suffering on them. If a Catholic complains to the Lord Deputy of these extortioners and persecutors, they accuse him of some crime, and the consequence is that he loses everything he possessed. . . .

If through inadvertence a Catholic say the least thing against an act of the King, either in spirituals or in temporals, it is high treason punished by death and confiscation.

It is forbidden to sell Catholic books, under pain of imprisonment.

[Original in Spanish.]

Fidelity of Ireland to the Catholic Faith (John Lynch, Cambrensis Eversus, 1662)

Of all the countries of Europe subject to heretical kings, there is not one in which a greater number of subjects have persevered in the old faith, and in obedience to the

sovereign pontiff, than in Ireland. Cardinal Bentivoglio has truly observed, that the Irish would seem to have sucked in the Catholic faith with their mother's milk. In other countries smitten with heresy, the majority followed the example of the king or other governing power of the State, and renounced the old faith and supremacy of the Pope; but in Ireland, I do not hesitate to assert, that not the tenth, nor the hundredth, nor the thousandth part, revolted from the faith of their fathers to the camp of the heretics. Orlandinus might say with perfect truth "that the Irish had preserved in heart and soul the Catholic faith in all its integrity and the most devoted obedience to the Roman pontiff." And Bozius also: "as far as we can judge from history, not one of all the northern nations has been more constant in the profession of the one faith."

IRISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES, *edited by*
Constantia Maxwell (1923), pp. 154–158.



FROM AN ITINERARY

1617

Fynes Moryson

Secretary to Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Fynes Moryson (1566–1617) in his Itinerary celebrated the lord deputy's victories in the closing phases of the Nine Years War (1594–1603). The exception to his general disdain for Ireland was his high regard for Irish whiskey.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

Touching the Irish dyet, Some Lords and Knights, and Gentlemen of the English-Irish, and all the English there abiding having competent meanes, use the English dyet, but some more, some lesse cleanly, few or none curiously, and no doubt they have as great and for their part greater plenty then the English, of flesh, fowle, fish, and all things for food, if they will use like Art of Cookery. Alwaies I except the Fruits, Venison, and some dainties proper to England, and rare in Ireland. And we must conceive, that Venison and Fowle seeme to be more plentiful in Ireland, because they neither so generally affect dainty foode nor so diligently search it as the English do. Many of the English-Irish, have by little and little been infected with the Irish filthiness, and that in the very cities, excepting Dublyn, and some of the better

sort in Waterford, where, the English continually lodging in their houses, they more retain the English diet. The English-Irish, after our manner serve to the table joynts of flesh cut after our fashion, with Geese, Pullets, Piggess, and like rosted meats, but their ordinary food for the common sort is of Whitmeates, and they eate cakes of oates for bread, and drinke not English Beere made of Mault and Hops, but Ale. At Corck I have seene with these eyes, young maides starke naked grinding of Corne with certaine stones to make cakes thereof, and striking of into the tub or meale, such reliques thereof as stuck on their belly, thighes and more unseemly parts.

And for the cheese and butter commonly made by the English Irish, an English man would not touch it with his lippes, though hee were halfe starved; yet many English inhabitants make very good of both kindes. In Cities they have such bread as ours, but of sharpe savour, and some mingled with Annisseeds, and baked like cakes, and that onely in the houses of the better sort.

At Dublyn and in some other Cities, they have taverns, wherein Spanish and French Wines are sold, but more commonly the Merchants sell them by pintes and quartes in their owne Cellers. The Irish Aquavitæ, vulgarly called Usquebagh, is held the best in the World of that kind; which is made also in England, but nothing so good as that which is brought out of Ireland. And the Usquebagh is preferred before our Aquavitæ, because the mingling of Raysons, Fennell seede, and other things, mitigating the heate, and making the taste pleasant, makes it lesse inflame, and yet refresh the weake stomake with moderate heate, and a good relish. These Drinkes the English-Irish drink largely, and in many families (especially at feasts) both men and women use excesse therein. And since I have in part seene, and often heard from others experience, that some Gentlewomen were so free in this excesse, as they would kneeling upon the knee, and otherwise garause health after health with men; not to speake of the wives of Irish Lords, or to referre it to the due place, who often drinke till they be drunken, or at least till they voide urine in full assemblies of men, I cannot (though unwilling) but note the Irish women more specially with this fault, which I have observed in no other part to be a woman's vice, but onely in Bohemia: Yet, so accusing them, I meane not to excuse the men, and will also confesse that I have seen Virgins, as well Gentlewomen as Citizens, commanded by their mothers to retyre after they had in curtesie pledged one or two healths. . . .

The wild and (as I may say) meere Irish, inhabiting many and large Provinces, are barbarous and most filthy in their diet. They skum the seething pot with an

handfull of straw, and straine their milk taken from the Cow through a like handfull of straw, none of the cleanest, and so cleanse, or rather more defile the pot and milke. They devoure great morsels of beefe unsalted, and they eat commonly Swines flesh, seldom mutton, and all these pieces of flesh, as also the intralles of beasts unwashed, they seeth in a hollow tree, lapped in a raw Cowes hide, and so set over the fier, and therewith swallow whole lumps of filthy butter. Yea (which is more contrary to nature) they will feede on Horses dying of themselves, not only upon small want of flesh, but even for pleasure. For I remember an accident in the Army, when the Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, riding to take the ayre out of the Campe, found the buttocks of dead Horses cut off, and suspecting that some soldiers had eaten that flesh out of necessity, being defrauded of the victuals allowed them, commanded the men to be searched out, among whom a common soldier, and that of the English-Irish, not of the meere Irish, being brought to the Lord Deputy, and asked why hee had eaten the flesh of dead Horses, thus freely answered, Your Lordship may please to eate Pheasant and Patridge, and much good doe it you that best likes your taste; and I hope it is lawfull for me without offence, to eate this flesh that likes me better then Beef. Whereupon the Lord Deputy perceiving himself to be deceived, & further understanding that he had received his ordinary victuals (the detaining whereof he suspected, and purposed to punish for example), gave the souldier a piece of gold to drinke in Usquebagh for better digestion, and so dismissed him.

The foresaid wilde Irish doe not thresh their Oates, but burne them from the straw, and so make cakes thereof, yet they seldome eate this bread, much lesse any better kind, especially in the time of warre, whereof a Bohemian Baron complained, who having seen the Courts of England and Scotland, would needes out of his curiosity returne through Ireland in the heate of the Rebellion; and having letters from the King of Scots to the Irish lords then in Rebellion, first landed among them, in the furthest North, where for eight dayes space hee had found no bread, not so much as a cake of Oates, till he came to eate with the Earl of Tyrone, and after obtaining the Lord Deputies Passe to come into our Army, related this their want of bread to us for a miracle, who nothing wondred thereat. Yea, the wilde Irish in time of greatest peace impute covetousnesse and base birth to him, that hath any Corne after Christmas, as if it were a point of Nobility to consume all within those Festivall dayes. They willingly eate the hearb Schamrock, being of a sharpe taste, which as they runne and are chased to and fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches. . . .

Many of these wilde Irish eate no flesh, but that which dyes of disease or otherwise of it selfe, neither can it scape them for stinking. They desire no broath, nor have any use of a spoone. They can neither see the Artichokes, nor eate them when they are sodden. It is strange and ridiculous, but most true, that some of our carriage Horses falling into their hands, when they found Sope and Starch, carried for the use of our Laundresses, they thinking them to bee some dainty meates, did eate them greedily, and when they stuck in their teeth, cursed bitterly the gluttony of us English churles, for so they terme us. They feede most on Whitmeates, and esteem for a great daintie sower curds, vulgarly called by them Bonaclabbe. And for this cause they watchfully keep their Cowes, and fight for them as for religion and life; and when they are almost starved, yet they will not kill a Cow, except it bee old, and yeeld no Milke. Yet will they upon hunger in time of warre open a vaine of the Cow, and drinke the bloud, but in no case kill or much weaken it. A man would thinke these men to bee Scythians, who let their Horses bloud under the eares, and for nourishment drinke their bloud, and indeed (as I have formerly said), some of the Irish are of the race Scythians, comming into Spaine, and from thence into Ireland. The wild Irish (as I said) seldome kill a Cow to eate, and if perhaps they kill one for that purpose, they distribute it all to be devoured at one time; for they approve not the orderly eating at meales, but so they may eate enough when they are hungry, they care not to fast long. And I have knowne some of these Irish footemen serving in England, (where they are nothing lesse than sparing in the foode of their Families), to lay meate aside for many meales, to devour it all at one time. . . .

These wild Irish never set any candles upon tables; What do I speak of Tables? since indeede they have no tables, but set their meate upon a bundle of grasse, and use the same Grasse for napkins to wipe their hands. But I meane that they doe not set candles upon any high place to give light to the house, but place a great candle made of reedes and butter upon the floure in the midst of a great roome. And in like sort the chiefe men in their houses make fiers in the midst of the roome, the smoake whereof goeth out at a hole in the top thereof. An Italian Frier comming of old into Ireland, and seeing at Armach this their diet and the nakedness of the women . . . is said to have cried out,

Civitas Armachana, Civitas vana
Carnes crudæ, mulieres nudæ.

Vaine Armagh City, I did thee pity,
Thy meates rawness, and womens nakedness.

I trust no man expects among these gallants any beds, much lesse fetherbeds and sheetes, who like the Nomades removing their dwellings, according to the commodity of pastures for their Cowes, sleepe under the Canopy of heaven, or in a poore house of clay, or in a cabbinn made of the boughes of trees, and covered with turffe, for such are the dwellings of the very Lords among them. And in such places, they make a fier in the midst of the roome, and round about it they sleepe upon the ground, without straw or other thing under them, lying all in a circle about the fier, with their feete towards it. And their bodies being naked, they cover their heads and upper parts with their mantels, which they first make very wet, steeping them in water of purpose, for they finde that when their bodies have once warmed the wet mantels, the smoake of them keepes their bodies in temperate heate all the night following. And this manner of lodging, not only the meere Irish Lords, and their followers use, but even some of the English Irish Lords and their followers, when after the old but tyranicall and prohibited manner vulgarly called Coshering, they goe (as it were) on progresse, to live upon their tenants, til they have consumed all the victuals that the poore men have or can get. To conclude, not only in lodging passengers, not at all or most rudely, but even in their inhospitality towards them, these wild Irish are not much unlike to wild beasts, in whose caves a beast passing that way, might perhaps finde meate, but not without danger to be ill intertained, perhaps devoured, of his insatiable host.

Fynes Moryson, AN ITINERARY (1898), pp. 196–203.



FROM "A DISCOURSE OF IRELAND"

1620

Luke Gernon

Little is known of Luke Gernon's early life, but he may have been from Hertfordshire, and he was appointed second justice of Munster in 1619. He lived in Limerick until the Rebellion of 1641 when, like many English settlers in Ireland, he lost most of his possessions. He was well connected, probably friends with Richard Boyle, the Great earl of Cork, and his wife seems to have known Archbishop Ussher. He died sometime before 1673. His "Discourse," a long letter written to an unnamed friend in which he gives his impressions of the country to which he has recently moved, probably dates from the winter of 1620. In this

section he describes the appearance and dress of Irish men and women.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

Lett us converse with the people. Lord, what makes you so squeamish—be not affrayed. The Irishman is no Canniball to eate you up nor no lowsy Jack to offend you.

The man of Ireland is of a strong constitution, tall and bigg limbed, but seldom fatt, patient of heate and colde, but impatient of labour. Of nature he is prompt and ingenious, but servile crafty and inquisitive after newes, the simptoms of a conquered nation. Theyr speech hath been accused to be a whyning language, but that is among the beggars. I take it to be a smooth language, well commixt of vouells and of consonants, and hath a pleasing cadence.

The better sorte are apparelled at all poynts like the English onely they retayne theyr mantle which is a garment not indecent. It differs nothing from a long cloke, but in the fringe at the upper end, which in could weather they weare over their heades for warmth. Because they are commanded at publicke assemblies to come in English habit, they have a tricke agaynst those times, to take off the fringe, and to putt on a cape, and after the assembly past, to resume it agayne. If you aske an Irishman for his cloke, he will tell you it is in his pockett and show you his cape. The churle is apparrelled in this maner. His doublett is a packe saddle of canvase, or coarse cloth without skirtes, but in winter he weares a frise cote. The trowse is a long stocke of frise, close to his thighes, and drawne on almost to his waste, but very scant, and the pryde of it is, to weare it so in suspense, that the beholder may still suspecte it to be falling from his arse. It is cutt with a pouche before, whiche is drawne together with a string. He that will be counted a spruce ladd, tyes it up with a twisted band of two colours like the string of a clokebagge. An Irishman walking in London a cutpurse took it for a cheate, and gave him a slash. His broges are single soled, more rudely sewed then a shoo but more strong, sharp at the toe, and a flapp of leather left at the heele to pull them on. His hatt is a frise capp close to his head with two lappetts, to button under his chinne. And for his weapon he weares a skeyne which is a knife of three fingers broad of the length of a dagger and sharpening towards the poynt with a rude wodden handle. He weares it poynt blanke at his codpiece. The ordinary kerne seldome weares a sword. They are also wedded to theyr mantle, the plow, they ditch, they thressh with theyr mantles on. But you look after the wenches.

The weomen of Ireland are very comely creatures, tall, slender and upright. Of complexion very fayre & cleare-skinned (but freckled), with tresses of bright yellow hayre, which they chayne up in curious knotts, and devises. They are not strait laced or plated in theyr youth, but suffred to grow at liberty so that you shall hardly see one crooked or deformed, but yet as the proverb is, soone ripe soone rotten. Theyr propensity to generation causeth that they cannot endure. They are wemen at thirteene, and olde wives at thirty. I never saw fayrer wenches nor fowler calliots, so we call the old wemen. Of nature they are very kind and tractable. At meetings they offer themselves to be kiste with the hande extended to embrace you. The yong wenches salute you, conferre with you, drinke with you without controll. They are not so reserved as the English, yett very honest. Cuckoldry is a thing almost unknowne among the Irish. At solemne invitements, the Benytee, so we call the goodwife of the house meets at the hall dore with as many of her femall kindred as are about her all on a row; to leave any of them unkist, were an indignity though it were done by the lord president.

I come to theyr apparrell. About Dublin they weare the English habit, mantles onely added thereunto, and they that goe in silkes, will weare a mantle of country making. In the country even among theyr Irish habitts they have sundry fashions. I will beginne with the ornament of theyr heads. At Kilkenny they weare broad beaver hatts coloured, edged with a gold lace and faced with vellett, with a broad gould hatt band. At Waterford they weare capps, turned up with furre and laced with gold lace. At Lymerick they weare rolles of linnen, each roll contayning twenty bundles of fyne linnen clothe (A Bundle is half an ell), and made up in forme of a myter. To this if it be could weather, there is added a muffler over theyr neck and chinne of like quantity of linnen; being so muffled, over all they will pinne on an English maske of blacke taffety, which is most rarely ridiculous to behold. In Connaught they weare rolles in forme of a cheese. In Thomond they weare kerchiefs, hanging downe to the middle of theyr backe. The maydes weare on the forepart of theyr head about foure yards of couloured ribbon smoothly layd, and theyr owne hayre playted behind. In other places they weare theyre hayre loose and cast behind. They weare no bands, but the ornament of theyr neckes is a carkanett of goldsmyths worke besett with precious stones, some of them very ritch, but most of them gawdy and made of paynted glasses and at the end of them a crucifixe. They weare also braceletts, and many rings. I proceed to theyr gowns. Lend me your imaginacion, and I will cutt it out as well as the taylor. They have straight bodyes, and longe wasts, but theyr bodyes come no closer, but to the middle of the ribbe, the rest is supplied

with lacing, from the topp of their breasts, to the bottome of theyr plackett, the ordinary sort have only theyr smockes between, but the better sort have a silk scarf about theyr neck, which they spread and pinne over theyre breasts. On the forepart of those bodyes they have a sett of broad silver buttons of goldsmiths worke sett round about. A sett of those buttons will be worth 40s, some are worth £5. They have hanging sleeves, very narrow, but no arming sleeves, other then theyre smocke sleeves, or a wastcoate of stripped stuffe, onely they have a wrestband of the same cloth, and a lyst of the same to joyne it to theyr winge, but no thing on the hinter part of the arme least they should weare out theyr elbowes. The better sort have sleeves of satten. The skyrt is a piece of rare artifice. At every bredth of three fingers they sew it quite through with a welte, so that it seemeth so many lystes putt together. That they do for strength, they girde theyr gowne with a silke girde, the tassell whereof must hang downe poynt blanke before to the fringe of theyr peticotes, but I will not descend to theyr peticotes, least you should thinke that I have bene under them. They beginne to weare knitt stockins coloured, but they have not disdayned to weare stockins of raw whyte frise, and broges. They weare theyr mantles also as well with in doors as with out. Theyr mantles are commonly of a browne blew colour with the fringe alike, but those that love to be gallant were them of greene, redd, yellow, and other light colours, with fringes diversified. An ordinary mantle is worth £4, those in the country which cannot go to the price weare whyte sheets mantlewise. I would not have you suppose that all the Irish are thus strangely attyred as I have described. The old women are loath to be shifted out of theyr auncient habitts, but the younger sort, especially in gentlemens houses are brought up to resemble the English, so that it is to be hoped, that the next age will weare out these disguises. Of theyr cleanlynes I will not speak.

Reprinted in STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, *edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh* (1994), pp. 81–83.



FROM THE TOTAL DISCOURSE OF HIS RARE ADVENTURES

1632

William Lithgow

This text by William Lithgow is a contribution to the bizarre (although occasionally accurate) ethnography of

the Irish which was begun by Gerald of Wales in the twelfth century. Wild and woolly descriptions of the highly unlikely are mixed with true reports, such as of the Irish practice of “plowing by the tail,” a technique which has its agricultural defenders.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1500 to 1690; English Writing on Ireland before 1800

And this I dare avow, there are more Rivers, Lakes, Brookes, Strands, Quagmires, Bogs, and Marishes, in this Countrey, then in all Christendome besides; for Travelling there in the Winter, all my dayly solace, was sincke down comfort; whiles Boggy-plunging deepes kissing my horse belly; whiles over-mired Saddle, Body, and all; and often or ever set a swimming, in great danger, both I, and my Guides of our Lives: That for cloudy and fountayne-bred perils, I was never before reduced to such a floting Laborinth. Considering that in five moneths space, I quite spoyled sixe horses, and my selfe as tyred as the worst of them. . . .

I remember I saw in Irelands North-parts, two remarkable sights: The one was their manner of Tillage, Ploughes drawne by Horsetayles, wanting garnishing, they are only fastned, with straw, or wooden Ropes to their bare Rumps, marching all side for side, three or foure in a Ranke, and as many men hanging by the ends of that untoward Labour. It is as bad a Husbandry I say, as ever I found among the wildest Savages alive; for the Caramins, who understand not the civill forme of Agriculture; yet they delve, hollow, and turne over the ground, with manuell and Wooden instruments: but they the Irish have thousands of both Kingdomes daily labouring beside them; yet they can not learne, because they wil not learn, to use garnishing, so obstinate they are in their barbarous consuetude, unlesse punishment and penalties were inflicted; and yet most of them are content to pay twenty shillings a yeare, before they wil change their Custome.

The other as goodly sight I saw, was women travayling the way, or toying at home, carry their Infants about their neckes, and laying the dugges over their shoulders, would give sucke to the Babes behinde their backes, without taking them in their armes: Such kind of breasts, me thinketh were very fit, to be made money bags for East or West-Indian Merchants, being more than halfe a yard long, and as wel wrought as any Tanner, in the like charge, could ever molliffe such Leather.

Reprinted in STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE, *edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh* (1994), pp. 59–60.

FROM TRAVELS

1634–1635

Sir William Brereton

Sir William Brereton (1604–1661), an Englishman, later became an officer in the army of the English parliament. But in the 1630s he was an energetic tourist in Britain, Ireland, and on the Continent. Here he reports his observations during a progress south from eastern Ulster through Newry, Dundalk, and Drogheda.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

Jul. 7—We left Dromemoore and went to the NEWRIE, which is sixteen miles. This is a most difficult way for a stranger to find out. Herein we wandered, and being lost, fell amongst the Irish towns. The Irish houses are the poorest cabins I have seen, erected in the middle of fields and grounds, which they farm and rent. This is a wild country, not inhabited, planted, nor enclosed, yet it would be good corn if it were husbanded. I gave an Irishmen to bring us into the way a groat, who led us like a villain directly out of the way and so left us, so as by this deviation it was three hour before we came to the Newrie. Much land there is about this town belonging to Mr. Bagnall, nothing well planted. He hath a castle in this town, but it is for most part resident at Green Castle; a great part of this town is his, and it is reported that he hath a £1000 or £1500 per annum in this country. This is but a poor town, and is much Irish, and is navigable for boats to come up unto with the tide. Here we baited at a good inn, the sign of the Prince's Arms. Hence to Dundalke is eight mile; stony, craggy, hilly, and uneven, but a way it is nothing difficult to find. Before you come to Dundalke you may discern four or five towers or castles seated upon the sea side.

This town of DUNDALKE hath been a town of strength, and is still a walled town, and a company of fifty soldiers are here in garrison under the command of Sir Faithful Fortesque. This town is governed by two bailiffs, sheriffs, and aldermen; the greatest part of the inhabitants of the town are popishly affected, and although my Lord Deputy, at the last election of burgesses for the Parliament, commended unto them Sir Faithful Fortesque and Sir Arthur Teringham, yet they rejected both, and elected a couple of recusants. One of the present baliffs is popish. Abundance of Irish, both gentlemen and others, dwell in this town, wherein

they dare to take the boldness to go to mass openly. This town seated upon the sea so as barks may come within a convenient distance with the flood; much low, level, flat land hereabouts, which is often overflowed in the winter, and here is abundance of fowl, and a convenient seat. Here we lodged at one Mrs. Veasie's house, a most mighty fat woman; she saith she is a Cheshire woman, near related in blood to the Breretons; desired much to see me; so fat she is, as she is so unwieldy, she can scarce stand or go without crutches. This reported one of the best inns in north of Ireland; ordinary 8d. and 6d., only the knave tapster over-reckoned us in drink.

Jul. 8—We left Dundalke and came to TREDOUGH [Drogheda], which is accounted sixteen mile, but they are as long as twenty-two mile. About five mile hence we saw Sir Faithful Fortesque's house or castle, wherein for most part he is resident, which he holds by a long lease upon a small rent under my Lord Primate of Armath. This is a dainty, pleasant, healthful, and commodious seat, and it is worth unto him about [gap in MS]. During ten miles riding from this town, much rich corn land, and the country as well planted; the other six miles towards Tredough, until you come near unto it, not so rich land, nor so well husbanded.

This town, as it is the largest and best built town I have yet seen in Ireland, so it is most commodiously seated upon a good navigable river, called Boyne, whereinto flows the sea in so deep a channel (though it be very narrow) as their ships may come to their doors. This river is built on both sides, and there is on either side convenient quay; a stone wall built along the river, so as a ship may lie close unto this quay, and may unload upon her. It is like the quay of Newcastle, and those channels I have seen in Holland in their streets. This town commodiously also situated for fish and fowl. It is governed by a mayor, a sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen; most of these, as also the other inhabitants of the town, popishly affected, insomuch as those that have been chosen mayors, who for the most part have been recusants, have hired others to discharge that office. One man (it is said) hath been hired by deputation to execute that place thirteen times; the present mayor also is but a deputy, and the reason why they make coy to execute that office is because they will avoid being necessitated to go to church.

I observed in this city divers fair, neat, well built houses, and houses and shops well furnished, so as I did conceive this to be a rich town; the inhabitants civilized and better apparelled. . . .

We came to the city of DUBLIN, July 9, about 10 hour. This is the metropolis of the kingdom of Ireland, and is beyond all exception the fairest, richest, best built

city I have met with in this journey (except York and Newcastle). . . .

This city of Dublin, is extending his bound and limits very far; much additions of buildings lately, and some of those very fair, stately and complete buildings; every commodity is grown very dear. You must pay also for an horse hire 1s. 6d. a day: here I met with an excellent, judicious and painful smith. Here are divers commodities cried in Dublin as in London, which it doth more resemble than any town I have seen in the king of England's dominions.

Jul. 14—Upon Tuesday, July 14, I left Dublin and came to HACQUETTS TOWN, about eleven hour at night. It is accounted twenty-seven miles, but it is as long as thirty-seven. After you pass four miles from Dublin, you travel through the mountains, which are dry land, and some of them good pasture for cattle that are young, and sheep, but these are not sufficiently stocked. Towards evening we passed through troublesome and dangerous ways and woods, and had wandered all night, had we not hired an Irish guide, by whose directions we arrived at eleven hour at Hacquetts's Town, where we lodged in a little, low, poor, thatched castle. Here Mr. Wattson, a Lanarkshire man, hath a plantation. As we passed this way, I observed the head of the river Liffe, which comes under the bridge at Dublin, whence it is made navigable by the flood, which goeth a mile above the bridge, and little further; I passed also, about eighteen miles from Dublin, by the head of the Slane, which runs to Waxford, and is there navigable, and twenty miles above Waxford.

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CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY

1642

In the aftermath of the 1641 Rebellion representatives of both the Gaelic Irish and the Old English met in Kilkenny in June 1642 and there constituted a protonationalist entity termed the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. Dominated by the conservative Old English, the Confederates acquired a royalist tinge. Eventually, in 1648, they split, with the more radical Gaelic Irish ending any continuing pretense of loyalty to the Protestant Charles I.

SEE ALSO Confederation of Kilkenny; O'Neill, Owen Roe; Rebellion of 1641; Religion: 1500 to 1690

Orders made and established by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the rest of the general assembly for the kingdom of Ireland, met at the city of Kilkenny, the 24th day of October, Anno Domini 1642, and the eighteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King Charles, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, etc.

I. Imprimis that the Roman Catholic church in Ireland shall and may have and enjoy the privileges and immunities according to the great charter, made and declared within the realm of England, in the ninth year of King Henry III, sometime king of England, and the lord of Ireland, and afterwards enacted and confirmed in this realm of Ireland. And that the common law of England, and all the statutes of force in this kingdom, which are not against the Roman Catholic religion, or the liberties of the natives, and other liberties of this kingdom, shall be observed throughout the whole kingdom, and that all proceedings in civil and criminal cases shall be according to the same laws.

II. Item, that all and every person and persons within this kingdom shall bear faith and true allegiance unto our sovereign lord King Charles . . . his heirs and lawful successors, and shall uphold and maintain his and their rights and lawful prerogatives, . . .

III. Item, that the common laws of England and Ireland, and the said statutes, called the greater charter, and every clause, branch and article thereof, and all other statutes confirming, expounding or declaring the same, shall be punctually observed within this kingdom, so far forth as the condition of the present times, during these times, can by possibilities give way thereunto, and after the war is ended the same to be observed without any limitations, or restriction whatsoever.

IV. . . . For the exaltation therefore of the holy Roman Catholic church, for the advancement of his majesty's service, and the preservation of the lives, estates, and liberties of his majesty's true subjects of this kingdom against the injustice, murders, massacres, rapes, depredations, robberies, burnings, frequent breaches of public faith and quarters, and destruction daily perpetrated and acted upon his majesty's said subjects, and advised, contrived, and daily executed by the malignant party, some of them managing the government and affairs of state in Dublin, and some other parts of this kingdom, to his majesty's greatest disservice, and complying with their confederates, the malignant party in England and elsewhere, who (as it is man-

ifest to all the world) do complot, and practise to dishonour and destroy his majesty, his royal consort the queen, their issue, and the monarchical government, which is of most dangerous consequence to all the monarchs and princes of Christendom, the said assembly doth order and establish a council by name of a supreme council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland, who are to consist of the number of four and twenty to be forthwith named, whereof twelve at the least, to be forthwith named, shall reside in this kingdom, or where else they shall think expedient, and the members of the said council shall have equal votes, and two parts of three or more concurring present votes, to conclude, and not fewer to sit in council than nine, whereof seven at least are to concur; and of the four and twenty a president shall be named by the assembly, to be one of the said twelve resident. . . . And the said council shall have the power and pre-eminence following, viz. the lords general and all other commanders of armies, and civil magistrates and officers in the several provinces shall observe their orders and decrees, and shall do nothing contrary to their directions, and shall give them speedy advertisement and account of their proceedings. . . .

That the said council shall have power and authority to do and execute all manner of acts and things conducing to the advancement of the Catholic cause, and good of this kingdom, and concerning the war, as if done by the assembly, and shall have power to hear and determine all matters capital, criminal or civil, excepting the right or title of land. . . .

V. Item, it is further ordered and established, that in every province of this kingdom there shall be a provincial council, and in every county a county council. . . .

XII. Item, it is further ordered, that whosoever hath entered since the first day of October, 1641, or shall hereafter during the continuance of the war in this kingdom, enter into the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, at or immediately before the first day of October. . . . shall immediately restore upon demand, the said possession to the party or parties so put out . . . provided, and so it is meant, that if any of the parties so put out, be declared a neuter or enemy by the supreme or provincial council, then the party who gained the possession as aforesaid shall give up the possession to such person or persons, as shall be named either by the said council provincial, or supreme council, to be disposed of towards the maintenance of the general cause, . . .

XIV. Item, for the avoiding of national distinction between the subjects of his Majesty's dominions, which this assembly doth utterly detest and abhor, which ought not to be endured in a well-governed common-

wealth, it is ordered and established, that, upon pain of the highest punishment, which may be inflicted by authority of this assembly, that every Roman Catholic, as well English, Welsh, as Scotch, who was of that profession before the troubles, and who will come and please to reside in this kingdom and join in the present union, shall be preserved and cherished in his life, goods, and estates, by the power, authority, and force (if need require it) of all the Catholics of Irelands, as fully and as freely as any native born therein, and shall be acquitted and eased of one third part (in three parts to be divided) of public charges or levies raised or to be raised for the maintenance of this holy war.

XV. Item, and it is further ordered and established, that there shall be no distinction or comparison made betwixt Old Irish, and Old and New England or betwixt septs or families, or betwixt citizens and townsmen and countrymen, joining in union, upon pain of the highest punishment that can be inflicted by and of the councils aforesaid, according to the nature and quality of the offences, and division like to spring thence. . . .

XXVI. Item, it is ordered and established, that the possession of Protestant archbishops, bishops, deans, dignitaries, and parsons, in right of their respective churches, or their tenements in the beginning of these troubles, shall be deemed, taken, and construed as the possession of the Catholic archbishops, bishops, deans, dignitaries, pastors and their tenements respectively. . . .

*Reprinted in IRISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 1172-1922,
edited by Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell (1943),
pp. 148-152.*



SPEECH TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

1642

Richard Boyle

Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork (1566-1643), was the greatest and richest of the "new English" (i.e., Protestant) magnates in Ireland. Born in Essex, he went to Ireland in the 1580s and assembled vast holdings of confiscated land in Munster. By instinct he was a royalist and supporter of Charles I on the eve of the English civil wars (1642-1648), but the king was implicated in the Ulster Rebellion of 1641, and more sympathy and support for Protestants in Ireland

was to be expected from the king's developing adversary, the English parliament.

SEE ALSO Rebellion of 1641

Sir, I pray ["let" erased] give me leave to present unto your selfe and that honourable house, that this great and generall rebellion brake forth in October last, at the very instant when I landed here out of England; and though it appeared first in Ulster, yet I who am 76 yeares of age, and have eate most parte of my bread in Ireland these 54 yeares, and by reason of my severall employments and commands in the government of this province and kindgome could not [but suspect] that the infection and contagion was generall and would by degrees quickly creep into this province, as forthwith it did. And soe that I found to my great grieffe that by the course the late Earle of Strafford had taken, all or the greatest part of the English and Protestants in this province, were deprived ["debarred" erased] of their Armes, and debarred from having any powder in their houses, and the King's Magazines in ["this province" erased] heer, being soe ["very" erased] weakely furnished as in a manner they were empty. I without delay furnished all my Castles in these two Counties with such Ammunition as my owne poore Armory did afford, and sent 300li. ster. into England to bee bestowed in Ammunition for my selfe and [my] tenants, and putt in sufficient guards, and 9 monethes victualls into every of my ["victuall" erased] Castles; all which I thanke God, I have hitherto preserved and made good, not without giving great annoyance out of those Castles to the rebels. And for that the late Lord President did judiciously observe that the preservation of this important Towne and harbour of Yoghall, was of principall consequence to bee maintayned and kept for the service of the Crowne, and presuming that noe man did exceed me in power and abilitie to make it good, hee prevayled [with mee] soe farre, for the advancement of his Majestie service and securing of this considerable towne and harbour, as to leave my owne strong and defensible house of Lismore (which was well provided of Ordnance and all things fitting for defence) to the guard of my sonn Broghill with 100 horse and 100 foot, and to retyre hither; whither I brought two foot Companies of 100 a peece, all compounded of English Protestants and well disciplined, and these at my chardges armed, being men experienced and formerly seasoned with the ayre of this Countrey, wherein they are good guides. And hitherto I doe thanke my God, this Towne and harbour, are made good and is a receptacle not onely for all shipping but also for multitudes of distressed English, which have been

["stript" erased] dispossessed and stript by the rebels, and found succour and saftie heere.

Reprinted in *STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE*, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 121–122.



FROM A TRUE AND CREDIBLE RELATION

1642

Anonymous

The rebellion of October 1641 was to have begun with a carefully organized plot to seize Dublin Castle, the seat of English government and administration in Ireland. The plot was foiled, but a major uprising took place, directed at first against the English and then the Scottish settlers in Ulster. Later in the year and early the next it spread slowly to the rest of Ireland.

SEE ALSO Rebellion of 1641

Their Cruell and Damnable Design was first to have surprised the Castle of Dublin upon the 23. day of October Anno predicto, upon a Saturday; the same night all the Popish houses were to be marked with a Crosse to be knowne from the Protestant houses, their intent being upon the Sunday following to have surprised all the Protestants and to have stript them naked, as they did many thousands of men, women and children in other parts of the kingdome of Irelande upon the same day, and also to have surprised all the English shipping, riding at Anchor at a Harbour commonly called the Rings End, about a mile distant from the City of Dublin. But God that saw the bloody intent discovered their practice by one of their owne faction suffering them to run in their owne wicked hope and cruell imagination, untill the night before their practise should have been put in execution, for the same night the Lord Mack-Gueere an Irish man, and Captaine Mack-Mahowne also an Irish man (who confessed the whole plot) were apprehended, the one in Cookstreet within the City of Dublin, the other neere Dublin in Saint Mary Abbey in the suburbes of the same City, both which have been ever since imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin, and doe still remaine there. . . .

It is too manifest thet the Jesuits those firebrands of hell, and Popish priests were the plotters of this and

other Treasons, which can at their pleasure absolve subjects of their obedience to their princes and give power to murder and depose kings, neither could they worke upon a more rebellious and forward nation to doe mischiefe. . . .

It is too well knowne (the more is the pittie and to be lamented) that they have murdered, and starved to death of the English in the province of Ulster and other provinces where they are risen up in (re)bellion of men, women and children alone 20,000.

Their manner is and hath beene, cowardly and treacherously to surprise them upon great advantages, and without respect of persons, to rob them of all they have, but being not content therewith (but as insatiable of blood) hunting after their pretious lives, stript ladies and gentlewomen, Virgins and Babies, old and young, naked as ever they were borne, from their clothes, turning them into open fields, (where having first destroyed the husbands and the Parents, before their wives and childrens faces) many hundreds have beene founde dead in ditches with cold for want of food and rayment, the Irish having no more compassion of their age or youth, then of Doggs.

As for the Protestant Ministers, those they take (which have been many) they use them with such cruelty, as it would make any heart so melt into teares that doth but heare this relation; Their manner is first to hang them up, and then they cut off their heads, after they quarter them, then they dismember their secret parts, stopping their mouths therewith, a thing indeed for modestie sake, more fit to bee omitted then related.

Many of their wives, they have ravished in their sights before the multitude, stripping them naked to the view of their wicked Companions, taunting and mocking them with reproachful words, sending them away in such a shamefull or rather shameless manner that they have (most of them) either dyed for grieffe, or starved with want and cold, such cruelty was never knowne before. . . .

As for the murder of Rebels, it is not certainly knowne; but without question there is a great many of them, but not the third part of them armed, and those armes they have, they have taken from the English, in surprising and murdering them cowardly and treacherously, and some of them under pretence of being rob'd by the Rebels, have deceitfully gotten Armes to goe fight against them, and then have run away from their Captaines to the Rebels, are indeed there is no trust nor confidence to be put in them, they are so treacherously perfidious.

It is supposed that the chief Rebels doe intend to steale away by Sea (having gotten a great estate from

the English Plantators whom they have robbed and murdered) and so leave the ignorant rabble of Irish in the lurch. . . .

It is to be beleaved that the Rebels will never give a Battell, and that in short time they will be starved for want of food, for they have gotten in most parts from the English all they can get, and they wast and devoure that plenty they have, and there is neither plowing nor sowing in those parts, so that it will be impossible for them to subsist long. . . .

They report and allege that Religion is the cause of their war, but that is false for they have had too much liberty and freedom of conscience in Ireland, and that hath made them Rebell. I hope that God that hath discovered their bloody practice, will confound their devices, and bring them to confusion. To the which God be all honour, praise and Glory for ever.

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FROM A REMONSTRANCE . . . , BEING
THE EXAMINATIONS OF MANY WHO
WERE EYE-WITNESSES OF THE SAME,
AND JUSTIFIED UPON OATH BY
MANY THOUSANDS

1643

Thomas Morley

After the rebellion of October 1641, in which thousands of Protestant planters and their families were driven off their properties in Ulster amidst allegations of numerous atrocities, elaborate efforts were made to document and publicize the widespread destruction and pillage of English and Scottish settlers' property. This account by Thomas Morley relates to the county of Monaghan.

SEE ALSO Rebellion of 1641

In the County of Monaghan M. Blany a Justice of the peace and Knight of the shire, and Committee for the Subsidies, hanged up, stript and buried in a ditch by the rebels (in The County of Monaghan), because he would not turne and goe to masse; and the next night one Luke Ward hang'd and throwne into a ditch; and they and di-

vers others were robbed, and the rest kept in prison, without reliefe from them that robd them. . . .

A man who had severall young children borne and alive, and his wife neere her time of delivery of another, was most cruelly murdered by the rebels, his wife, flying into the mountaines, the rebels, hastily pursued her and her little children, and found her newly delivered of her child there; they pittying no such, nor any distresse, presently murdered her and her other children which runne with her thither, and in most inhumane and barbarous manner suffered their dogs to eate up and devoure the new borne child. . . .

The rebels would send their children abroad in great troopes, especially neere kindred, armed with long wattles an whips, who would therewith beate mens privy members until they beat or rather threshed them off, and then they would returne in great joy to their parents, who received them for such service, as it were in triumph

If any women were found dead, lying with their faces downward, they would turne them upon their backes, and in great flockes resort unto them, censuring all the parts of their bodies, but especially such as are not to be named; which afterwards they abused so many waies and so filthily, as chaste cares would not endure the very naming thereof. . . .

The rebels themselves confessed and told it to Dr. Maxwell while he was prisoner among them, that they killed 954 in one morning in the County of Antrim, and that besides them they supposed they had kild 1100 or 1200 more in that County. . . .

Reference being had to the number in grosse which the Rebels themselves have upon enquiry found out and acknowledged, which notwithstanding will come farre short of all those that have been murdered in Ireland, there being above one hundred fifty four thousand wanting of British within the very precincts of Ulster in March 1641 as by their monethly bills brought in and made by their Priests by speciall direction appeareth.

It is proved by divers witnesses that after the drowning of many Protestants at Portadowne, strange visions and apparitions have been seen and heard there upon the water; sometimes a spirit assuming the shape of a man hath been seen there with his hands held up and closed together; and sometimes in the likenesse of a woman, appearing waste high above the water, with the haire disheveled, eyes twinkled, elevated and clasped hands, crying out, revenge, revenge, &c. and appearing, and crying so many nights together. Other visions and strange voices, and fearful scritchings have been heard where they have drowned the English at other places, as at Beltubat river in the County of Cavan; a lough near

Loghgall in the County of Armagh, which have also deterred and affrighted the Irish soldiers and others, that they durst not stay neere the place, but fled away.

In the Countie of Armagh, it was ordinary and common for the rebels to expose the murdered bodies of the British so long unto publique view and censure, that they began to stinke and infect the ayre, (which being a thing very strange) would not sometimes happen untill foure or five weekes after the murther committed. Then at length they would permit some of their bodies to be recovered and cast into ditches, but so as they must be laid with their faces downward. The reason they gave for the same was, that they so placed them to the intent they might have a prospect and sight of Hell onely. And therefore when they kild any of the Protestants they used alwaies these words, Aurius Dewll, which is, thy sole to the divell. . . .

They tooke [a] Scotchman and ripped up his belly, that they might come to his small guts. The one end whereof they tied to a Tree and made him go round untill he had drawne them all out of his body. Then they saying, they would try whether a dog, or a Scotchman's guts were longer. . . .

In the County of Cavan, James O'Rely, Hugh Brady, and other rebels often tooke the Protestant Bibles and wetting them in puddle water, did five or six severall times dash the same in the face of the Protestants, saying, come I know you love a good lesson, here is a most excellent one for you, and come tomorrow and you shall have as good a Sermon. And as the Protestants were going to the Church the rebels tooke and dragged them into the Church by the haire of the head; where they whipt, rob'd, stript, and most cruelly used them, saying, that tomorrow you shall heare the like sermon.

That Rory MacGuire, Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the Northern Rebels in the Counties of Monaghan, Armagh, Lowth, Cavan, Meath and other places where they came, burnt, tore, or otherwise trampled under their feete, and spoyled all the Protestants Bibles, and other good Bookes of the Protestants. . . .

The Generall cruelty to Ministers against Protestants and that religion duly exercised by the Papist-rebells scornfull malicious and contemptuous words and blasphemies, are so many and frequently used, and by too wofull experience found and proved by a multitude of witnesses.

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ON THE CAPTURE OF DROGHEDA

17 September 1649

Oliver Cromwell

Because of the intervening English civil wars, the Irish Rebellion of 1641 went unrepressed and unavenged for more than eight years. In the late summer of 1649, Oliver Cromwell finally brought over a large English army and a train of artillery. The siege and conquest of the walled town of Drogheda (forty miles north of Dublin) was one of his first and most celebrated triumphs. The defeated, including many hundreds of civilian men, women, and children, were slaughtered. Cromwell wrote that it was just retribution for the atrocities committed against Protestants and their families in 1641 and after.

SEE ALSO Cromwellian Conquest; Rebellion of 1641

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These

Sir, . . .

Your Army came before the town upon Monday following, where having pitched, as speedy course was taken as could be to frame our batteries, which took up the more time because divers of the battering guns were on shipboard. Upon Monday the 9th [10th] of this instant, the batteries began to play. Whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton, the then Governor, a summons, To deliver the town to the use of the Parliament of England. To the which I received no satisfactory answer, but proceeded that day to beat down the steeple of the church on the south side of the town, and to beat down a tower not far from the same place, . . .

The enemy retreated, divers of them, into the Mill-Mount: a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men, divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the Town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's church-steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused, wherupon I or-

dered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, where one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: "God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn."

The next day, the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six of seven score; but they refused to yield themselves, and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. . . .

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, That a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so clear? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory.

It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church called St. Peter's, and they had public mass there: and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two; the one of which was Father Peter Taaff, (brother to the Lord Taaff), whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of: the other was taken in the round tower, under the repute of lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar; but that did not save him. . . .

Your most humble servant,
Oliver Cromwell

Oliver Cromwell, THE LETTERS AND SPEECHES OF OLIVER CROMWELL, WITH ELUCIDATIONS BY THOMAS CARLYLE (1904), pp. 466, 467, 468–469, 470–471, 472.

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FROM THE GREAT CASE OF
TRANSPLANTATION DISCUSSED

1655

Vincent Gookin

After his military victories of 1649–1650, Oliver Cromwell called for the transplantation of virtually all the Catholic Irish to areas west of the Shannon, principally in the agriculturally poorest province, Connacht. An Irish Protestant, Vincent Gookin, who served as surveyor general of Ireland, in 1655 published this pamphlet arguing against this draconian and impractical, not to say unjust, scheme.

SEE ALSO Cromwellian Conquest; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690

For future Inhabitants, Adventurers, Souldiers, and such others as shall engage in the planting of Ireland. The first and chiefest Necessaries to the settlement and advancement of a Plantation, are those natural riches of Food, Apparel, and Habitations. If the first be regarded, there are few of the Irish Commonality but are skilfull in Husbandry, and more exact that any English in the Husbandry proper to that Country. If the second, there are few of the Women but are skilfull in dressing Hemp and Flax, and making of Linnen and Woollen Cloth. If the third, it is believed, to every hundred Men there are five or six Masons and Carpenters at least of that Nation, and these more handy and ready in building ordinary Houses, and much more prudent in supplying the defects of Instruments and Materials, than English Artificers. Since then 1000 Acres of Land (Plantation measure) being but of indifferent goodnes, with the rest of the Lands in Ireland, shall require as much Stock as whose original price and charge of transporting will amount to 1500 or 2000l. Since likewise Husbandmen and Tradesmen that are laborious, can subsist by their Labours and Trades comfortably in England, and most will not probably leave their native soyl on any terms; and those who will, on extraordinary terms. It is necessary consequent, that the transplantation of the Irish doth not onely deprive the Planter of those aforementioned advantages, but also so exceedingly aggravates his charge and difficulty in planting (by his irredeemable want of whatever he brings not with him out of England) that his charge will manifestly appear to be more than his profit; and it is not easily conceivable how or

when five or six Millions of Acres are like to be planted or inhabited upon so clear an account of expence and loss.

Objection. Against all these advantages it is onely objected, that the English may degenerate, and turn Irish, unless a separation by transplanting the one from the other be observed; and to this purpose experience of former ages is urged.

Answer. Of future contingents no man can pass a determinate judgement; but if we speak morally, and as probably may be, it may much rather be expected that the Irish will turn English. Those Topicks before instanced concerning Religion do infer it as very probable, that with the Religion professed by the English, it is likely they may receive their Manners also. And this is confirmed by experience of all that Nation who embraced the Protestant Religion. And as to the former experience, even that likewise seems to add weight to this expectation, because whatever inducements perswaded the English formerly to turn Irish, the same more strongly invite the Irish now to turn English.

1. When England was reformed from Popery, no care was took, nor endeavours used to spread the reformation in Ireland; by which means the English Colonies there continued still Papists, and so in Religion were alienated from the English, and fastened to the Irish: But now it being most probable that most of the Irish will embrace the Protestant Profession, it is upon the same grounds most probable that they will embrace the English Manners.

2. Former Conquests of Ireland were either the undertakings of some private persons, or so managed by publick persons, that the power and profitable advantages of the Land remained in the hands of the Irish: But as in the present Conquest the Nation of England is engaged, so is the power and advantage of the Land in the hands of the English. For instance.

1. The Irish were the Body of the People, and too potent for the English (especially at such times as the troubles of England caused the Armies to be called thence, which Historians observe to have been the times of degeneration, as a means to self-preservation.
2. The Irish were the general Proprietors of Land, and an English Planter must be their Tenant; and the temptation of this relation and dependence is very prevelant (at least) to bring the Posterity to a compliance, and that to a likeness, and that to a sameness.
3. The Irish were the chiefly estated, and the inter-marriages with them were accompanied with greater Friends and Fortunes than with the En-

glish, who were not onely Strangers, but for the most part (till of late years) comparatively poor.

4. The Lawyers were Irish, the Jurors Irish, most of the Judges Irish, and the major part of their Parliament Irish; and in all Disputes between Irish and English, the Irish were sure of the favour.

But now the condition of Ireland is (through Gods goodness) so altered, that all these Arguments are much more forcibly perswasive, that the Irish will turn English.

3. The frequent use of the Irish Language in all commerce, and the English habituating themselves to that Language, was one great means of Irishying the English Colonies: But now the Language will be generally English; and if the Irish be mingled with the English, they will probably learn and be habituated to the English Tongue, which is found by experience to be suddenly learn'd by the Irish; whereas if they be transplanted into Connaught, the distinction of the English and Irish tongue will not onely be continued, but also the Irish left without means of learning English.

Concerning the Security of the English, and Their Interests

1. For the present, This Plantation will necessarily make many Tories. For,

1. Many inhabitants, who are able to subsist on their Gardens in their present Habitations, are unable to subsist in travelling to Connaught, and for the present to derive subsistence from the wast Lands of Connaught, when they come thither; and therefore will rather choose the hazard of Torying, than the apparent danger of starving.
2. Many Irish Masters will disburthen themselves of their attendants and servants on this occasion, in regard the charge of retaining them will be greater, and their employment of them less, both in the journey, and journeys end; and these servants, however disposed to honest labour and industry, yet being thus secluded from the means of subsistence, necessity will enforce to be Tories.
3. The range of the Tories will be so great, and advantages thereby of securing themselves and Catel so much, that until the whole Land be otherwise planted, it will not be probable that our Armies should either have intelligence of their places of abode in their fastnesse, or be enabled to find them, those who are acquainted with the service of Tory hunting, know how much of this difficulty. And impossible it is, that those parts of the Land which adjoin to those Fastnesses, should

be planted in many ages, if Tories (secured in them) make incursions on such as shall plant.

4. The Irish numbers (now abated by Famin, Pestilence, the Sword, and Forein Transportations) are not like to overgrow the English as formerly, and so no fear of their being obnoxious to them hereafter: but being mixed with, they are likelier to be swallowed up by the English, and incorporated into them; so that a few Centuries will know no difference present, fear none to come, and scarce believe what were pas'd. The chiefest and eminentest of the Nobility, and many of the Gentry, have taken Conditions from the King of Spain, and have transported at several times 40000 of the most active spirited men, most acquainted with danger and discipline of War, and inured to hardness; the Priests are all banished; the remaining part of the whole Nation are scarce the sixth part of what were at the beginning of the War, so great a devastation has God and Man brought upon that Land, and so far are they from those formidable numbers they are (by those that are strangers to Ireland) conceived to be; and that handfull of Natives left, are poor laborious usefull simple Creatures, whose design is onely to live, and their Families, the manner of which is so low, that it is design rather to be pitied, than by any body feared, envyed, or hindered.

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FROM THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND IN THE IRISH TRANSPLANTATION STATED

1655

Richard Lawrence

Richard Lawrence was a colonel in the Cromwellian army in Ireland from 1651 to 1659. He published a pamphlet in answer to Vincent Gookin's Great Case of Transplantation Discussed and argued in favor of the plan to move the Irish west of the Shannon. The plan was virtually impossible to implement, and after King Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660, it was abandoned.

SEE ALSO Cromwellian Conquest; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690; Rebellion of 1641

Therefore consider what punishment it was they did incur by their offence, which will be the better done, First, by considering the offence it self, which was the most horrid causless Rebellion, and bloody Massacre that hath been heard of in these last Ages of the world, and the Offenders not particular persons or parties of the Irish Nation (for that had been another case) but the whole Irish Nation it self consisting of Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commonality, are all engaged as one Nation in the Quarell, to root out and wholly extirpate all English Protestants from amongst them, who had (for the most of them) as legal and just right to their Estates and interest in Ireland, as themselves, many of them possessing nothing, but what they had lawfully purchased, and dearly paid for, from the Irish, and others of them possessing by right of grant from the Crown of England, time out of minde what they did enjoy, and the Irish Nation enjoying equal privileges with the English, if not much more . . . so that they were under no provocation, nor oppression, under the English government at that time when the bloody Rebels in 1641 committed that inhumane Massacre upon a company of poor, unarmed, peaceable, harmless people living quietly amongst them, wherein neither Age nor Sex were spared . . . in which rebellious practices and cruel War they persisted to the ruining of that flourishing Nation, and making of it near a waste Wilderness, thereby necessitating England (in the time of its own Trouble) to maintain an Army in Ireland, to preserve a footing there, and at last forced them to send over and maintain a potent Army, greatly exhausting their Treasure and People to recover their Interest out of the hands of this bloody Generation, and bring the Offenders to condign punishment . . . Ireland having cost England more money and men to recover it, than it is or ever is like to be worth to them many a time over, and for England now at the close of all to heal up this wound slightly, and to leave the Interest and People of England in Ireland at as eminent uncertainties as ever, (whereby the posterity of this present Generation (if not themselves) shall after a few years to come to be at the mercy and disposition of the bloody people again (except a few inwalled Towns and Garisons) if it may be any lawfull and prudent means prevented) I judg those who are wise and ingenious of the Irish themselves would acknowledg it a weakness, and great neglect in those in whose hand God hath placed the power, much more all true hearted Englishmen who are so much concerned therein.

And therefore it remains now to prove that the work of Transplantation (at least so far as it is at present declared and intended) is the most probable means to secure the present English Interest in Ireland, and obtain one there able to secure it self without such immediate

dependence upon England (as hitherto hath been) for men and money to effect the same.

And for the better making out of this:

First, confident wherein the advantage of the Irish above the English consisted at the first breaking out of the late horrid Rebellion, whereby the many thousands of English People then inhabiting in that Countrey became so inconsiderable either as to the preservation of their own Lives and Estates, or the publick Interest of England there; which chiefly proceeded from their not being imbodyed, or from their not cohabiting together, whereby they might have been in a capacity to imbody, they being scattered up and down the whole Nation, here and there, a few families, being thereby wholly subjected to the mercy of the Rabble Irish, to the general destruction and ruine of them, before the Enemy had either Army, Arms, or Ammunition, more than Skeanes and Stayes, whereas had those English that were then in Ireland been cohabiting together in one entire Plantation, or in several Plantations, so they had been but entire Colonies of themselves, and Masters of the Countrey in which they lived, the Irish would hardly have had confidence to have attempted a War, much less a Massacre upon them . . . Whereas by their promiscuous and scattered inhabiting among the Irish, who were in all places far the greatest number and in most a hundred to one, they were even as sheep prepared for the slaughter, that the very Cripples and Beggars of several of the Countreys where they lived (if they toke against them) were able to destroy them. . . .

And therefore I would propose (as essential to the security of the English interest and People in Ireland) that the England inhabiting in that Nation should live together in distinct Plantations or Colonies, separated from the Irish, and (so far as the natural advantage of the Countrey, or their own ability will afford it) to maintain frontier Garrisons, upon Lines or Passes, for the security of ever Plantation, and to admit no more Irish Papists (that they had not eminent grounds to believe were or would be faithful to the English interest) to live within them . . . it is my judgement it would not be safe to admit in any English Plantation, above the fifth part to be Irish Papists, either in the capacity of Tenants or Servants, unless in such cases where two Justices of the Peace, with two godly Ministers of that English Plantation should receive satisfaction of their being converted to the Protestant Religion, and English Civil Manners and Customs.

For though the Lord hath been pleased so far to own the English Cause and Interest in the late War, that they have been able to engage them with far less numbers, that one hath put ten, and ten one hundred to flight, yet in the work or surprisings and unexpected assaults and

inroads upon the English, the Irish have been usually more exact and vigilant, for the Irish are naturally a timorous, suspicious, watchfull People; and on the other hand, the English are a confident, credulous, careless People, as our daily experience in Ireland teacheth us. And therefore if their numbers should be equal, that advantage which they would have of their Irish Neighbors to correspond with them, and fall into their assistance, would much add to their encouragement to attempt mischief upon the English, with or among whom they lived, though they were far less numbers. And if this be not admitted, that it is essential in order to the safety of the English interest and people, that their Plantation should consist of many more English than Irish (as above), then there is a necessity (in order thereto) that some of the Irish should be removed out of some parts of Ireland, to make way for the English Plantations, and if so, then a Plantation must be admitted to be essential in order to the security of the English interest and People there. . . .

[A]s to that concerning Religion, where he [Gookin] endeavoureth to hold forth that the not transplanting of the Irish, would no ways hazard the perverting of the English, and would be much in order to the converting of the Irish, which the Transplantation (saith he) will wholly prevent . . . I do not judge the Discussor can suppose that the continuing of the popish, superstitious Souldier and Proprietor among and over the common people will be a means to make way for their conversion to the Protestant Religion, more than to continue their Priests, but it is so evident it will much rather tend to the contrary, even shutting that door of hope, that may otherwise be opened to that work, that to spend time about arguing of it would not be to profit, and besides require more Lines than I am willing to swell this paper into, it being much larger already than I intended it.

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TREATY OF LIMERICK

1691

These articles were the terms under which the garrison of Limerick, the last significant stronghold of troops loyal to the Catholic King James II, surrendered in 1691. His Protestant adversary, William III, was willing to make a generous settlement in the interest of larger geopolitical

considerations, but William's Irish Protestant supporters were outraged. Not until 1697 did the Irish parliament ratify the treaty, and then only without the first article and the inadvertently omitted wording to protect the retainers of the Catholic leaders who were surrendering. For generations, Catholics complained bitterly, and understandably, about these omissions, but the treaty did successfully protect from confiscation the properties of hundreds of Catholic gentry in the west and southwest.

SEE ALSO Jacobites and the Williamite Wars

THE CIVIL ARTICLES OF LIMERICK

Articles agreed upon the third of October 1691 between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter knight and Thomas Conningsby Esq., lords justices of Ireland, and his excellency the Baron De Ginckle, lieutenant-general, and commander-in-chief of the English army, on the one part, and the Right Honourable Patrick earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part, in the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick and other agreements made between the said Lieutenant-General Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army, it is agreed, that:

1. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom, shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II, and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

2. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorized by him to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them, and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit

to their majesties' obedience, and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess and enjoy all and every their estates of free-hold, and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every, or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to in the reign of King Charles II, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles II, and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof. And all persons comprehended in this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for or for the use of them, or any of them; and all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise and practise their several and respective professions, trades and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles II, provided, that nothing in this article contained, be construed to extend to or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised. Provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

3. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison, now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare, or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present, provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

4. The following officers, viz. Colonel Simon Luttrell, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to

their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

5. That all and singular, the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, praemunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them or any of them committed since the beginning of the reign of King James II; and if any of them are attained by parliament, the lords justices and general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

6. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts, and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandises, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken, during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses; and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual, and reciprocal, on both sides.

7. Every nobleman and gentleman, comprised in the said second and third article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit, and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same or for fowling.

8. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

9. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

10. No person or persons, who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall

thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

11. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months, next ensuing the date hereof.

12. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours, that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

13. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel, and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts, which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their army, for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement, passed on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and the said baron de Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which account is to be, stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof:

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set out hands,

*Char. Potter, Tho. Coningsby, Bar. De. Ginckle.
Present, Scravemore, H. Maccay, T. Talmash.*

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having considered of the said articles are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made

good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words, "Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo," or any of them in the second of such articles, the words following; viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered; and that our said justices, and general or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the fowl draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. "and all such as are under their protection in the said counties" hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of chancery in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, etc. Witness Ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, Anno Regni Regis and Reginae Guilielmi and Mariae Quarto per breve de privato sigillo. . . .

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edited by Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell (1943),
pp. 171-175.*



FROM THE MEMOIRS OF EDMUND LUDLOW

1698

Edmund Ludlow was a regicide (one of those held responsible for the trial, conviction, and execution of Charles I) and a republican associate of Cromwell who broke with him when, in 1655, he became lord protector. He was a lieutenant general of horse in Ireland and a commissioner for civil government from 1650 to 1655. At the Restoration he escaped to Switzerland. His memoirs,

published in 1698, describe, among other things, the way confiscated Irish land was parceled out in the 1650s to repay soldiers for their services and investors (called "adventurers") for their loans to finance the campaign to reconquer Ireland.

SEE ALSO Cromwellian Conquest; Land Settlements from 1500 to 1690

The Commissioners also by order of the Parliament published a declaration to inform the publick, and particularly the adventurers, who had advanced money upon the Irish lands, that the war in Ireland was concluded. This they did as well that the said adventurers might have what was justly due to them, as that the poor wasted country of Ireland might have the assistance of their own purses and labour, to recover the stock and growth of the land; the Irish having all along eaten out the heart and vigour of the ground, and of late much more than ever, being in daily apprehension of being removed.

All arrears due to the English army in Ireland were satisfied by the Parliament out of the estates forfeited by the rebels, which were delivered to them at the same rates with the first adventurers. In this transaction those of the army shewed great partiality, by confining the satisfaction of arrears only to such as were in arms in August 1649, which was the time when the English army commanded by Lieutenant-General Cromwel arrived in Ireland; and tho the hardships endured by those who were in arms before had been much greater, yet nothing could be obtained but such a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklo, and elsewhere, as was not sufficient to clear the fourth part of what was due to them. Those who solicited the affairs of the army in Ireland with the Parliament, having perswaded the adventurers that there were forfeited lands enough in one moiety of nine principle counties, they accepted of them for their satisfaction, and the other moiety was assigned by the Act for the satisfaction of the souldiers; the rest of Ireland was also disposed of, only the province of Connaught was reserved for the Irish under the qualifications agreed upon by the Parliament; according to which they were to be put into possession of the several proportions of land which had been promised them in the said province; that so the adventurers, souldiers, and others to whom the Parliament should assign their lands, might plant without disturbance, or danger of being corrupted by intermixing with the natives in marriages or otherwise, which by the experience of former times the English had been found to be, rather than to have bettered the Irish either in religion or good man-

ners: and that the natives being divided by the River Shannon from the other provinces, and having garisons placed round and amongst them in the most proper and convenient stations, they might not have those opportunities to prejudice the English as formerly they had. An Act being drawn up to this purpose, the parliament passed it, reserving the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlo and Cork, (together with the remaining part of the lands formerly belonging to the Bishops, Deans and Chapters of Ireland, whereof some had been already applied, to augment the revenues of the Colledge of Dublin) to be disposed of as the Parliament should think fit.

The forfeited lands were divided between the adventurers and souldiers by lot, according to an estimate taken of the number of acres in the respective counties, in conformity to an order from the Commissioners of Parliament; by whom were appointed sub-commissioners to judg of the qualifications of each person, and others, who upon certificate from the sub-commissioners for determining qualifications, were required to set out so much land in the province of Connaught as belonged to every one by virtue of the said Act. They also established a committee to sit at Dublin to receive and adjudg all claims of English and others to any lands, limiting a time within which they were obliged to bring in and make appear their respective claims to be legal; to the end that the adventurers, souldiers, and others, might be at a certainty, and after such a time free from any molestation in the possession of their lands; and that none through ignorance or absence might be surprized, they prorogued the said time twice or thrice to a longer day.

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AN ACT TO PREVENT THE FURTHER GROWTH OF POPERY

1704

This statute is the most important of the so-called penal laws that were enacted against Catholics beginning in 1695. Its elaborate provisions concerning the disposition of land that had not been confiscated from Catholics during the upheavals of the seventeenth century reflect the fact that propertied Catholics were the principal target of such legislation. Property was the key to political power in this period.

SEE ALSO Catholic Merchants and Gentry from 1690 to 1800; Council of Trent and the Catholic Mission; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1690 to 1714—Revolution Settlement; Penal Laws; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Religious Orders: Men; Religious Orders: Women; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829

AN ACT TO PREVENT THE FURTHER
GROWTH OF POPERY

I. Whereas divers emissaries of the church of Rome, popish priests, and other persons of the persuasion, taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of some of her Majesty's subjects, or the extreme sickness and decay of their reason and senses, in the absence of friends and spiritual guides, do daily endeavour to persuade and pervert them from the Protestant religion, to the great dishonour of Almighty God, the weakening of the true religion, by his blessing so happily established in this realm, to the disquieting the peace and settlement, and discomfort of many particular families thereof: and in further manifestation of their hatred and aversion to the said true religion, many of the said persons, so professing the popish religion in this kingdom, have refused to make provisions for their own children for no other reason but their being of the Protestant religion; and also have by cunning devices and contrivances found out ways to avoid and elude the intents of an act of Parliament, made in the ninth year of the reign of the late King William the third for preventing Protestants inter-marrying with papists; and of several other laws made for the security of the Protestant religion; and whereas many persons so professing the popish religion have it in their power to raise divisions among Protestants, by voting in elections for members of Parliament, and also have it in their power to use other ways and means tending to the destruction of the Protestant interest in this kingdom; for remedy of which great mischiefs, and to prevent the like evil practices for the future, be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that if any person or persons from and after the twenty-fourth day of March, in this present year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and three, shall seduce, persuade, or pervert any person or persons professing, or that shall profess, the Protestant religion, to renounce, forsake, and abjure the same, and to profess the popish religion, or reconcile him or them to the church of Rome, then and in such case every such person and persons so seducing, as also every such Protes-

tant and Protestants, who shall be so seduced, perverted, and reconciled to popery, shall for the said offences, being thereof lawfully convicted, incur the danger and penalty of premunire, mentioned in the statute of premunire made in England in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Richard the second; and if any person or persons being a papist, or professing the popish religion, shall from and after the said twenty-fourth day of March send, or cause, or willingly suffer, to be sent or conveyed any child under the age of one and twenty years, except sailors, ship-boys, or the apprentice or factor of some merchant in trade of merchandise, into France, or any other parts beyond the seas, out of her Majesty's dominions, without the special license of her Majesty, her heirs or successors, or of her or their chief governor or governors of this kingdom, and four or more of her or their privy council of this realm, under their hands in that behalf first had and obtained, he, she, and they, so sending or conveying or causing to be sent or conveyed away, such child, shall incur the pains, penalties, and forfeitures mentioned in an act made in the seventh year of his late Majesty King William, entitled *An Act to restrain foreign education*.

III. And to the end that no child or children of popish parent or parents, who have professed or embraced, or who shall profess or embrace, the Protestant religion, or are or shall be desirous or willing to be instructed and educated therein, may in the life time of such popish parent or parents, for fear of being cast off or disinherited by them, or for want of a fitting maintenance or future provision, be compelled and necessitated to embrace the popish religion, or be deterred or withheld from owning or professing the Protestant religion; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said twenty-fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and three, upon complaint in the high court of Chancery by bill founded on this act against such popish parent, it shall and may be lawful for the said court to make such order for the maintenance of every such Protestant child, not maintained by such popish parent suitable to the degree and ability of such parent, and to the age of such child, and also for the portion of every such Protestant child, to be paid at the decease of such popish parent, as that court shall adjudge fit, suitable to the degree and ability of such parent; and in case the eldest son and heir of such popish parent shall be a Protestant, that then from the time of the enrollment in high court of Chancery of a certificate of the bishop of the diocese, in which he shall inhabit, testifying his being a Protestant, and conforming himself to the church of Ireland as by law established, such popish parent shall become, and shall be, only tenant for life of all the real estate, whereof such popish parent shall be then seized in fee-tail or fee-simple, and the re-

version in fee shall be vested in such eldest son being a Protestant; subject nevertheless to all such debts and real incumbrances at the time of the enrollment of such certificate charging such estate, and subject also to such maintenances and portions for the other children, as well Protestants as papists of such popish parents then born, or after to be born, as the said court of Chancery in manner aforesaid shall order for them respectively; such portions not to exceed the value of one-third part of the inheritance of such estate, which shall be held and enjoyed accordingly, discharged of all voluntary settlements made by such parent, and also of all sales and incumbrances made by him after such enrollment of such certificate: and the said court of Chancery is hereby required to take care that distinct rolls be kept for enrollment of such certificates, which shall publicly hang up or lie in some public office or place belonging to the said court, for the purpose by the said court to be appointed, where all persons may at all seasonable times resort to and peruse the same without fee or reward; and for the enrollment of each and every such certificate the sum of six pence, and no more, shall be paid.

IV. And that care may be taken for the education of children in the communion of the Church of Ireland as by law established; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person of the popish religion shall or may be guardian unto, or have the tuition or custody of, any orphan, child or children, under the age of twenty-one years; but that the same, where the person having or entitled to the guardianship of such orphan, child or children, is or shall be a papist, shall be disposed of by the high court of Chancery to some near relation of such orphan, child, or children, being a Protestant, and conforming himself to the Church of Ireland as by law established, to whom the estate cannot defend, in case there shall be any such Protestant relation fit to have the education of such child; otherwise to some other Protestant conforming himself as aforesaid, who is hereby required to use his utmost care to educate and bring up such child or minor in the Protestant religion until the age of twenty one years: and the said court of Chancery is hereby empowered and required, and by virtue of this act it shall and may be lawful for the said court, to make such order for the educating in the Protestant religion the child and children of any papist, where either the father or the mother of such child or children is or shall be a Protestant till the age of eighteen years of every such child, as to that court shall seem meet; and in order thereto to limit and appoint where, and in what manner, and by whom, such child or children shall be educated; and the father of such child or children shall pay the charges of such education as shall be directed by the said court; and such child or children shall and may be taken from such popish parent for education according

to such order: and if any person or person, being a papist or professing the popish religion, shall take upon him or them the guardianship or tuition of any orphan, child, or child, contrary hereunto, he and they, so taking upon him or them the guardianship or tuition of any such child, shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint or information, wherein no protection, essoigne, or wager of law shall be allowed, or but one imparlance; the whole benefit of the said forfeitures to be, and is hereby, given to the Blue-Coat Hospital in the city of Dublin.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every papist, or person professing the popish religion, shall from and after the said twenty-fourth day of March be disabled, and is hereby made incapable, to buy and purchase either in his or their own name, or in the name of any other person or person to his or her use, or in trust for him or her, any manors, lands, tenements or hereditaments, or any rents or profits out of the same, or any leases or terms thereof, other than any term of years not exceeding thirty-one years, whereon a rent not less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value, at the time of the making such leases of the tenements leased, shall be reserved and made payable during such term; and that all singular estates, terms, or any other interests or profits whatsoever, other than such leases, not exceeding thirty-one years as aforesaid, of, in, or out of such lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from and after the said twenty-fourth day of March, to be bought and purchased by or for the use or behoof of any such papist, or person or persons professing the popish religion, or upon any trust or confidence mediately or immediately to or for the benefit, use, or advantage of any such person or persons professing the popish religion, shall be utterly void and of none effect to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the first day of February, in this present year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and three, no papist, or person professing the popish religion, who shall not within six months after he and she shall become entitled to enter, or to take, or have the profits by descent, or by virtue of any devise or gift, or of any remainder already limited, or at any time hereafter to be limited, or by virtue of any trust of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereof any Protestant now is, or hereafter shall be, seized in fee simple absolute, or fee-tail, or in such manner that after his death, or the death of him and his wife, the freehold is to come immediately to his son or sons, or issue in tail, if then of the age of eighteen years, or if under, within six months after he shall attain that age, until which

time from his being so entitled he shall be under the care of such Protestant relation or person conforming himself as aforesaid, as shall for that purpose be appointed by the high court of Chancery for his being educated in the Protestant religion, become a Protestant, and conform himself to the church now established in this kingdom, shall take any benefit by reason of such descent, devise, gift, remainder, or trust, but from thenceforth during the life of such person, or until he or she do become a Protestant, and conform as aforesaid, the nearest Protestant relation or relations, or other Protestant or Protestants, and his and their heirs, being and continuing Protestants, who shall and would be entitled to the same in case such person professing the popish religion, and not conforming as aforesaid, and all and other intermediate popish relations and popish persons were actually dead; and his and their heirs shall have and enjoy the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, without being accountable for the profits to be received during such enjoyment thereof; subject nevertheless to such charges, other than such as shall be made by such disabled person, and in such condition as the disabled person would have held and enjoyed the same; the children of papists being to be taken to be papists, till they shall by their conformity to the established church appear to be Protestants; and also subject to such maintenance as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal of Ireland, for the time being shall think fit to allow to the children of such papist, until such children attain their respective ages of eighteen years.

X. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereof any papist now is, or hereafter shall be, seized in fee-simple or fee-tail, shall from henceforth, so long as any papist shall be seized of or entitled to the same in fee-simple or fee-tail, be of the nature of gavelkind; and if not sold, aliened, or disposed of by such papist in his life time for good and valuable consideration of money really and bona fide paid, shall for such estate from such papist descend to, and be inherited by, all and every the sons of such papist any way inheritable to such estate, share and share alike, and not descend on or come to the eldest of such sons only, being a papist, as heir at law; and shall in like manner from such respective sons, being papists, descend to and be inherited by all and every the sons of such sons, share and share alike, and not descend to the eldest of such sons, being a papist, as heir at law only; and that for want to issue male of such papist, the same shall descend to all his daughters any way inheritable to such estate in equal proportions; and for want for such issue, among the collateral kindred of such papist, of the kin of his father, any way inheritable to such estate in equal degree; and for want of such kindred, to the collateral kindred of

such papist of the kin of his mother, any way inheritable to such estate, and not otherwise; notwithstanding any grant, settlement, or disposition by will or otherwise, that shall be made by such papist, otherwise than such sale, alienation, or disposition, to be made by such papist as aforesaid; subject nevertheless to all such debts and real incumbrances at the time of the decease of such papist charging such estate.

XI. Provided nevertheless, it shall and may be lawful to and for such papist to charge such his estate with reasonable maintenances and portions for his daughters, to be raised and paid in such manner as he shall direct.

XII. Provided always, that if the eldest son or heir at law of such papist shall be a Protestant at the time of the decease of such papist, whose heir he shall be, such certificate of such eldest son, being a Protestant, not having been enrolled in the life of such papist, the lands, whereof such papist shall be so seized, shall descend to such eldest son or heir at law according to the rules of the common law of this realm, so as such certificate of the bishop's as aforesaid, be enrolled within three months after the decease of such papist in the said court of Chancery; subject nevertheless to such debts and real incumbrances at the time of the decease of such papist charging such estate: and if the eldest son or heir at law of any such papist, who shall at the time of decease of such papist, whose heir he is, be of the age of one and twenty years, shall become a Protestant and conform himself to the church of Ireland, as by law established, within one year after such decease of such papist, or being then under the age of one and twenty years, shall within one year after he shall attain that age become a Protestant, and conform himself as aforesaid, that then from the time of the enrollment in the court of Chancery of the certificate of the bishop of the diocese, in which he shall inhabit, testifying his being a Protestant, and conforming as aforesaid, in manner aforesaid, such enrollment being made within such year, he shall be entitled to, and shall have, and enjoy from thenceforth the whole real estate of such papist, as he might have done if he had been a Protestant at the time of the decease of such papist, whose heir he is; notwithstanding any grant, settlement, or disposition by will or otherwise, that shall be made by such papist, other than such sale, alienation, or disposition, to be made by such papist as aforesaid; subject nevertheless to such debts and real incumbrances at the decease of such papist charging such estate: and in every case where such eldest son shall be entitled as aforesaid by reason of his being a Protestant, such real estate shall be chargeable and charged with such sum and sums of money for the maintenance and portions of the daughters and younger sons of such pa-

pist, as the court of Chancery shall direct and appoint to be raised for them, and shall be raised and paid according to such direction; such portions not to exceed the value of one third part such estate.

XV. Provided always, that no person shall take benefit by this act as a Protestant within the intent and meaning hereof, that shall not conform to the Church of Ireland as by law established, and subscribe the declaration, and also take and subscribe the oath of abjuration following, viz.

I A.B. do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe, that in the sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I so solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by Protestants, without any evasion equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever; and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without believing that I am, or can, be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

I A.B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne is lawful and rightful Queen of this realm, and of all other her Majesty's dominions and countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be Prince of Wales, during the life of the late King James, and since his decease, pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of King of England, by the name of James the third, hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging: and I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do swear, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to her Majesty queen Anne, and her will defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against her

person, crown, or dignity. And I will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to her Majesty, and her successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know to be against her or any of them. And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power to support, maintain, and defend the limitation and succession of the crown against him the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, as the same is and stands limited by an act, entitled *An act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject*, and settling the succession of the crown, to her present Majesty, and the heirs of her body being Protestants: and as the same by one other act entitled *An act for the further limitation of the crown*, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, is and stands limited, after the decease of her Majesty, and for default of issue of her Majesty, to the princess Sophia, Electoress and Duchess of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, abjuration, renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.

So help me God.

XVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons, that shall be admitted, entered, placed, or taken into any office or offices, civil or military, or shall receive any pay, salary, fee, or wages belonging to or by reason of any office or place of trust, by reason of any patent or grant from her Majesty, or shall have command or place of trust from or under her Majesty, or any of her predecessors or successors, or by her or their authority, or by authority derived from her or them, within this realm of Ireland, after the first day of Easter-term aforesaid, shall take the said oaths and repeat the said declaration, and subscribe the said oaths and declaration, in one of the said respective courts in the next term, or at the general quarter-sessions for that county, barony, or place, where he or they shall reside, next after his or their respective admittance or admittances into any such office or offices as aforesaid, after such his or their admittance or admittances into the said office or offices, employment or employments aforesaid, between the hours aforesaid, and no other; during which time all proceedings shall cease aforesaid: and that all and every such person or persons to be admitted after the said first day of Easter-term as aforesaid, not having taken the said oaths in one of the said courts, and subscribed the same and the said declaration as aforesaid, shall in the next

term, or at the general quarter-sessions for that county, barony, or place, where he or they shall reside, next after such his or their respective admittance or admittances into any of the said respective offices or employments aforesaid, after such his or their admittance or admittances into the said office or offices, employment or employments aforesaid, take the said several and respective oaths, and make and repeat the said declaration, and subscribe his name, or make his mark, under the said oaths and declaration, in one of the respective courts aforesaid, between the hours aforesaid, and no other; during which time all proceedings shall cease as aforesaid: and all and every such person and persons, so to be admitted as aforesaid, shall also receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of Ireland, within three months after his or their admittance in or receiving their said authority and employments in some public church, upon the Lord's-day commonly called Sunday, immediately after divine service and sermon: and every of the said respective persons, touching whom the said several provisions are here before made, in the respective court, where he or she takes the said oaths, shall first deliver a certificate of such his or her receiving the said sacrament as aforesaid, under the hands of the respective minister and churchwardens; and shall then make proof of the truth thereof by two credible witnesses at the least, upon oath: all which shall be enquired of and put upon record in their respective courts.

XVIII. And be it further enacted, that all and every the person or persons aforesaid, who do or shall refuse or neglect to take the said oaths and sacrament, and to deliver such a certificate of his receiving the sacrament as aforesaid, or to subscribe the said declaration as aforesaid, in one of the said courts and places, and at the respective times aforesaid, shall be ipso facto adjudged incapable and disabled in law to all intents and purposes whatsoever to have, occupy, or enjoy the said office or offices, employment or employments, or any part of them, or any matter or thing aforesaid, or any profit or advantage appertaining to them, or any of them; and every such office and place; employment and employments shall be void, and is hereby adjudged void; and that all and every such person or persons, that shall neglect or refuse to take the said oaths or the sacrament as aforesaid, and make and subscribe such declaration, and deliver such certificate of his receiving the sacrament as aforesaid, within the times and in the places aforesaid, and in the manner aforesaid, and yet after such neglect or refusal shall execute any of the said offices or employments after the said times expired, wherein he or they ought to have taken the said oaths, and made and subscribed the said declaration, and being thereupon lawfully convicted in or upon any informa-

tion, presentment, or indictment in any of her Majesty's courts in Dublin, or at the assizes, every such person and persons shall be disabled from thenceforth to sue or use any action, bill, plaint, or information, in court of law, or to prosecute in any suit in any court of equity, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed or gift, or to bear any office within this realm, and shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds, to be recovered by him or them that shall sue for the same; to be prosecuted by any action of debt, suit, bill, plaint, or information in any of her Majesty's said courts in Dublin, wherein no essoign, protection, or wager of law shall lie.

XXIV. And for the preventing Papists having it in their power to breed dissention amongst Protestants by voting at elections of members of Parliament; be it further enacted by the authorities aforesaid, that from and after the twenty-fourth day of March one thousand seven hundred and three, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist or professing the Popish religion, shall at any time hereafter be capable of giving his or their vote for the electing of knights of any shires or counties within this kingdom, or citizens or burgesses to serve in any succeeding Parliament, without first repairing to the general quarter-sessions of the peace to be holden for the counties, cities, or boroughs wherein such Papist do inhabit and dwell, and there voluntarily take the oath of allegiance in the words following, viz.

I A.B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Anne.

So help me God, &c.

And also the oath of abjuration aforesaid: and after the taking of the said several oaths aforesaid, the clerk of the peace, officiating in the sessions, shall and is by this act directed to enter the same upon record in the rolls of the said sessions; and is hereby empowered and required to give and deliver to such person or persons, so taking the said oaths, a certificate of such persons so taking and subscribing the same, for which certificate the sum of one shilling, and no more, shall be paid; which said certificate being produced to the high sheriff of the said county, or any of his deputies at any such elections for knights of the shire, and to the respective chief officer or officers of any city, town corporate, or borough in this kingdom, to whom the return of any citizen or burgess to serve in Parliament doth or shall respectively belong, he or they shall be permitted to vote as amply and fully as any Protestant freeholder, burgess, or freeman, or inhabitant of the said county, city, or borough; but in case any freeholder, burgess, free-

man, or inhabitant, being a papist, shall appear at any such election as aforesaid, and tender himself to be polled for any candidate, who shall stand for knight of the shire, citizen, or burgess to service in any ensuing Parliament, without producing such certificate as aforesaid to the said sheriff or other officer or officers as aforesaid, the said sheriff or other officer or officers, to whom such return doth or shall respectively belong, shall reject such person, and absolutely refuse to enter his vote, as if he were no freeholder of the said county, or burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of the said city or borough; any former law, statute, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXVI. And whereas the superstitions of Popery are greatly increased and upheld by the pretended sanctity of places, especially of a place called Saint Patrick's purgatory in the county of Donegal, and of wells, to which pilgrimages are made by vast numbers at certain seasons; by which not only the peace of the public is greatly disturbed, but the safety of the government also hazarded, by the riotous and unlawful assembling together of many thousands of papists to the said wells and other places; be it further, enacted, That all such meetings and assemblies shall be deemed and adjudged riots and unlawful assemblies, and punishable as such in all or any persons meeting at such places as aforesaid; and all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other magistrates are hereby required to be diligent in putting the laws in force against all offenders in the above particulars in due execution.

STATUTES AT LARGE PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENTS HELD IN IRELAND, 1310–1800 (1786–1801), vol. 4, pp. 12–31.

THE DECLARATORY ACT

1720

By the Declaratory Act the British parliament claimed the right to pass legislation binding upon Ireland. Irish patriots never accepted this claim. During the constitutional crisis of the early 1780s the British parliament repealed the act and renounced the claim to legislate for Ireland. The issue, of course, became moot in 1801 when the British and Irish parliaments were merged under the Act of Union.

SEE ALSO Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom

AN ACT FOR THE BETTER SECURING THE DEPENDENCY OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND ON THE CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN

Whereas the house of lords of Ireland have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland; . . . be it declared . . . that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto, and that the king's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.

II. And be it further declared and enacted . . . that the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm or reverse any judgment, sentence or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom, and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon such judgment, sentence or decrees, are, and are hereby declared to be utterly null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF ENGLAND AND OF GREAT-BRITAIN:
FROM MAGNA CARTA TO THE UNION OF THE KINGDOMS OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND (1811), vol. 4, p. 481.

ON THE WHITEBOYS

1769

John Bush

From around 1760 there were frequent disturbances in the south of Ireland by groups calling themselves "Whiteboys." John Bush was an eyewitness to an assemblage of Whiteboys and a shrewd analyst of conflicting accounts of the movement.

SEE ALSO Land Questions; Whiteboys and Whiteboyism

You have frequently met with accounts, in the public papers, of the insurrections of the Whiteboys, as they

are called in this country. From the people of fortune who have been sufferers by them, and who, too generally in this kingdom, look on the miserable and oppressed poor of their country in the most contemptible light, the accounts of these insurgents have, for the most part, been too much exaggerated to be depended on. . . . The original of their denomination of Whiteboys was from the practice of wearing their shirts without-side of their clothes, the better to distinguish each other in the night-time. It happened that we were at Kilkenny, in our road to Waterford, at the very time of the late considerable insurrection of these unhappy wretches, in the south of Kilkenny county, not far from Waterford.

I was naturally led to enquire into the cause of these insurrections and the pretensions of the insurgents themselves for creating these disturbances. From the people of easy and affluent circumstances it is natural to suppose the accounts would be very different from such as were given by those of the same class with the delinquents. By comparing these, however, with the obvious appearance of things in the country, I soon had sufficient reason to believe their disquiet arose, in general, from the severe treatment they met with from their landlords, and the lords of the manors and principally from their clergy. Our road to Waterford lay through the very midst of these unhappy insurgents, and we were, consequently, advised to take a different route. Why, whence should be the fear? We have neither deprived them of their common rights nor their potatoes. They have no quarrel with us, who have never injured them.

We rode through the country, in which they were assembled in great number, but the very day before the last considerable engagement they had with the troops quartered at the towns in the neighbourhood; but met with no molestation from any of them. The very next day after we came to Waterford, the news was brought of this engagement, about four or five miles from the town. The opinions and representations of the inhabitants of the town were various on the merits of the affair; but it was easy to distinguish the sentiments of the humane from the aggravated representations of inveterate prejudice. . . .

There are many little commons, or vacant spots of ground, adjacent to the road, upon which the inhabitants of the cabbins by the highwyside have been used, from time immemorial, to *rare*, as they express it, a pig or a goose, which they have bought very young, the sale of which has helped to furnish them with a few necessaries. Many of these have been taken into the fields or enclosures on the road side by the landlords, who have farmed or purchased them, or the lords of the manor. From an impartial view of their situation, I

could not, from my soul, blame these unhappy delinquents. They are attacked and reduced on all sides, so hardly, as to have barely their potatoes left them to subsist on.

John Bush, *HIBERNIA CURIOSA* (1769). Reprinted in *IRELAND FROM THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS TO GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT (1607–1782)*, edited by James Carty (1965), p. 125.



FROM A PHILOSOPHICAL SURVEY OF THE SOUTH OF IRELAND

1777

Reverend Thomas Campbell

Thomas Campbell (1733–1795), born in County Tyrone, became a Church of Ireland clergyman and a writer remembered chiefly for his association with Johnson and Boswell. He wrote his Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, somewhat confusingly, in the fictitious persona of an English traveler.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

Boate, who wrote about a hundred years since, arranges the Irish cities in the following order: Dublin, Galway, Waterford, Limerick, Cork and Londonderry. As to the other towns, he says, the best of them, which are Drogheda, Kilkenny, Belfast, &c., are hardly comparable to those market-towns which are to be found in all parts of England. But how greatly must this order be now deranged, when it is universally believed, that the third town, in trade and consequence, is Belfast. In extent also, it comes next to Cork, for it has 5,295 houses, Limerick but 3,859, and Waterford 2,628. It is remarkable that Newry, a town not so much as named by Boate, has now more trade, houses, and people than Galway.

Dublin. The magnitude of this city is much greater than I imagined; I conclude it to be nearer a fourth, than a fifth of that of London. Viewing it from any of its towers, it seems to be more; but from walking the streets, I should take it to be less . . . and reckoning six to a family, or twelve to a house, there will be above 160,000 souls in Dublin.

The bulk of this city is like the worst parts of St. Giles's, but the new streets are just as good as ours.

They have finished one side of a square called Merion's Square, in a very elegant style. Near it is a square called Stephen's Green, round which is a gravel walk of near a mile; here, genteel company walk in the evenings, and on Sundays, after two o'clock, as with us in St. James's Park. This square has some grand houses, and is in general well built. The great inequality of the houses instead of diminishing, does, in my opinion, add to its beauty. The situation is cheerful, and the buildings around it multiply fast. Almost all the tolerable houses and streets have been built within forty years. Since the year 1685, the increase has been amazing. . . .

The quays of Dublin are its principal beauty; they lie on each side the river, which is banked and walled in, the whole length of the city; and at the breadth of a wide street from the river on each side, the houses are built fronting each other, which has a grand effect. When these streets are paved like the streets of London, we shall have nothing to compare with them.

Yesterday I went down the North Strand, catching the sea breezes as I rode along. Before you is the sea covered with ships; on the left of the bay, is a country beautifully varied, and sufficiently dressed by art, to enrich the landskip; to the right, the conical mountains of Wicklow terminate your view. The river Liffey and part of the city compose the foreground of this exquisite piece. . . .

If you prefer the men of this country for their hospitality and the women for their beauty, you are likely to live well with them. The ladies are, I believe, full as handsome as ours, yet it was sometime before I could bring myself to think so. . . . They are said not to walk as well as with us. If the fact be so I would rather attribute it to the badness of the streets, than to any wrong conformation of limbs. . . . In another generation, when the sides of these streets are flagged, the ladies of Dublin may be as much praised for their way of walking, as those of London.

It is deemed almost a reproach for a gentlewoman to be seen walking these streets. An old lady of quality told me last night, when speaking on this subject, that for her part, truly she had not once walked over Essex Bridge, since she was a girl. Now Essex Bridge is the grand pass here, as Charing Cross is in London. If it were not for dancing, of which they are passionately fond, the poor girls must all become cripples. It is impossible they should excel in what they do not practise; but, if they walk ill, they certainly dance well. For last night, you must know, I was at a ball, and never enjoyed one more in my life. There is a sweet affability and sparkling vivacity in these girls, which is very captivating.

Cork is a city large and extensive, beyond my expectation. I had been taught to think worse of it, in all respects, than it deserves. . . . And as it is the great shambles of the Kingdom, I was predisposed to credit these reports; but is really as clean, in general, as the metropolis. The slaughter houses are all in the suburbs, and there, indeed, the gale is not untainted but in the city properly so called, all is tolerably clean and consequently sweet. . . . There are two large stone bridges, one to the north, and the other to the south, over the great branches of the Lee, besides several small ones and some draw-bridges thrown over the lesser branches or canals. There are seven churches, an exchange, a custom-house, a barrack, several hospitals, and other public structures, yet none of them worth a second look. I have not seen a single monument of antiquity in the whole town, nor heard a bell in any of the churches, too good for the dinner-bell of a country squire. But here is something infinitely better. Here is the busy bustle of prosperous trade, and all its concomitant blessings; here is a most magnificent temple, erected to plenty in the midst of a marsh. . . . Smith's history of Cork, quoting Stanihurst, reports that 120 years ago, Cork was but the third city in Munster, now it is the second in the kingdom, and therefore called the Bristol of Ireland.

Kilkenny values itself upon its superior gentility and urbanity. It is much frequented by the neighbouring gentry as a country residence, has a stand of nine sedan chairs, and is not without the appearance of an agreeable place. I went last night to their weekly assembly, and was soon given to understand, by one of my partners that Kilkenny has always been esteemed the most polite and well-bred part of the kingdom. Knowing so little of this country, I am not furnished with any arguments from either reason or authority, to dispute this pretension. My partner was so beautiful a woman and so striking an example of the doctrine she taught that she led me away an easy captive to the opinion. For which I can see the justest grounds. This was the site for the Ormond family, here the last duke kept a court, as several of his predecessors had done, in a style much more magnificent than any of the modern viceroys. The people imbibed the court manners, and manners remain long after their causes are removed.

At present the inheritor of the castle and some of the appendant manors, a Roman Catholic gentleman, affects the state of his ancestors; his wife receives company as, I am told, the old Ormond ladies used to do; she never returns visits; and people seem disposed to yield her this preeminence. The cook belonging to this

inn, the Sheaf of Wheat, wears ruffles; and, though an old man, is full of vivacity as politeness. . . .

I am not singular in remarking that the peasants of this country are a most comely breed of men. They are generally middle sized, and have almost universally dark brown hair, and eyes of the same colour. The complexions are clear, their countenances grave, and their faces of that oval character, which the Italian painters so much admire.

Belfast is a very handsome, thriving, well-peopled Town; a great many new houses and good shops in it. The folks seemed all very busy and employed in trade, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants, or employ'd under 'em, in this sea-port, which stands, conveniently enough, at the very inner part of Carrickfergus. Thro' the town there runs a small rivulet, not much better than that they call the Glibb in Dublin, which, however, is of great use for bringing their goods to the Key when the tide serves. . . . Here we saw a very good manufacture of earthenware which nearest Delft of any made in Ireland, and really is not much short of it. 'Tis very clean and pretty, and universally used in the north, and I think not so much owing to any peculiar happiness in their clay but rather to the manner of beating and mixing it up.

Limerick is a place fortified by nature; for, without the annoyance of circumjacent hills, it is built upon an island, encircled by a strong barrier, the arms of the Shannon. It is now happily dismantled, and scarce a trace of its old walls and seventeen gates are to be seen. The substitution of spacious quays and commodious houses, in place of lofty battlements and massive bastions, has given it a thorough and healthy ventilation. Limerick, like London, was formerly and frequently visited by the plague; but the effect has here also been removed by the removal of the cause. . . .

I can easily believe that the women here deserve their celebrated character for beauty; for I have seen great numbers of pretty faces in the streets and public walks. In general, the common people, too, are of a very comely personage. The streets are always crowded with them; having no staple manufacture to employ them, they walk about, like the sluggard, with their hands in their bosom. They once had a manufacture of serges, but that is nearly extinct. They are, however, famous for making gloves. . . . A few years ago the town stood on sixty-four acres of ground; now it covers one hundred, equal to 160 of our measure.

And now having finished my little tour through two provinces of Ireland and ruminating upon what I have seen, I must say, and I cannot say it in words so authoritative as those of Sir John Davies:

I have observed the good temperature of the air, the fruitfulness of the soil, the pleasant and commodious seats for habitation, the safe and large ports and havens, lying open for traffic into all western parts of the world, the long inlets of many naviggable rivers and so many great lakes and fresh ponds within the land, as the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe; and, lastly, the bodies and minds of the people endued with extraordinary abilities, of nature.

After considering all this, yet seeing at the same time that the greater, and certainly the best part of what I have seen, instead of being in a progressive state of improvement, is verging to depopulation; that the inhabitants are either moping under the sullen gloom of inactive indigence, or blindly asserting the rights of nature in nocturnal insurrections, attended with circumstances of ruinous devastation and savage cruelty, must we not conclude that there are political errors somewhere?

Cruelty is not in the nature of these people more than of other men, for they have many customs among them, which discover uncommon gentleness, kindness and affection. Nor are they singular in their hatred of labour. . . . There is no necessity for recurring to natural disposition, when the political constitution obtrudes upon us so many obvious and sufficient causes of the sad effects we complain of.

The first is, the suffering avarice to convert the arable lands into pasture. The evils arising from this custom in England were so grievous . . . so great was the discontent of the people, from poverty occasioned by decay of tillage and increase of pasturage, that they rose in actual rebellion in the reign of Edward VI and sharpened by indigence and oppression, demolished in many countries the greatest part of the inclosures.

Here you see an exact prototype of the present disturbances in Munster, carried on by the rabble, originally called *Levellers*, from their levelling the inclosures of commons, but now *White Boys*, from their wearing their shirts over their coats, for the sake of distinction in the night. There it was a rebellion, here it is only a star-light insurrection, disavowed by everybody; and the impotence of those engaged to do anything effectual, drives them into wanton and malignant acts of cruelty on individuals. Hopeless of redress, they are provoked to acts of desperation. . . . And as little wonder

that insurrection should rear its head in this ill-fated country; the first landlords of which are absentees, the second either forestallers or graziers, and where the only tiller of the ground stands in a third, and sometimes in a fourth degree from the original proprietor. Something should be thought of, something done, to restore the rights of human nature, in a country almost usurped by bullocks and sheep.

Reprinted in IRELAND FROM THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS TO GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT (1607–1782), edited by James Carty (1965), pp. 128–132.



THE CATHOLIC RELIEF ACT

1778

The process by which the penal laws were dismantled began in 1774 with the provision of a new oath of allegiance intended to be acceptable to conscientious Catholics. This 1778 law enabled Catholics to hold land on longer and more advantageous leases and ended the process of dividing land owned by a Catholic among his sons upon his death.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829

AN ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS PROFESSING THE POPIISH RELIGION

Whereas by an act made in this kingdom in the second year of her late majesty Queen Anne, entitled, *An act to prevent the further growth of popery*, and also by another act made in the eighth year of her said reign for explaining and amending the said act, the Roman Catholics of Ireland are made subject to several disabilities and incapacities therein particularly mentioned; and whereas for their uniform peaceful behaviour for a long series of years it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the same, and it must tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that his subjects of all denominations should enjoy the blessings of our free constitution, and should be bound to each other by mutual interest and mutual affection, therefore be it enacted . . . that from and after the first day

of August 1778 it shall and may be lawful to and for any papist, or person professing the popish religion, subject to the proviso hereinafter contained as to the taking and subscribing the oath and declaration therein mentioned, to take, hold, enjoy any lease or leases for any term or term of years, not exceeding nine hundred and ninety-nine years certain, or for any term of years determinable upon any number of lives, not exceeding five, provided always, that upon every such lease a rent *bona fide* to be paid in money shall be reserved and made payable during such terms with or without the liberty of committing waste, as fully and beneficially to all intents and purposes, as any other his majesty's subjects in this kingdom, and the same to dispose of by will or otherwise as he shall think fit; and all lands tenements, hereditaments, whereof any papist or person professing the popish religion is now seized or shall be seized by virtue of a title legally derived by, from, or under such person or persons, now seized in fee simple or fee tail, whether at law or in equity, shall from and after the time aforesaid be descendable, deviseable, and transferable, as fully, beneficially, and effectually, as if the same were in the seizin of any other of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom. . . .

III. Provided, that no papist or person professing the popish religion shall take any benefit from this act, unless he or she shall on or before the first day of January 1779, or some time previous to any such lease made to or in trust for him, if he or she shall be in this kingdom, or within six months after any devise, descent, or limitation shall take effect in possession, if at that time within this kingdom, or if then abroad beyond the seas, or under the age of twenty-one years, or in prison, or of unsound mind, or under coverture, then within six months after his or her return from abroad, or attaining the age of twenty-one years, or discharge from prison, or becoming of sound mind, or after she shall become a *femme sole*, take and subscribe the oath of allegiance and the declaration prescribed by an act passed in this kingdom in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, . . .

V. And be it enacted . . . that no maintenance or portion shall be granted to any child of a popish parent, upon a bill filed against such parent . . . out of the personal property of such papist, except out of such leases which they may hereafter take under the powers granted in this act, . . .

VI. And whereas by an act made in this kingdom in the second year of the reign of her late majesty Queen Anne, entitled, *An act to prevent the further growth of popery*, it is amongst other things enacted to the effect following; in case the eldest son and heir of a popish parent shall be a Protestant, . . . such popish parent shall be-

come and be only tenant for life of all the real estate, whereof such popish parent shall then be seized in fee tail or fee simple, and the reversion in fee shall be vested in such eldest son, being a Protestant subject, . . . and whereas it is found inexpedient to continue any longer that part of the said recited act, be it enacted . . . that from and after the first day of November 1778 the conformity of the eldest son . . . shall no affect or alter the estate of any popish parent . . . but such popish parent shall remain seized and possessed of the same estate and interest in all and every his or her real estate, as he or she would have been, if such eldest son had not conformed, or the said act of the second year of Queen Anne had not been made.

X. Provided also that no person shall take benefit by this act who having been converted from the popish to the Protestant religion shall afterwards relapse to popery, nor any person who being a Protestant shall at any time become a papist, or shall educate or suffer to be educated, any of his children under the age of fourteen years in the popish religion.

STATUTES AT LARGE PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENTS HELD IN IRELAND, 1310–1800 (1786–1801), vol. 11, pp. 298–301.



ON IRISH RURAL SOCIETY AND POVERTY

1780

Arthur Young

Arthur Young (1741–1820), an agricultural reformer, visited Ireland in 1776 and published his findings about Irish society in 1780. In the following extracts he comments on housing, marriage, and relationships between social classes.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: 1690 to 1845; English Writing on Ireland before 1800; Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1690 to 1845

Generally speaking the Irish poor have a fair bellyful of potatoes, and they have milk the greatest part of the year. What I would particularly insist on here is the value of his labour being food not money; food not for himself only, but for his wife and children. An Irishman

loves whisky as well as an Englishman does strong beer, but he cannot go on Saturday night to the whisky house and drink out the week's support of himself, his wife and his children, not uncommon in the ale house of the Englishman. . . .

The cottages of the Irish, which are called cabins, are the most miserable looking hovels that can well be conceived; they generally consist of only one room. Mud kneaded with straw is the common material of the walls; these have only a door, which lets in light instead of a window, and should let the smoke out instead of a chimney, but they had rather keep it in. These two conveniences they hold so cheap, that I have seen them both stopped up in stone cottages built by improving landlords. The roofs of the cabins are rafters, raised from the tops of the mud walls, and the covering varies; some are thatched with straw, potato stalks, or with heath, others only covered with sods of turf. The bad repair of these roofs are kept in, a hole in the thatch being often mended with turf, and weeds sprouting from every part, gives them the appearance of a weedy dung-hill, especially when the cabin is not built with regular walls, but supported on one, or perhaps on both sides by the banks of a broad dry ditch; the roof then seems a hillock, upon which perhaps the pig grazes. Some of these cabins are much less and more miserable habitations than I had ever seen in England. I was told they were the worst in Connacht, but I found it an error; I saw many in Leinster to the full as bad, and in Wicklow some worse than any in Connacht. When they are well roofed, and built not of stones ill put together, but of mud, they are much warmer, independently of smoke, than the clay or lath and mortar cottages of England, the walls of which are so thin, that a rat hole lets in the wind to the annoyance of the whole family.

The furniture of the cabins is as bad as the architecture, in very many consisting only of a pot for boiling their potatoes, a bit of a table, and one or two broken stools; beds are not found universally, the family lying on straw, equally partook of by cows, calves and pigs, though the luxury of styes is coming in in Ireland, which excludes the poor pigs from the warmth of the bodies of their master and mistress.

This is a general description, but the exceptions are very numerous. I have been in a multitude of cabins that had much useful furniture, and some even superfluous; chairs, tables, boxes, chests of drawers, earthenware, and in short most of the articles found in a middling English cottage; but upon enquiry, I very generally found that these acquisitions were all made within the last ten years, a sure sign of a rising national prosperity. I think the bad cabins and furniture the greatest instances of Irish poverty, and this must flow

from the mode of payment for labour, which makes cattle so valuable to the peasant, that every farthing they can spare is saved for their purchase; from hence also results another observation, which is, that the apparent poverty of it is greater than the real; for the house of a man that is master of four or five cows will have scarce anything but deficiencies, nay I was in the cabins of dairymen and farmers, not small ones, whose cabins were not at all better furnished than those of the poorest labourer; before therefore we can attribute it to absolute poverty, we must take into the account the customs and inclinations of the people. In England a man's cottage will be filled with superfluities before he possesses a cow. I think the comparison much in favour of the Irishman; a hog is a much more valuable piece of goods than a set of tea things, and though his snout in a crock of potatoes is an idea not so poetical as—

Broken teacups, wisely kept for show,
Ranged o'er the chimney, glistened in a row.

yet will the cottier and his family at Christmas find the solidity of it an ample recompense for the ornament of the other. . . .

It must be very apparent to every traveller, through that country, that the labouring poor are treated with harshness, and are in all respects so little considered, that their want of importance seems a perfect contrast to their situation in England, of which country, comparatively speaking, they reign the sovereigns. The age has improved so much in humanity, that even the poor Irish have experienced its influence, and are every day treated better and better; but still the remnant of the old manners, the abominable distinction of religion, united with the oppressive conduct of the little country gentlemen, or rather vermin of the kingdom, who never were out of it, altogether still bear very heavy on the poor people and subject them to situations more mortifying than we ever behold in England. The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot who yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but that of his will. To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm. The language of written law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery; there is too much of this contradiction in Ireland. A long series of oppressions, aided by very many ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission; speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of *written* liberty. Landlords

that have resided much abroad are usually humane in their ideas, but the habit of tyranny naturally contracts the mind, so that even in this polished age, there are instances of a severe carriage towards the poor, which is quite unknown in England.

A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant, labourer or cottier dares to refuse to execute. Nothing satisfies him but an unlimited submission. Disrespect or anything tending towards sauciness he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip with the most perfect security; a poor man would have his bones broken if he offered to lift his hand in his own defence. Knocking down is spoken of in the country in a manner that makes an Englishman stare. It must strike the most careless traveller to see whole strings of cars whipt into a ditch by a gentleman's footman to make way for his carriage; if they are overturned or broken in pieces, no matter, it is taken in patience; were they to complain they would perhaps be horsewhipped. . . .

The cabins of the poor Irish being such apparently miserable habitations, is another very evident encouragement to population. In England, where the poor are in many respects in such a superior state, a couple will not marry unless they can get a house, to build which, take the kingdom through, will cost from £25 to £60; half the life, and all the vigour and youth of a man and woman are passed before they can save such a sum; and when they have got it, so burdensome are poor to a parish, that it is twenty to one if they get permission to erect their cottage. But in Ireland, the cabin is not an object of a moment's consideration; to possess a cow and a pig is an earlier aim; the cabin begins with a hovel, that is erected with two day's labour, and the young couple pass not their youth in celibacy for want of a nest to produce their young in.

Marriage is certainly more general in Ireland than in England. I scarce ever found an unmarried farmer or cottier; but it is seen more in other classes, which with us do not marry at all; such as servants. The generality of footmen and maids, in gentlemen's families, are married, a circumstance we very rarely see in England.

Another point of importance, is their children not being burdensome. In all the enquiries I made into the state of the poor, I found their happiness and ease generally relative to the number of their children, and nothing considered as great a misfortune as having none. Whenever this is the fact, or the general idea, it must necessarily have a considerable effect in promoting early marriages, and consequently population.

The food of the people being potatoes is a point not of less importance; for when the common food of the poor is so dear as to be an object of attentive economy,

the children will want that plenty which is essential to rearing them; the article of milk, so general in the Irish cabins, is a matter of the first consequence in rearing infants. The Irish poor in the Catholic parts of that country are subsisted entirely upon land, whereas the poor in England have so little to do with it, that they subsist almost entirely from shops, by a purchase of their necessaries. In the former case it must be a matter of prodigious consequence, that the product should be yielded by as small a space of land as possible; this is the case with potatoes more than with any other crop whatever. . . .

Arthur Young, A TOUR IN IRELAND WITH GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THAT KINGDOM MADE IN THE YEARS 1776, 1777 AND 1778, selected and edited by Constantia Maxwell (1925), pp. 184, 187–191, 199–200.



THE CATHOLIC RELIEF ACT

1782

In 1782 the right to purchase land was restored to Catholics, and a number of restrictions on the Catholic clergy were relaxed, though various limits placed upon these concessions reflect the continuing unease among Protestants over granting full civil and political liberty to Catholics.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829

AN ACT FOR THE FURTHER RELIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS OF THIS KINGDOM PROFESSING THE POPISH RELIGION

I. Whereas all such of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom, of whatever persuasion, as have heretofore taken and subscribed, or shall hereafter take and subscribe, the oath of allegiance and declaration prescribed by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled *An act to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him*, ought to be considered as good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown and government; and whereas a continuance of several of the laws

formerly enacted, and still in force in this kingdom, against persons professing the popish religion, is therefore unnecessary, in respect to those who have taken or shall take the said oath, and is injurious to the real welfare and prosperity of Ireland; therefore be it enacted . . . that from and after the first day of May 1782 it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons professing the popish religion, to purchase, or take by grant, limitation, descent, or devise, and lands, tenements, or hereditaments in this kingdom, or any interest therein (except advowsons, and also except any manor or borough, or any part of a manor or borough, the freeholders or inhabitants whereof are entitled to vote for burgesses to represent such borough or manor in parliament) and the same to dispose of as he, she, or they shall think fit, . . .

V. And be it enacted . . . that no popish ecclesiastic, who hath heretofore taken and subscribed, or who shall hereafter take and subscribe, the oath of allegiance and declaration, prescribed by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled *An act to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him*, in the manner and form as hereinafter is particularly specified and set forth, and who shall register his christian and surnames, place of abode, age, and parish, if he have a parish, and the time and place of his receiving his first, and every other popish orders, and from whom he received them, with the register of the diocese where his place of abode is (for every which registry the sum of one shilling and no more shall be paid to the register) shall, after the passing of this act, be subject to any of the penalties, incapacities, or disabilities, mentioned in an act made in the ninth year of the reign of King William the third, entitled *An act for banishing all popish papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and regulars of the popish clergy out of this kingdom*, or in an act made in the second year of Queen Anne, entitled *An act for registering the popish clergy*, or in an act made in the second year of Queen Anne, entitled *An act to prevent the further growth of popery*, or in an act made in the second year of Queen Anne, entitled *An act to prevent popish priests from coming into this kingdom*, or in an act made in the fourth year of Queen Anne, entitled *An act to explain and amend an act, entitled An act for registering popish clergy*; or in an act made in the eighth year of Queen Anne, entitled *An act for explaining and amending an act, entitled An act to prevent the further growth of popery*.

VI. Provided always, that no benefits in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any regular of the popish clergy, who shall not be in this kingdom at the time of passing this act, . . .

VIII. Provided always, that no benefits in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any popish ecclesiastic who shall officiate in any church or chapel with steeple or bell, or at any funeral in any church or church-yard, or who shall exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the popish religion, or wear the habits of their order, save within their usual places of worship, or in private houses, or who shall use any symbol or mark of title whatsoever, . . .

IX. Provided also, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to extend to any person or persons who shall be perverted from the Protestant to the popish religion, but that all the pains penalties and disabilities, which now subsist, according to the laws now in being, shall remain in full force against such . . .

X. Provided also, that no benefits in this act contained shall be construed to extend to any popish ecclesiastic, who shall procure, incite, or persuade any Protestant to become a papist; . . .

XII. And be it enacted . . . that so much of an act passed in the seventh year of King William III, entitled *An act for the better securing the government by disarming papists*, as subjects any papists, who shall after the twentieth day of January 1695 have or keep in his possession, or in the possession of any other person to his use or at his disposal, any horse, gelding, or mare, which shall be of the value of five pounds or more, to the penalties therein mentioned; and also so much of an act passed in the eighth year of Queen Anne, entitled *An act for explaining and amending an act*, entitled *An act to prevent the further growth of popery*, as enables the lord lieutenant or other chief governors of this kingdom, to seize and secure any horse, mare or gelding belonging to any papist, or reputed papist, upon any invasion likely to happen, or in case of intestine war broke out, or likely to break out, shall be, and is, and are hereby repealed.

XIII. And be it enacted . . . that so much of an act passed in the ninth year of King George the second, entitled *An act for continuing and amending several statutes now near expiring*, as enables the grand jury to present for the reimbursing such persons who have been robbed by privateers in time of war, for such losses as they shall respectively sustain thereby and for applotting and levying the same on the lands, tenements and hereditaments, goods, and chattels of all the popish inhabitants of the county where such robbery shall committed, shall be, and is hereby repealed.

XIV. And be it enacted . . . that so much of an act passed in the sixth year of King George the first, entitled *An act for the better regulating the parish watches, and amending the highways in this kingdom, and for prevent-*

ing the misapplication of public money, as subjects such papist or papists who shall not provide a Protestant watchman to watch in their turn, to the penalties therein mentioned, shall be, and is hereby repealed.

XVI. Provided also, that no benefit herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend, to any person who hath not heretofore, or who shall not hereafter before the accruing of such benefit to such persons or persons, being of the age of twenty-one years, or who being under the age of twenty-one years, shall not within six months after he or she shall attain the age of twenty-one years, or being of unsound mind, or in prison, or beyond the seas, or under coverture, then within six months, after such disability removed, take, and subscribe the oath of allegiance and declaration prescribed by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled *An act to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him*, . . .

STATUTES AT LARGE PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENTS HELD IN IRELAND, 1310–1800 (1786–1801), vol. 12, pp. 237–242.



THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER RESOLUTIONS

1782

The raising of "volunteer" military units, which might (or might not) be subsequently recognized by the government as militia units, was a familiar practice among Protestants when there was danger of popular disturbance or French invasion. Alarm over possible invasion during the French-supported insurrection in the American colonies was the occasion for an especially widespread wave of volunteering. This time the exercise coincided with an acute confrontation within the Irish polity between supporters of the government and "Patriots." Volunteer support for Patriot demands that the Irish parliament be granted greater autonomy culminated in a February 1782 convention of delegates from Ulster Volunteer units in Dungannon which adopted the following resolutions.

SEE ALSO Military Forces from 1690 to 1800

Whereas it has been asserted, "That volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety, debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament or public men."

Resolved unanimously, That a citizen, by learning the use of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights.

Resolved unanimously, That a claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved (with one dissenting voice only), That the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour or pretence of the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional and a grievance.

Resolved unanimously, That the ports of this country are, by right, open to all foreign countries, not at war with the king, and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved (with one dissenting voice only), That a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved unanimously, That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is, in itself, unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved (with eleven dissenting voices only), That it is our decided and unalterable determination, to seek a redress of those grievances; and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will at every ensuing election, support those only, who have supported, and will support us therein, and we will use all constitutional means to make such pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

Resolved (with one dissenting voice only), That the right honourable and honourable the minority in parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed address be signed by the chairman, and published with these resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, That four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be, and are hereby appointed a committee till next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps here represented, and as occasions shall require, to call general meetings of the province. . . .

Resolved unanimously, That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other volunteer associations in the other provinces as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with

them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

Resolved unanimously, That the committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

Resolved unanimously, That the court of Portugal have acted towards this kingdom (being part of the British empire) in such a manner as to call upon us to declare and pledge ourselves to each other that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire.

Resolved (with two differing voices only, to this and the following resolution), That we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

Resolved therefore, That as men and as Irishmen, as christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Reprinted in IRISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 1172-1922,
edited by Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell (1943),
pp. 233-235.



YELVERTON'S ACT

1782

Under Poynings' Law (1494), as it had been operationalized since the seventeenth century, legislation initiated by the Irish parliament was transmitted in draft form ("head of bills") to the privy council in England. The council might reject such a draft altogether, or it might return it to the Irish parliament either as received or with amendments. If the bill was returned, the Irish parliament could only accept or reject it with whatever amendments had been made. Yelverton's Act, enacted with government support in a quasi-revolutionary situation, eliminated this frustrating mechanism and initiated an era of "legislative independence." Although the English privy council retained the power to withhold the royal assent, it used this power

cautiously during the remaining eighteen years until the Act of Union rendered the issue moot.

SEE ALSO Government from 1690 to 1800; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom

AN ACT TO REGULATE THE MANNER OF PASSING BILLS, AND TO PREVENT DELAYS IN SUMMONING OF PARLIAMENTS

Whereas it be expedient to regulate the manner of passing bills in this kingdom, be it enacted . . . that the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors and council of this kingdom for the time being, do and shall certify all such bills, and none other, as both houses of parliament shall judge expedient to be enacted in this kingdom, to his majesty his heirs and successors, under the great seal of his majesty his heirs and successors, under the great seal of this kingdom without addition, diminution, or alteration.

II. And be it further enacted . . . that all such bills as shall be so certified to his majesty, his heirs and successors, under the great seal of this kingdom, and returned into the same under the great seal of Great Britain, without addition, diminution, or alteration, and none other shall pass in the parliament of this kingdom; any former law, statute, or usage to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

III. And be it further enacted, that no bill shall be certified into Great Britain, as a cause or consideration for holding a parliament in this kingdom, but that parliaments may be holden in this kingdom, although no such bill shall have been certified previous to the meeting thereof.

IV. Provided always, that no parliament shall be holden in this kingdom until a licence for that purpose shall be first had and obtained from his majesty, his heirs and successors, under the great seal of Great Britain.

STATUTES AT LARGE PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENTS HELD IN IRELAND, 1310–1800 (1786–1801), vol. 12, pp. 356.



THE RENUNCIATION ACT

1783

In the Declaratory Act of 1719 the British parliament had asserted the right to legislate for Ireland. Repeal of that act

was part of the constitutional settlement of 1782. During the following year, in response to continuing Patriot complaints that repeal of offensive legislation was not abandonment of the claims made therein, the British parliament went further and renounced the right to make laws binding on Ireland.

SEE ALSO Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom

AN ACT FOR PREVENTING AND REMOVING ALL DOUBTS WHICH HAVE ARISEN, OR MIGHT ARISE, CONCERNING THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS OF THE PARLIAMENT AND COURTS OF IRELAND, IN MATTERS OF LEGISLATION AND JUDICATURE; AND FOR PREVENTING ANY WRIT OF ERROR OR APPEAL FROM ANY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COURTS IN THAT KINGDOM FROM BEING RECEIVED, HEARD AND ADJUDGED, IN ANY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COURTS IN THE KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN

Whereas, by an act of the last session of the present parliament, entitled *An act to repeal an act made in the sixth year of his late majesty, King George the first, entitled, An act for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain*, it was enacted, that the last mentioned act, and all the matters and things therein contained, should be repealed: And whereas doubts have arisen whether the provisions of the said act are sufficient to secure to the people of Ireland the rights claimed by them to be bound only by laws enacted by his majesty and the parliament of that kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that kingdom, decided in his majesty's courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence: therefore, for removing all doubts respecting the same, . . . be it declared and enacted . . . that the said right claimed by the people of Ireland, to be bound only by laws enacted by his majesty and the parliament of that kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that kingdom, decided in his majesty's courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, shall be, and is hereby declared to be established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable.

II. And be it further enacted . . . that no writ of error or appeal shall be received or adjudged, or any other proceeding be had by or in any of his majesty's courts in this kingdom, in any action or suit at law or in equity, instituted in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Ireland; and that all such writs, appeals or pro-

ceedings, shall be, and they are hereby declared, null and void to all intents and purposes; and that all records, transcripts of records or proceedings, which have been transmitted from Ireland to Great Britain, by virtue of any writ of error or appeal, and upon which no judgment has been given or decree pronounced before the first day of June one thousand seven hundred and eighty two, shall, upon application made by or in behalf of the party in whose favour judgment was given or decree pronounced, in Ireland, be delivered to such party, or any person by him authorised to apply for and receive the same.

THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF ENGLAND AND OF GREAT-BRITAIN:
FROM MAGNA CARTA TO THE UNION OF THE KINGDOMS OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND (1811), vol. 8, p. 226.



THE CATHOLIC RELIEF ACT

1793

The onset of the French Revolution made it more urgent to redress Catholic grievances. In 1793 the government pressured the Irish parliament to pass this legislation, extending the right to vote to Catholics otherwise qualified to do so. The right to sit in parliament and to hold a number of other public offices was withheld until 1829.

SEE ALSO Catholic Committee from 1756 to 1809; Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1778 to 1795—Parliamentary and Popular Politics; Politics: 1690 to 1800—A Protestant Kingdom; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829

AN ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S POPISH, OR ROMAN CATHOLIC SUBJECTS OF IRELAND

Whereas various acts of parliament have been passed, imposing on his majesty's subjects professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion many restraints and disabilities, to which other subjects of this realm are not liable, and from the peaceful and loyal demeanour of his majesty's popish or Roman Catholic subjects, it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued; be it therefore enacted . . . that his majesty's subjects being papists, or persons professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion, or married to papists, or persons professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion,

or educating any of their children in that religion, shall not be liable or subject to any penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, or incapacities, or to any laws for the limitation, charging, or discovering of their estates and property, real or personal, or touching the acquiring of property, or securities affecting property, save such as his majesty's subjects of the Protestant religion are liable and subject to; and that such parts of all oaths as are required to be taken by persons in order to qualify themselves for voting at elections for members to serve in parliament, as import to deny that the person taking the same is a papist or married to a papist, or educates his children in the popish religion, shall not hereafter be required to be taken by any voter, but shall be omitted by the person administering the same; and that is shall not be necessary, in order to entitle a papist, or person professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion to vote at an election of members to serve in parliament, that he should at, or previous to his voting, take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, . . .

VI. Provided also, that nothing herein contained, shall extend to authorize any papist, or person professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion, to have or keep in his hands or possession any arms . . . or to exempt such person from any forfeiture, or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armour, or ammunition, in the hands or possession of any papist, or respecting papists having or keeping such warlike stores, save and except papists, or persons of the popish or Roman Catholic religion seized of a freehold estate of one hundred pounds a year, or possessed of a personal estate of one thousand pounds or upwards, who are hereby authorized to keep arms and ammunition as Protestants now by law may; and also save and except papists or Roman Catholics, possessing a freehold estate of ten pounds yearly value, and less than one hundred pounds, or a personal estate of three hundred, and less than one thousand pounds, who shall have at the session of the peace in the county in which they reside, taken the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled *An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him*. . . .

VII. And be it enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for papists, or persons professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion, to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit under his majesty, his heirs and successors, in this kingdom; and to hold or take degrees or any professorship in, or be masters, or fellows of any college, to be hereafter founded in this kingdom, provided that such college shall be a member of the university of Dublin, and shall

not be founded exclusively for the education of papists or persons professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion, nor consist exclusively of masters, fellows, or other persons to be named or elected on the foundation of such college, being persons professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion, or to hold any office or place of trust, in, and to be a member of any lay-body corporate, except the college of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, without taking and subscribing the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, or abjuration, or making or subscribing the declaration required to be taken, made and subscribed, to enable any person to hold and enjoy any of such places, and without receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of Ireland, any law, statute, or bye-law of any corporation to the contrary notwithstanding; provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled *An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him*; and also the oath and declaration following, that is to say, I A.B. do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion. I A.B. do swear, that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being a heretic; and I do declare solemnly before God, that I believe, that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. I also declare, that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess that the pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order, but on the contrary, I hold that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto. I further declare, that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever, committed by me, can be forgiven at the mere will of any pope, or of my priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever, but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness, and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, as established by the laws now in being; I do hereby disclaim, disavow and solemnly abjure any in-

tention to subvert the present church establishment for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom. So help me God! . . .

IX. Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to enable any person to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor of this kingdom, lord high chancellor or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal of this kingdom, lord high treasurer, chancellor of the exchequer, chief justice of the court of king's bench, or common pleas, lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, judge of the high court of admiralty, master or keeper of the rolls, secretary, vice-treasurer, teller and cashier of the exchequer, or auditor-general, lieutenant or governor, or custos rotulorum of counties, secretary to the lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, member of his majesty's most honourable privy council, prime serjeant, attorney-general, solicitor-general, second and third serjeants-at-law, or king's counsel, masters in chancery, provost, or fellow of the college of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, postmaster-general, master and lieutenant-general of his majesty's ordnance, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, generals on the staff, and sheriffs and sub-sheriffs of any county in this kingdom or any office contrary to the rules, orders and directions made and established by the lord lieutenant and council, in pursuance of the act passed in the seventh and eighteenth years of the reign of King Charles the Second, entitled *An act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an act, entitled, An act for the better execution of his majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland*, . . . unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths, and declaration, and performed the several requisites which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively. . . .

XII. Provided also, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained, shall be construed to extend to authorize any popish priest, or reputed popish priest, to celebrate marriage between Protestant and Protestant, or between any person who hath been, or professes himself or herself to be a Protestant at any time within twelve months before such celebration of marriage, and a papist, unless such Protestant and papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant reli-

gion; and that every popish priest, or reputed popish priest, who shall celebrate any marriage between two Protestants, or between any such Protestant and papist, unless such Protestant and papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds to his majesty, upon conviction thereof.

XIII. And whereas it may be expedient, in case his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall be so pleased so to alter the statutes of the college of the Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin and of the university of Dublin, as to enable persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to enter into, or to take degrees in the said university, to remove any obstacle which now exists by statute law; be it enacted, that from and after the first day of June 1793 it shall not be necessary for any person upon taking any of the degrees usually conferred by the said university, to make or subscribe any declaration, or to take any oaths of allegiance and abjuration, . . .

XIV. Provided always, that no papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or popish religion, shall take any benefit by, or under this act, unless he shall have first taken and subscribed the oath and declaration in this act contained and set forth, and also the said oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled *An act to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion to testify their allegiance to him*, in some one of his majesty's four courts in Dublin, or at the general sessions of the peace, or at any adjournment thereof to be holden for the county, city, or borough wherein such papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or popish religion, doth in habit or dwell, or before the going judge or judges of assize, . . .

STATUTES AT LARGE PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENTS HELD IN IRELAND, 1310–1800 (1786–1801), vol. 16, pp. 685–692.



UNITED IRISH PARLIAMENTARY REFORM PLAN

March 1794

In many cases, a seat in the Irish House of Commons represented a borough whose elections could be easily controlled by the government or a wealthy landlord. Reform of this corrupt system was one of the principal objectives of the United Irish movement from its foundation in 1791. In

this document the Dublin Society of United Irishmen set forth a detailed plan for such reforms. The plan would have extended the vote to all adult males "of sound mind" but stopped short of enfranchising women.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Neilson, Samuel; Tandy, James Napper; Tone, Theobald Wolfe; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

A PLAN OF AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Prepared for Public Consideration by the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin

I. That the nation, for the purposes of representation solely, should be divided into 300 electorates, formed by combination of parishes, and as nearly as possible equal in point of population.

II. That each electorate should return one representative to parliament.

III. That each electorate should, for the convenience of carrying on the elections at the same time, be subdivided into a sufficient number of parts.

IV. That there should be a returning officer for each electorate, and a deputy returning officer for each subdivision, to be respectively elected.

V. That the electors of the electorate should vote, each in the subdivision in which he is registered, and has resided after specified.

VI. That the returning officers of the subdivisions should severally return their respective polls to the returning officer of the electorate, who should tot up the whole, and return the person having a majority of votes, as the representative in parliament.

VII. That every man possessing the right of suffrage for a representative in parliament, should exercise it in his own person only.

VIII. That no person should have a right to vote in more than one electorate at the same election.

IX. That every male of sound mind, who has attained the full age of 21 years, and actually dwelt, or maintained a family establishment in any electorate for six months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the election (provided his residence or maintaining a family establishment be duly registered) should be entitled to vote for the representative of the electorate.

X. That there should be a registering officer, and a registry of residence in every subdivision of each elec-

torate; and that in all questions concerning residence, the registry should be considered as conclusive evidence.

XI. That all elections in the nation should commence and close on the same day.

XII. That the votes of all electors should be given by voice and not by ballot.

XIII. That no oath of any kind should be taken by an elector.

XIV. That the full age of 25 years should be a necessary qualification to entitle any man to be a representative.

XV. That residence within the electorate should not, but that residence within the kingdom should be a necessary qualification for a representative.

XVI. That no property qualification should be necessary to entitle any man to be a representative.

XVII. That any person having a pension, or holding a place in the executive or judicial departments, should be thereby disqualified from being a representative.

XVIII. That representatives should receive a reasonable stipend for their services.

XIX. That every representative should, on taking his seat, swear that neither he, nor any person to promote his interest, with his privity, gave or was to give any bribe for the suffrage of any voter.

XX. That any representative convicted by a jury, of having acted contrary to the substance of the above oath, should for ever be disqualified from sitting or voting in parliament.

XXI. That parliaments should be annual.

XXII. That a representative should be at liberty to resign his delegation upon giving sufficient notice to his constituents.

XXIII. The absence from duty for should vacate the seat of a representative.

*Reprinted in IRISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 1172-1922,
edited by Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell (1943),
pp. 237-238.*



GRIEVANCES OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN OF BALLYNAHINCH, CO. DOWN

1795

This manifesto by a United Irish society about fourteen miles south of Belfast reflects an amalgam of traditional agrarian grievances and the newer radicalism fostered by the French Revolution.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Neilson, Samuel; Tandy, James Napper; Tone, Theobald Wolfe; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

What evils will be removed and what advantages gained by a reform in Parliament.

1st. Tithes will be abolished and every man will pay his own clergy.

2nd. Hearth-money—that abominable badge of slavery and oppression to the poor—will cease.

3rd. We will not thereafter be taxed to pay pensioners and sinecure placemen to vote against us. The consequence of this will be that tobacco for which we now pay 10d. per lb. will then be had for 4d.—Aye for 4d.—and every other article of imported goods cheap in proportion.

4th. We shall have no excise laws: the merchant and shopkeeper will get to leave to carry on his business quietly, without the intrusion of plundering revenue officers.

5th. The expense and tediousness of the law will give place to prompt and equal justice—Gratis.

6th. County cesses would not be squandered in jobs among the parasites of agents; and 23 gentlemen sitting in a Grand Jury room, would cease to impose £10 or 12 thousand per annum, upon the inhabitants of a county without their consent. Is it not astonishing that Irishmen patiently suffer themselves to be assessed annually to the amount of £400,000 by 750 esquires nominated by an officer of the Crown? If this abuse was reformed we would have good roads and low cesses.

7th. Church cesses would be no more for every profession would support its own houses of worship as well as its own clergy.

8th. Custom at fairs would be abolished and a free passage to and from them would be had without having the sanctity of an oath profaned by scoundrel bailiffs.

9th. The press would be unshackled and a man might publish his sentiments without the terror of a Bastille; every man would have an opportunity of knowing his rights for a newspaper which now costs 2d. would then be sold for a half-penny.

10th. The honest farmer would be protected in the enjoyment of all his appurtenances against

the intrusions of moss-bailiffs and bog-trotters, the present ridiculous idea of obligation to a landlord would be done away and the contract would then appear as it really is mutual.

Irishmen are these objects of any importance? perhaps not. Here one single consequence then worth ten thousand of them all. THE LAWS will be made by YOURSELVES, or in other words YOU WILL BE FREE—unite then, associate, resolve and carry your resolve into execution.

A.D. 1795
Signed, Thos. Smyth
True Copy

Endorsement: Thomas Smyth who signed the within was secretary to a committee of United Irishmen near Ballynahinch. He was arrested in his own house by the Rev. Mr. Clewlow and Captain Price where 70 or 80 copies of the within were found all signed by him. He is now in Down Jail. 29 January 1797.

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Roden MSS, Mic. 147/9, pp. 57–60; reprinted in ASPECTS OF IRISH SOCIAL HISTORY, 1750–1800, edited by W. H. Crawford and B. Trainor (1969), pp. 181–182.



SPEECH DELIVERED AT A UNITED IRISH MEETING IN BALLYCLARE, CO. ANTRIM

1795

This speech, apparently delivered by a United Irish organizer but transcribed by a marginally literate informer, reflects the millenarian enthusiasm of the 1790s. Ballyclare was a Presbyterian village not far from Catholic territory in the Glens of Antrim, and the speaker is careful to recommend reading matter compatible with his apocalyptic message from both traditions: “the Old Irish Chronicle” (probably the so-called prophecy of St. Columbkille, circulated among Catholics in Irish-language manuscripts) and “the Scotch Prophecy” (probably a printed pamphlet on the life of Alexander Peden, a seventeenth-century Covenanter).

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Neilson, Samuel; Tandy, James Napper; Tone, Theobald Wolfe; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

I speak to you who are bound Under the hand of Disipitism I tell you again who now has no recowrce left you only as stedy Union and faithfull Affection one till the other you see by the times that all Yourop is in a blaze you see that the whole Kingdom are Uniting in stedy Affection and stronge tyes one till the other to have that what the have longe been seeking in Veane to have the whole people fearly Represented in parlement and to hav[e] a full Manapisation of all Peop^l of Ireland——

My Brithrin I Exhort you to look to the Spirit of Freedom hou it Rouses to Arms and Strenthens the feeble and Elivates the brave. in her hand there is such Suckcess and all dispots that must bow and fall Prostrated before her the time calls for your spedy Eade and when dun you only Joyins with the Coming Cause of the Irish Neation A Neation robed and Distressed Crushed Plundred Debaised moked and Cruley distressed by the dispots of England who holds all the Monny and treasure of the Neation wh[o]se Text-setting has no end whos Brutish appetite Cannot be sadisfied Eving with teaking all but lays on the havey, B[ur]thons like Phara in Eigept, how says, that you shall give in the full-tole of Breek and still with holds the Straw but thanks to Provadance the time of Deleverance is come and a Mighty Salvition is sprung up in France the Taror of yourop who has bound her self to send to your Existance fifty Thousand of well Diciplited Troops with plenty of Arms and Aminition which when Joyned by one Milion and five Thousand all reaty United by oath^s, and who can say again so great a People besides you may Depend on the Greatest part of the Army ho is now and will bee selisited by thier frends, not to set against thier frends and Releations I will not take up your time in this Idle manner I Recomend the Reeding of the Old Irish Cronical or the Scotch Proficay with many others at this time is a fullfiling, I beg you with aweak it is freedom and Honnour that Cals you, see what a Progress it has maid and tis still a making this three weeks past has aded to our strenth in Three Miles of this Town one Hundred and fifty Recruits all Duley Tested——

Delevred at our Convention at Bellyclair between the 19th and 20th of this Instant May 1795——

T: F Presedent
G: C Sacry

National Archives of Ireland, Rebellion Papers, 620/22/7, enclosure in R. Johnston, Belfast, to John Lees, 26 May 1795. Reproduced by permission.

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THE INSURRECTION ACT

1796

By 1796 the organizing activities of the United Irishmen and the Defenders in the countryside were causing serious alarm in official and propertied circles. The Insurrection Act was intended to empower the authorities to stamp out such agitation.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union

AN ACT MORE EFFECTUALLY TO SUPPRESS INSURRECTIONS, AND PREVENT THE DISTURBANCE OF THE PUBLIC PEACE

Whereas traitorous insurrections have for some time past arisen in various parts of this kingdom, principally promoted and supported by persons associating under the pretended obligation of oaths unlawfully administered . . . be it enacted . . . that any person or persons who shall administer, or cause to be administered, or be present, aiding and assisting at the administering, or who shall by threats, promises, persuasions, or other undue means, cause, procure, or induce to be taken by any person or persons, upon a book, or otherwise any oath or engagement, importing to bind the person taking the same, to be of any association, brotherhood, society, or confederacy formed for seditious purposes, or to disturb the public peace, or to obey the orders or rules, or commands of any committee, or other body of men, not lawfully constituted, or the commands of any captain, leader, or commander (not appointed by his majesty, his heirs and successors) or to assemble at the desire or command of any such captain, leader, commander or committee, or of any person or persons not having lawful authority, or not to inform or given evidence against any brother, associate, confederate, or other person, or not to reveal or discover his having taken any illegal oath, or done any illegal act, or not to discover any illegal oath or engagement which may be tendered to him, or the import thereof, whether he shall take such oath, or enter into such engagement, or not, being by due course of law convicted thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death without benefit of clergy, and every person who shall take any such oath or engagement, not being thereto compelled by inevitable necessity, and being by due course of law thereof convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of felony and be transported for life. . . .

VI. And be it further enacted, that all persons who shall have arms in their possession at any time after the passing of this act, shall on or before the first day of May 1796, or immediately after they shall have possession of such arms, deliver to the acting clerk of the peace in the county, town, or city in which he resides . . . a written notification, signed by him or her, specifying therein . . . the place or places where the same are usually kept, accompanied by an affidavit, sworn by the person signing such notification, that the notification is true, and that he believes he is by law entitled to keep arms. . . .

VIII. And be it enacted, that any person having arms, and not making such registry as aforesaid, shall upon being convicted thereof, on the testimony of two credible witnesses on oath before any magistrate, for the first offence forfeit the sum of ten pounds . . . or be imprisoned by such magistrate for the space of two months, and for the second and every other offence shall in like manner forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, or be imprisoned for the space of four months. . . .

X. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for any justice of the peace, or for any person authorized thereto by warrant under the hand of any justice of the peace, to search for arms in the houses or grounds of any person not having made such notification as aforesaid, and whom he shall have reasonable ground to suspect of having arms, and also in the houses or grounds of any person who having made such notification, shall refuse or neglect to deliver such list or inventory, or whom he shall have reasonable ground to suspect to have delivered a false list or inventory, and in case of refusal of admission, to break into such house and every part thereof by force, and if any arms shall be found in the possession of any such person respectively, to seize and carry away the same for the use of his majesty. . . .

XII. And whereas in several instances persons who have given information against persons accused of crime have been murdered before trial of the persons accused, in order to prevent their giving evidence and to effect the acquittal of the accused, and some magistrates have been assassinated for their exertions in bringing offenders to justice, be it declared and enacted, that if any person who hath given or shall give information or examinations upon oath against any person or persons for any offence against the laws, shall after the twentieth day of February 1796 and before the trial of the person or persons against whom such information or examination hath been or shall be given, be murdered or violently put to death, or so maimed or forcibly carried away and secreted as not to be able to give evidence on the trial of the person or persons against whom such in-

formation or examinations were given, the information or examination of such person or persons so taken on oath, shall be admitted as evidence on the trial of the person or persons against whom such information or examinations were given. . . .

XV. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for any justice of the peace to arrest and bring before him, or cause to be arrested or brought before him, any stranger sojourning or wandering, and to examine him on oath respecting his place of abode, the place from whence he came, his manner of livelihood, and his object or motive for remaining or coming into the county, town or city, in which he shall be found, and unless he shall answer to the satisfaction of such magistrate, such magistrate shall commit him to gaol or the house of correction, there to remain until he find surety for his good behaviour.

XVI. And in order to restore peace to such parts of the kingdom as are or may be distributed by seditious persons, be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful to and for any two justices of the peace . . . to summon a special session of the peace . . . to consider the state of the county . . . and that the justices assembled in consequence, not being fewer than seven, or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, or if in a county of a town or city, not being fewer than three, shall and may if they see fit . . . signify by memorial signed by them to the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, that they consider their county or any part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, and praying that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim such county, or part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, and thereupon it shall and may be lawful to and for the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council by proclamation to declare such county, or any part of such county, to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, and also such parts of any adjoining county or counties as such chief governor or governors and council shall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extension of such disturbance.

XVII. And be it further enacted, that within three days after such proclamation made, or as soon after as may be, every clerk of the peace of every part of the district proclaimed, shall respectively in his county, give notice of holding within two days, or as soon after as may be, a petty session of the peace, and the justices of the peace shall pursuant to such notice assemble . . . and the said justices at said first meeting shall order and direct a notification signed by them to be made through-

out the district so proclaimed, that such district has been so proclaimed, and commanding in inhabitants to keep within their dwellings at all unseasonable times between sun-set and sun-rise, and warning them of the penalties to which a contrary conduct will expose them. . . .

XVIII. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful to and for any magistrate or other peace officer within such district, after such notification shall be made as aforesaid, to arrest or cause to be arrested any person who shall within such district be found in the fields, streets, highways, or elsewhere out of his dwelling or place of abode, at any time from one hour after sun-set until sun-rise and to bring before two justices of the peace . . . and unless he can prove to their satisfaction that he was out of his house upon his lawful occasions, such person shall be deemed an idle and disorderly person, and shall be transmitted by the warrant of such justices to the officer at some port appointed to receive recruits for his majesty's navy, by which officer such person shall be received as a recruit for his majesty's navy, and transmitted to serve on board his majesty's navy.

XIX. Provided always, that it shall and may be lawful to and for every such person so arrested, to appeal to the next sessions of the peace. . . .

XXII. And be it enacted . . . that persons who cannot upon examination prove themselves to exercise and industriously follow some lawful trade or employment as a labourer or otherwise, or to have some substance sufficient for their support or maintenance, shall be deemed idle and disorderly persons, and shall be dealt with according to what is herein before directed respecting persons out of their dwellings at unreasonable hours aforesaid. . . .

XXIX. And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for any justice of the peace, or any persons authorized by the warrant of such justice in any district so proclaimed and whilst such proclamation shall remain in force, to call upon every person who has registered arms within such district to produce or account for the same, and to enter any house or place whatever, and search for arms and ammunition, and to take and carry away all arms and ammunition which they may think necessary to take possession of, in order to preserve or restore the public peace. . . .

XXXI. And be it further enacted, that all person found assembled in any proclaimed district, in any house in which malt or spirituous liquors are sold, not being inmates thereof or travellers, whether licensed or unlicensed, after the hours of nine at night and before six in the morning, shall be liable to be deemed idle and disorderly persons within the meaning of this act. . . .

XXXII. And be it further enacted, that if any man or boy shall, in any district so proclaimed, hawk or disperse any seditious handbill, paper or pamphlet, or paper by law required to be stamped and not duly stamped, such man or boy shall be deemed an idle and disorderly person, and dealt with accordingly, and as is herein before directed; and if any woman shall hawk or disperse any seditious hand-bill, paper, or paper not duly stamped, such woman being convicted thereof by the oath of one witness before two justices of the peace, one of whom to be of the quorum, such woman shall by the warrant of such two justices be committed to the gaol of the county, there to remain for three months, unless she shall sooner discover the person or persons from whom she received or by whom she was employed to sell, hawk or disperse such papers or pamphlets, provided always, that such woman may appeal from such adjudication to the next sessions of the peace. . . .

XXXVII. Provided always . . . that when verdict shall be given for the plaintiff in any action to be brought against any justice of the peace, peace officer or other person, for taking or imprisoning or detaining any person, or for seizing arms or ammunition, or entering houses under colour of any authority given by this act, and it shall appear to the judge or judges before whom the same shall be tried, that there was a probable cause for doing the act complained of in such action, and the judge or court shall certify the same on record, then in that case the plaintiff shall not be entitled to more than sixpence damages, nor to any costs of suit.

XXXVIII. Provided also, that where a verdict shall be given for the plaintiff in any such action as aforesaid, and the judge or court before whom the cause shall be tried, shall certify on the record that the injury for which such action is brought was wilfully and maliciously committed, the plaintiff shall be entitled to double costs of suit.

STATUTES AT LARGE PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENTS HELD IN IRELAND, 1310–1800 (1786–1801), vol. 17, 978–990.



THE UNITED IRISHMEN ORGANIZATION

1797

This 1797 document reflects the changing character of the United Irish movement during the course of the 1790s. The first six paragraphs are taken from the "Declaration and Resolutions of the Society of United Irishmen of Belfast" in

October 1791 and stress the constitutional objectives of the society. From 1795, however, the movement increasingly took on the secret and military attributes of a revolutionary organization, as can be seen in the remainder of the document.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Neilson, Samuel; Tandy, James Napper; Tone, Theobald Wolfe; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

The Declaration, Resolutions, and Constitution of the Societies of United Irishmen

In the present era of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe, when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience, when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and theory substantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms, against the common sense and common interests of mankind, when all governments are acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory, as they protect their rights and promote their welfare, we think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward, and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy. We have no national government, we are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland; and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to seduce and subdue the honesty of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force, in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interest, can be resisted with effect solely by unanimity, decision, and spirit in the people, qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally, efficaciously, by the great measure, essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, an equal representation of all the people in parliament.

Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to form an association, to be called the Society of United Irishmen, and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support, and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions:

- 1st. Resolved, That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great, as to require a cordial union among all

the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties, and extension of our commerce.

2nd. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

3rd. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

Satisfied, as we are, that the intestine divisions among Irishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt administrations, in measures which, but for these divisions, they durst not have attempted, we submit our resolutions to the nation, as the basis of our political faith. We have gone to what we conceived to be the root of the evil. We have stated what we conceive to be remedy. With a parliament thus formed, everything is easy—without it, nothing can be done—and we do call on, and most earnestly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our example, and to form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal distribution of the rights of man throughout all sects and denominations of Irishmen. The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and secure that the power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for ever.

1st. This society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a community of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2nd. Every candidate for admission into this society shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, both of whom shall vouch for his character and principles. The candidate to be balloted for on the society's subsequent meeting, and if one of the beans shall be black, he shall stand rejected.

3rd. Each society shall fix upon a weekly subscription suited to the circumstances and convenience of its numbers, which they shall regularly return to their baronial by the proper officer.

4th. The officers of this society shall be a secretary and treasurer, who shall be appointed by

ballot every three months: on every first meeting in November, February, May, and August.

5th. A society shall consist of no more than twelve members, and those as nearly as possible of the same street or neighbourhood, whereby they may be all thoroughly known to each other, and their conduct be subject to the censorial check of all.

6th. Every person elected a member of this society shall, previous to his admission, take the following test. But in order to diminish risk, it shall be taken in a separate apartment, in the presence of the persons who proposed and seconded him only, after which the new member shall be brought into the body of the society, and there vouched for by the same.

Test

In the awful presence of God, I, A.B., do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give evidence against, any member or members of this or similar societies for an act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.

7th. No person, though he should have taken the test, will be considered as an United Irishman until he has contributed to the funds of the institution, or longer than he shall continue to pay such contribution.

8th. No communication relating to the business of the institution shall be made to any United Irishman on any pretence whatever, except in his own society or committee, or by some member of his own society or committee.

9th. When the society shall amount to the number of twelve members, it shall be equally divided by lot (societies in country places to divide as may best suit their local situation), that is, the names of all the members shall be put into a hat or box, the secretary or treasurer shall draw out six individually, which six shall be considered the senior society, and the remaining six the junior, who shall apply to the

baronial committee, through the delegates of the senior society, for a number. This mode shall be pursued until the whole neighbourhood is organized.

Order of Business at Meetings

- 1st. New members read declaration and test, during which subscriptions to be collected.
- 2nd. Reports of committees received.
- 3rd. Communications called for.
- 4th. Candidates balloted for.
- 5th. Candidates proposed.

Constitution of Committees

Baronial Committees

- 1st. When any barony or other district shall contain from four to ten societies, the secretaries of these shall constitute a lower baronial committee, they should not exceed ten, and be numbered in the order of their formation.
- 2nd. An upper baronial, to consist of ten secretaries from ten lower baronials.
- 3rd. Baronial committees shall receive delegates from societies of a contiguous barony, provided said barony did not contain four baronial societies.

County Committees

- 1st. When any county shall contain four or more upper baronial committees, their secretaries shall assemble and choose deputies to form a county committee.
- 2nd. County committees shall receive delegates from baronial committees of adjacent counties, if said counties do not contain four baronial committees.

Provincial Committees

- 1st. When two or more counties shall have county committees, two persons shall be elected by ballot from each to form a provincial committee (for three months).
- 2nd. Delegates from county committees in other provinces will be received, if such provinces do not contain two county committees.

National Committees

That when two provincial committees are formed, they shall elect five persons each by ballot to form a national committee.

Societies first meetings in November, February, May and August to be on or before the 5th, baronial committees on or before the 8th, county committees on or before the 25th of the above months.

Baronial, county, and provincial committees, shall meet at least once in every month, and report to their constituents.

Names of committee men shall not be known by any person but by those who elect them.

Test for Secretaries of Societies or Committees

In the awful presence of God I, A.B., do voluntarily declare that as long as I shall hold the office of secretary to this I will, to the utmost of my abilities faithfully discharge the duties thereof.

That all papers or documents received by me as secretary I will in safety keep; I will not give any of them, or any copy or copies of them, to any person or persons, members or others, but by a vote of this and that I will, at the expiration of my secretaryship deliver up to this all such papers as may be in my possession. . . .

JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND, 1613–1800 (1796–1800), vol. 17, appendix, pp. 888–889.



STATEMENT OF THREE IMPRISONED UNITED IRISH LEADERS

4 August 1798

The three authors of this statement were prominent and well-to-do radicals—Emmet and O'Connor were Protestants, MacNeven was a Catholic—who joined the United Irishmen in 1796. Each had been arrested during the months preceding the 1798 rebellion. After the Wexford and northern phases of the rebellion had been suppressed, but before the French landing in Mayo, they agreed to an arrangement by which the government would cease executions in return for their disclosure of details concerning the United Irishmen and especially their dealings with France.

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union; Neilson,

Samuel; Tandy, James Napper; Tone, Theobald Wolfe; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

MEMOIR OR DETAILED STATEMENT OF THE
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE IRISH UNION:
DELIVERED TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT BY
MESSRS. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, ARTHUR
O'CONNOR, AND WILLIAM JAMES M'NEVEN,
AUGUST THE 4TH, 1798

The disunion that had long existed between the Catholics and Protestants of Ireland, particularly those of the Presbyterian religion, was found by experience to be so great an obstacle to the obtaining a reform in parliament, on any thing of just and popular principles, that some persons, equally friendly to that measure and to religious toleration, conceived the idea of uniting both sects in pursuance of the same object — a repeal of the penal laws and a reform, including in itself an extension of the right of suffrage to the Catholic.

From this originated the societies of United Irishmen in the end of the year 1791; even then it was clearly perceived that the chief support of the borough interest in Ireland was the weight of English influence; but as yet that obvious remark had not led the minds of the reformers towards a separation from England. Some individuals, perhaps, had convinced themselves that benefit would result to this country from such a measure; but during the whole existence of the society of United Irishmen of Dublin, we may safely aver, to the best of our knowledge and recollections, that no such object was ever agitated by its members, either in public debate or private conversation; nor until the society had lasted a considerable time, were any traces of republicanism to be met with there; its views were purely, and in good faith, what the test of the society avows. . . .

The discussion, however, of political questions, both foreign and domestic, and the enacting of several unpopular laws, had advanced the minds of many people, even before they were aware of it, towards republicanism and revolution; they began to reason on the subject, and to think a republican form of government was preferable to our own; but they still considered it as impossible to be obtained, in consequence of the English power and connection. This, together with its being constantly perceived that the weight of English was thrown into the scale of borough interest, gradually rendered the connection itself an object of discussion, and its advantages somewhat problematical. While the minds of men were taking this turn, the society of United Irishmen of Dublin was in the year 1794 forcibly dissolved, but the principles by which it was actuated were

as strong as ever; as hypocrisy was not of the vices of that society, it brought its destruction on itself by the openness of its discussion and publicity of its proceeding. Its fate was a warning to that of Belfast, and suggested the idea of forming societies with the same object, but whose secrecy should be their protection. The first of these societies was, as we best recollect, in the year 1795. In order to secure co-operation and uniformity of action, they organised a system of committees, baronial, county, and provincial, and even national; but it was long before the skeleton of this organisation was filled up. While the formation of these societies was in agitation, the friends of liberty were gradually, but with a timid step, advancing towards republicanism, they began to be convinced that it would be as easy to obtain a revolution as a reform, so obstinately was the latter resisted, and as the conviction impressed itself on their minds, they were inclined not to give up the struggle, but to extend their views; it was for this reason that in their test the words are "an equal representation of all the people of Ireland," without inserting the word "parliament." The test embraced both the republican and the reformer, and left to future circumstances to decide to which the common strength should be directed; but still the whole body, we are convinced, would stop short at reform. Another consideration, however, led the minds of the reflecting United Irishmen to look forward towards a republic and separation from England—this was the war with France; they clearly perceived that their strength was not likely to become speedily equal to wresting from the English and the borough interest in Ireland even a reform; foreign assistance would, therefore, perhaps become necessary; but foreign assistance could only be hoped for in proportion as the object to which it would be applied was important to the party giving it. A reform in the Irish parliament was no object to the French.—A separation of Ireland from England was a mighty one indeed! . . .

Whatever progress the United system had made among the Catholics throughout the kingdom, until after the recall of lord Fitzwilliam (notwithstanding many resolutions which had appeared from them, manifesting a growing spirit), they were considered as not only entertaining an habitual predilection for monarchy, but also as being less attached than the Presbyterians to political liberty. There were, however, certain men among them who rejoiced at the rejection of their claims, because it gave them an opportunity of pointing out that the adversaries of reform were their adversaries; and that these two objects could never be separated with any chance of success to either. They used the recall of that nobleman, and the rejection of his measures, to cement together in political union the Catholic and Presbyterian masses.

The modern societies, for their protection against informers and persecution, had introduced into their test a clause of secrecy. They did more—they changed the engagements of their predecessors into an oath; and mutual confidence increased when religion was called in aid of mutual security.

While they were almost entirely confined to the north, but increasing rapidly there, the Insurrection bill was passed in the beginning of the year 1796, augmenting the penalties upon administering unlawful oaths, or solemn obligations, even to death; but death had ceased to alarm men who began to think it was to be encountered in their country's cause. The statute remained an absolute dead letter, and the numbers of the body augmented beyond belief.

To the Armagh persecution is the Union of Irishmen most exceedingly indebted. The persons and properties of the wretched Catholics of that county were exposed to the merciless attacks of an Orange faction, which was certainly in many instances uncontrolled by the justices of peace, and claimed to be in all supported by government. When these men found that illegal acts of magistrates were indemnified by occasional statutes, and the courts of justice shut against them by parliamentary barriers, they began to think they had no refuge but in joining the Union. Their dispositions so to do were increased by finding the Presbyterians, of Belfast especially, step forward to espouse their cause and succour their distress. We will here remark, once for all, what we most solemnly aver, that wherever the Orange system was introduced, particularly in Catholic counties, it was uniformly observed that the numbers of United Irishmen increased most astonishingly. The alarm which an Orange lodge excited among the Catholics made them look for refuge by joining together in the United system; and as their numbers were always greater than that of bigoted Protestants, our harvest was ten-fold. At the same time that we mention this circumstance, we must confess, and most deeply regret, that it excited a mutual acrimony and vindictive spirit, which was peculiarly opposite to the interest, and abhorrent to the feelings of the United Irishmen, and has lately manifested itself, we hear, in outrages of so much horror.

Defenderism has been supposed to be the origin of the modern societies of United Irishmen; this is undoubtedly either a mistake or a misrepresentation; we solemnly declare that there was no connection between them and the United Irish, as far as we know, except what follows:

After the Defenders had spread into different counties, they manifested a rooted but unenlightened aversion, among other things, to the same grievances that

were complained of by the Union. They were composed almost entirely of Catholics, and those of the lowest order, who, through a false confidence, were risking themselves, and the attainment of redress, by premature and unsystematic insurrection. In the north they were also engaged in an acrimonious and bloody struggle with an opposite faction, called Peep-of-day boys. The advantage of reconciling these two misguided parties, of joining them in the Union, and so turning them from any views they might have exclusively religious, and of restraining them from employing a mutually destructive exertion of force, most powerfully struck the minds of several United Irishmen. For that purpose, many of them in the northern counties went among both, but particularly the Defenders, joined with them, showed the superiority of the Union system, and gradually, while government was endeavouring to quell them by force, melted them down into the United Irish body. This rendered their conduct infinitely more orderly, and less suspicious to government.

It has been alleged against the United Irishmen that they established a system of assassination. Nothing that has ever been imputed to them, that we feel more pleasure in being able to disavow. . . .

We were none of us members of the United system until September or October in the year 1796; at that time, it must be confessed, the reasons already alleged, and the irritations of the preceding summer in the north, had disposed us to a separation and republic, principally because we were hopeless that a reform would ever be yielded to any peaceable exertions of the people. . . .

About the middle of 1796 a meeting of the executive took place, more important in its discussions and its consequences than any that had preceded it; as such we have thought ourselves bound to give an account of it with the most perfect frankness and more than ordinary precision. This meeting took place in consequence of a letter from one of the society, who had emigrated on account of political opinions: it mentioned that the state of the country had been represented to the government of France, in so favourable a point of view, as to induce them to resolve upon invading Ireland, for the purpose of enabling it to separate itself from Great Britain. On this solemn and important occasion, a serious review was taken of the state of the Irish nation at that period: it was observed that a desperate ferment existed in the public mind. A resolution in favour of a parliamentary reform had indeed been passed in 1795 by the House of Commons; but after it had been frustrated by several successive adjournments, all hope of its attainment vanished, and its friends were everywhere proscribed; the Volunteers were put down; all power of

meeting by delegation for any political purpose, the mode in which it was most usual and expedient to cooperate on any object of importance, was taken away at the same time. The provocations of the year 1794, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the re-assumption of coercive measures that followed it, were strongly dwelt on: the county of Armagh had been long desolated by two contending factions, agreeing only in one thing—an opinion that most of the active magistrates in that county treated one party with the most fostering kindness, and the other with the most rigorous persecution. It was stated that so marked a partiality exasperated the sufferers, and those who sympathized in their misfortunes. It was urged with indignation, that notwithstanding the greatness of the military establishment in Ireland, and its having been able to suppress the Defenders in various counties, it was not able, or was not employed, to suppress those outrages in that county, which drove 7,000 persons from their native dwellings. The magistrates, who took no steps against the Orangemen, were said to have overleaped the boundaries of law to pursue and punish the Defenders. The government seemed to take upon themselves those injuries by the Indemnity act, and even honoured the violators; and by the Insurrection act, which enabled the same magistrates, if they choose, under colour of law, to act anew the same abominations. Nothing, it was contended, could more justly excite the spirit of resistance, and determine men to appeal to arms, than the Insurrection act; it punished with death the administering of oaths, which in their opinion were calculated for the most virtuous and honorable purposes. The power of proclaiming counties, and quieting them by breaking open the cabins of the peasants between sunset and sunrise, by seizing the inmates, and sending them on board tenders, without the ordinary interposition of a trial by jury, had, it was alleged, irritated beyond endurance the minds of the reflecting, and the feelings of the unthinking inhabitants of that province. It was contended that even according to the constitution and example of 1688, when the protection of the constituted authorities was withdrawn from the subject, allegiance, the reciprocal duty ceased, to bind; when the people were not redressed, they had a right to resist, and were free to seek for allies wherever they were to be found. The English revolutionists of 1688, called in the aid of a foreign republic to overthrow their oppressors. There had sprung up in our own time a much more mighty republic, which, by its offers of assistance to break the chains of slavery, had drawn on itself a war with the enemies of our freedom, and now particularly tendered us its aid. These arguments prevailed, and it was resolved to employ the proffered assistance for the purpose of separation. We are aware it is suspected negotiations between

the United Irishmen and the French were carried on at an earlier period than that now alluded to, but we solemnly declare such suspicion is ill-founded. In consequence of this determination of the executive, an agent was dispatched to the French directory, who acquainted them with it, stated the dispositions of the people, and the measures which caused them. He received fresh assurances that the succours should be sent as soon as the armament could be got ready.

About October, 1796, a messenger from the republic arrived, who, after authenticating himself, said he came to be informed of the state of the country, and to tell the leaders of the United Irishmen of the intention of the French to invade it speedily with 15,000 men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition; but neither mentioned the precise time nor the place, doubting, we suppose, our caution or our secrecy. Shortly after his departure, a letter arrived from a quarter which there was reason to look on as confidential, stating that they would invade England in the spring, and positively Ireland. The reason of this contradiction has never been explained; but the consequence of it, and the messenger not having specified the place of landing, were, that when the armament arrived in December, 1796, at Bantry bay, they came at a time and in a port we had not foreknown.

. . . In fact, no attempt or advance was made to renew the negotiation till April, 1797, when an agent was sent. In May following, the well-known proclamation of general Lake appeared. This very much increased the ferment of the public mind, and the wish for the return of the French, to get rid of the severities of martial law. It did more—it goaded many people of the north to press the executive to an insurrection, independent of foreign aid. . . .

Sometime in the beginning of the year [1798] a letter was received from France, stating that the succours might be expected in April. Why the promise was not fulfilled we have never learned. We know nothing of further communications from any foreign State, nor of the future plan of operations of the French; but we are convinced they will not abandon the plan of separating this country from England, so long as the discontents of the people would induce them to support an invasion.

. . . The parts we have acted, have enabled us to gain the most intimate knowledge of the dispositions and hearts of our countrymen. From that knowledge we speak, when we declare our deepest conviction that the penal laws, which have followed in such doleful and rapid succession—the house burnings, arbitrary imprisonments, free quarters, and, above all, tortures to extort confessions—neither have had, nor can have, any

other effect but exciting the most lively rancour in the hearts of almost all the people of Ireland against those of their countrymen who have had recourse to such measures for maintaining their power, and against the connection with Great Britain, whose men and whose aid have been poured in to assist them.

. . . Much as we wish to stop the effusion of blood, and the present scene of useless horrors, we have not affected a change of principles which would only bring on us the imputation of hypocrisy, when it is our most anxious wish to evince perfect sincerity and good faith. . . .

Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, William James Mac Neven

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO IRELAND, 1795–1804, *edited by John T. Gilbert (1893; reprint, 1970), pp. 147, 148–151, 152, 156–158, 159, 161, 162.*



IRISH ACT OF UNION

1 August 1800

Under the Act of Union of 1800, Ireland lost any semblance of legislative independence when the two houses of its 500-year-old parliament voted to commit political suicide and to merge the country in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Even though the legislative independence gained by Ireland in 1782 was rather hollow owing to pervasive political chicanery, nationalists later in the nineteenth century came to regard the extinction of the Irish parliament as a grand calamity stemming from gross corruption. But unlike the Scottish Act of Union of 1707, the Irish Act of Union did not deeply offend contemporary Irish public opinion.

SEE ALSO Act of Union; Protestant Ascendancy: Decline, 1800 to 1930

AN ACT FOR THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Whereas in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connexion between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain and

the two houses of the parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved that in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner and on such terms and conditions as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

And whereas in furtherance of the said resolution both houses of the said two parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles for effectuating and establishing the said purposes in the tenor following:

1. That it be the first article of the union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland that the said kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1801, and forever be united into one kingdom by the name of "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, shall be such as his majesty by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the United Kingdom shall be pleased to appoint.

2. That it be the second article of union that the succession to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws and to the terms of union between England and Scotland.

3. That it be the third article of union that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled "the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

4. That it be the fourth article of union that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the United Kingdom, and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom. . . .

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland, now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above to sit in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election. . . .

That it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland and to make promotions in the peerage thereof after the union, provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the union until the three of the peerages of Ireland which shall have been existing at the time of the union shall have become extinct, and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and in like manner, so often as three peerages of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the United Kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the union, or of the United Kingdom created since the union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland as often as any of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled by descent or creation to a hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, it being the true intent and meaning of this article that at all times after the union it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom. . . .

That if his majesty, on or before the first day of January 1801, on which day the union is to take place,

shall declare under the great seal of Great Britain that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said lords and commons shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons so summoned and returned as above, on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons for the first parliament of the United Kingdom, and such first parliament may (in that case), if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit if not sooner dissolved: provided always, that until an act shall have passed in the parliament of the United Kingdom providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the Crown in Ireland shall be incapable of being members of the House of Commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty holding such offices or places as aforesaid shall be capable of sitting in the said House of Commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom. . . .

5. That it be the fifth article of union that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established be united into one Protestant Episcopal church, to be called "the United Church of England and Ireland," and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church shall be and shall remain in full force forever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church as the established church of England and Ireland shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law and by the acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

6. That it be the sixth article of union that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January 1801, be entitled to the same privileges and be on the same footing as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all ports and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall have the same privileges and be on the same footing as his majes-

ty's subjects of Great Britain. That from the first day of January 1801 all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty . . . , and that for the period of twenty years from the union the articles enumerated in the schedule No. II hereunto annexed, shall be subject, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified. . . .

7. That it be the seventh article of union that the charge arising from the payment of the interest and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as hereinafter provided.

That for the space of twenty years after the union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland, that at the expiration of the said twenty years the future expenditure of the United Kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable) shall be defrayed in each proportion as the parliament of the United Kingdom shall deem just and reasonable upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries on a similar average, viz., beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt, or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the United Kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportion according to the same rules or any of them at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless previous to any such period the parliament of the United Kingdom shall have declared as hereinafter provided that the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed indiscrimi-

nately by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries. . . .

That if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or if the value of their respective debts . . . shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively, or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value, and if it shall appear to the parliament of the United Kingdom that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the United Kingdom to declare that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand.

8. That it be the eighth article of the union that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the United Kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the union be finally decided by the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, and provided that from and after the union there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty for the determination of causes civil and maritime only; . . . and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the union repealed.

And whereas the said articles, having by address of the respective houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his majesty, his majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same and to recommend it to his two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles.

In order to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted . . . that the said foregoing recited articles . . . be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and . . . they are hereby declared to be the articles of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect forever from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1801, provided that before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Great Britain for carrying into effect in the like manner the said foregoing recited articles.

10. And be it enacted that the great seal of Ireland may, if his majesty shall so think fit, after the union be used in like manner as before the union, except where it is otherwise provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and that his majesty may, so long as he shall think fit, continue the privy council of Ireland to be his privy council for that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

40 *Geo. III, c. 38*; STATUTES AT LARGE PASSED IN THE PARLIAMENTS HELD IN IRELAND, 1310–1800 (1786–1801), vol. 20, pp. 448–487.



SPEECH FROM THE DOCK

19 September 1803

Robert Emmet

The widespread rebellion fomented by the United Irishmen in 1798 was put down by the Crown forces savagely and with great difficulty. The rebellion failed for a variety of reasons, including the lack of adequate French military assistance, British intelligence activity and repression, and the sectarian animosities that raged in the 1790s. The rising that Robert Emmet led in Dublin in July 1803 was suppressed with little loss of life and little difficulty. But Emmet redeemed his failure with a speech from the dock (after his conviction for high treason) that later nationalists of all stripes found ennobling and inspiring.

SEE ALSO Emmet, Robert; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; United Irish Societies from 1791 to 1803

My lords, as to why judgment of death and execution should not be passed upon me according to law, I have nothing to say; but as to why my character should not be relieved from the imputations and calumnies thrown

out against it, I have much to say. I do not imagine that your lordships will give credit to what I am going to utter; I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of the court. I only wish your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories till it has found some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms with which it is at present buffeted. Was I to suffer only in death after being adjudged guilty, I should bow in silence to the fate which awaits me; but sentence of the law which delivers over my body to the executioner consigns my character to obloquy. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune but also the difficulties of prejudice. Whilst the man dies, his memory lives; and that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me.

I am charged with being an emissary of France. It is false—I am no emissary. I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France. Never did I entertain the remotest idea of establishing French power in Ireland. . . . Were the French to come as invaders or enemies, uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes! My countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if [I were] forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last intrenchment of liberty should be my grave. What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish, because I should feel conscious that life, even more than death, would be unprofitable when a foreign nation held my country in subjection. . . . My object and that of the rest of the Provisional Government was to effect a total separation between Great Britain and Ireland—to make Ireland totally independent of Great Britain, but not to let her become a dependent of France.

My lords, you are impatient for the sacrifice. The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim; it circulates warmly and unruffled through its channels, and in a little time it will cry to heaven. Be yet patient! I have but a few words more to say—my ministry is now ended. I am going to my cold and silent grave; my lamp of life is nearly extinguished. I have parted with everything that was dear to me in this life for my country's cause, and abandoned another idol I adored in my heart—the

object of my affections. My race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I am ready to die—I have not been allowed to vindicate my character. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world—it is *the charity of its silence*. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man who knows my motives dares now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them rest in obscurity and peace; [let] my memory be left in oblivion, and my tomb remain uninscribed, until other times and other men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done.

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FROM A DESCRIPTION OF THE . . .
PEASANTRY OF IRELAND

1804

Robert Bell

Most of Bell's work appeared in journal form before being published as a book. He argues that legislation for Ireland requires a truer knowledge of the country than had previously been found among English writers or officials. He rightfully notes that most accounts have been hostile, as is usual when conquerors write about the conquered.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

It must be recollected that the writers who speak of the Irish in terms of reproach, were natives of Britain, and that the hostility of mind which always existed between a conquered people and the conquerors, (and which to this hour has never been effaced in Ireland), must have thrown no weak tint of prejudice on the picture which they drew. The accounts which men give of a people whom they either fear or despise, are not to be received as authentic: and still less are they to be relied on, if it be considered that the authors, from the very nature of their situation, are unable to acquire a knowledge of those whose manners they attempt to describe. Can it be supposed that English governors or English officers going to Ireland in the character of enemies, unac-

quainted with the language of the country, and having no intercourse with the people except the ceremonial visits of perfidious Chieftains who pretended to enter into their views, were capable of giving a true description of Irish manners? Among the fragments of Irish literature which still remain, there is sufficient evidence to prove that many of the accounts of Giraldus Cambrensis are false or exaggerated. Yet this author is quoted by modern historians as an unquestionable authority.

It was not until the present enlightened era that men of liberal and philosophic minds came forward to assert the antiquity of Ireland, to examine the few records that had escaped the ravages of her invaders, and to vindicate her character from unmerited obloquy.

But whatever grounds the English historians might have had for representing the native Irish as savage and ferocious, it has been clearly ascertained that they were not so previously to the invasion of Henry II. The cause of their degeneracy must therefore be obvious to every person who has read the history of conquered countries where the dominion of the victor was only to be retained by force: and still more to those who will take the trouble of reading Dr. Leland's *History of Ireland*. It is a fact as well authenticated as most parts of ancient history, that there were many seminaries of learning in this island for four or five centuries before it was conquered by England; that numbers of persons from other countries resorted thither for instruction (the greater part of Europe being at that time in a state of deplorable ignorance); that there were Princes in the country who displayed the talents of great statesmen and generals; that the Irish were often as successful as their English neighbours in repelling Danish invasions; and that in the reign of William the Conqueror they had made a generous though unsuccessful struggle to restore the exiled family of Harold to the throne of England.

Reprinted in *STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE*, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 151–152.



ON PRESBYTERIAN COMMUNITIES
IN ULSTER

1810, 1812

John Gamble

John Gamble, an Irish Protestant long resident in England, returned to Ireland three times between 1810 and 1818. His

published accounts of his travels are especially valuable for their descriptions of northern Presbyterian society, in which he himself was probably raised. The first of the three selections below describes his walk through an area in Counties Down and Armagh, which had witnessed serious sectarian tensions in the 1780s and 1790s. The second relates to the mainly Presbyterian town of Belfast when it had just begun to experience Catholic migration from the countryside. In the third he writes from Strabane, a town in the west of Ulster where lowland Presbyterian settlements were overlooked by isolated mountainous areas inhabited by Irish-speaking Catholics.

SEE ALSO Belfast; Religion: Since 1690

I walked to Loughbrickland, a distance of eight miles, yesterday, before breakfast. The morning was beautiful—the hedges were blooming with the flower of the hawthorn—the air was loaded with fragrance—I could have fancied myself in Elysium, had I not met numbers of yeomen in every direction. They were in general good looking men; and were well and uniformly dressed. They all wore orange lilies. I now recollected that it was the 12th of July; (the 30th of June, old style) and of consequence the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne.

I entered into conversation with a little group who were travelling my road. They were very desirous to have my opinion of the Catholic Bill, as they called it, that is expected to be brought forward next Session of Parliament.

“Never mind acts of parliament, my lads,” said I, “but live peaceably with your neighbours. I warrant you your fields will look as green, and your hedges smell as sweet this time next year, whether the bill passes or not.”

“May be so,” said one of them; “and may be we wouldn’t be long here to smell or look at them.”

I made little reply to this, for I could not expect that any thing I should urge would weaken even the rooted prejudices of their lives. What I did reply they heard with respect, though not with conviction.

“Ah, reverend Sir,” said a middle-aged man, “you speak like a good man and a great scholar; but, Lord love ye, books won’t make us know life.”

“Tell me,” said I, “why you take me for a clergyman; is it because I wear a black coat?”

“No,” returned he, “but because you have a moderate face.”

The lower class of people in Ireland are great physiognomists—good ones, I am bound to suppose, for

my face has often received the above moderate compliment. It speaks favourably, however, of the manner of the Irish Protestant clergy that a man of mild demeanour is almost always taken for one of them.

Loughbrickland consists of one broad street. It takes its name from a lake standing near it, called Loughbrickland, or the lake of speckled trouts, with which it formerly abounded, till the spawn of pikes finding a passage into the lake, multiplied so exceedingly, that they have almost destroyed the whole breed.

That body of English forces which were quartered in this part of the north, in the year 1690, had their first rendezvous here under King William, who encamped within a mile of the town.

Nearly at the same distance from it I turned off the great road to go to Tanderagee. I passed a number of gentlemen’s seats. I was struck with their uncommon neatness. I asked a countryman if he could tell me the reason. He knew no reason, he said, except that the owners were not *born* gentlemen.

Much of the landed property of this part of the country has passed from the extravagant children of idleness, to the sons of the thrifty merchants of Newry and Belfast. I find, in general, they are good landlords. . . .

I came in sight of Tanderagee about two o’clock. As it is situated on a hill, I saw it at a considerable distance. The planting of the late General Sparrow’s extensive demesne, which seemed to overshadow it, gave it a gay and picturesque appearance. Nor was the spectacle of the interior less radiant. Only that the bright green of nature was displaced by the deep orange of party. Tanderagee was a perfect orange grove. The doors and windows were decorated with garlands of the orange lily. The bosoms and heads of the women, and hats and breasts of the men, were equally adorned with this venerated flower. There were likewise a number of orange banners and colours, more remarkable for loyalty than taste or variety, for King William on horseback, as grim as a Saracen on a sign post, was painted or wrought on all of them.

There was much of fancy, however, in the decoration of a lofty arch, which was thrown across the entire street. The orange was gracefully blended with oak leaves, laurels, and roses. Bits of gilded paper, suited to the solemnity, were interwoven with the flowers. I passed, as well as I could, through the crowd assembled under this glittering rainbow, and proceeded to the house of an acquaintance at the upper end of the street. I had purposed spending a day with him, but he was from home. I, therefore, sat half an hour with his lady, and after having taken some refreshment, descended the

hill. The people were now dancing. The music was not indifferent. The tune, however, would better have suited a minuet than a country dance. It was the (once in England) popular tune of Lillybullero, better known in this country, by the affectionate and cheering name, of the Protestant Boys.

I stopped an instant, a man came up and presented me a nosegay of orange lilies and roses, bound together—I held it in my hand, but did not put it in my hat, as he expected.

“I am no party man,” I said, “nor do I ever wear party colours.”

“Well, God bless you, Sir,” he replied, “whether you do or not.”

Nor did the crowd, who heard both the speech and reply, appear to take the slightest offence. This was the more wonderful as I stood before them rather under inauspicious circumstances. It seems, though I was then ignorant of it, the gentleman out of whose house they had seen me come, was highly obnoxious to them. He is minister of the Presbyterian congregation—a few months ago with more liberality than prudence, considering what an untractable flock he is the shepherd of, he signed his name to the Protestant petition, in favour of the Catholics. The following Sunday he found his meeting-house closed against him, nor is it yet opened, and probably never will be.

The country of Armagh Presbyterians are the very Spadassins of Protestantism. Their unhappy disputes a few years ago with the Catholics are well known. It is therefore unnecessary (and I rejoice at it) for me to touch on them here.

On quitting Tanderagee, I walked a little way on the road which I came. I then seated myself on the top of a little hill, to meditate on my future route. The world was all before me where to choose—and a most delightful world I had to choose from. Armagh is as much beautified by the industry as it has been disfigured by the passions of men. . . .

The day at length became fine, the sun shone bright, and the road soon got clear. I walked, therefore, lightly forwards—At every furlong’s length, however, I met with a cross-road; luckily the people were as plenty as the roads; nor did I meet with a single *cross-answer* from one of them. I was overtaken by a young Scotchman on horseback. He had travelled a hundred miles in Scotland, and upwards of an hundred in Ireland, to purchase cattle, and was now returning homewards. He civilly insisted on my mounting his horse, and without giving me time to reply alighted to help me on.

“It is fitter I should be walking,” said he, “than you.”

I do not know that a good face is always a letter of recommendation—I have ever found that a good coat is.

I asked him what he thought of Ireland.

“It’s a heaven of a place,” he replied, “but they’re the *devil* of a people.”

I examined him as to this latter opinion, and found he had every where met with kindness and attention. He had heard it from his father, who probably had heard it from his; and in this manner are the characters of nation and individuals judged. . . .

I have now been a week in Belfast, which has rolled not unpleasantly away. In the morning I walk the streets, and frequent the libraries; and in the evening I go to card parties and concerts. I am, therefore, in some degree competent to speak of the place and people. I do it without reluctance, for I can say little of either but what is good.

Belfast is a large and well-built town. The streets are broad and straight. The houses neat and comfortable, mostly built of brick. The population, in a random way, may be estimated at thirty thousand, of which probably four thousand are Catholics. These are almost entirely working people. A few years ago there was scarcely a Catholic in the place. How much Presbyterians out-number the members of the Established Church, appears from the circumstance of there being five meeting-houses and only one church. Three of these meeting-houses are in a cluster, and are neat little buildings. Neatness and trimness, indeed, rather than magnificence, are the characteristics of all the public buildings. A large mass-house, however, to the building of which, with their accustomed liberality, the inhabitants largely contributed, is an exception. . . .

The principal library is in one of the rooms of the linen hall. I spend some hours every day in it—solitary hours; for the bustling inhabitants of this great commercial town have little leisure (I do not know that they have little inclination) for reading. Round the hall there is a public walk, prettily laid out with flowers and shrubs. I meet with as few people here, as in the library. Young women appear to walk as little as the men read. I know not whether this is a restraint of Presbyterianism, or of education; but let the cause be what it may, it is a very cruel one—young women have few enjoyments; it is a pity, therefore, to deprive them of so innocent a one as that of walking. I have conversed with them at parties, and generally found them rational and unassuming. To an Englishman, as may be easily conceived, the rusticity of their accent would at first be unpleasant. But his ear would soon accommodate itself to

it, and even find beauties in it—the greatest of all beauties in a female, an apparent freedom from affectation and assumption. They seldom played cards, nor did the elderly people seem to be particularly fond of them. Music was the favourite recreation, and many were no mean proficient in it. They are probably indebted for this to Mr. Bunting, a man well known in the music world. He has an extensive school here, and is organist to one of the meeting-houses; for so little fanaticism have now the Presbyterians of Belfast, that they have admitted organs into their places of worship. At no very distant period this would have been reckoned as high a profanation as to have erected a crucifix. . . .

I write this from a farmhouse, sixteen miles from Strabane. . . .

The people with whom I am are Presbyterians. They are industrious and wealthy. Their house is what a farmhouse ought to be, comfortable and neat, without finery or fashion; it is situated in a most dreary country, and may be said to be on the very verge of civilisation in this quarter. Before my windows rise the immense mountains, which separate the county of Tyrone from the counties of Donegal and Fermanagh. The appearance of these mountains, though gloomy and forlorn, is not uninteresting: they are covered with a sort of brown heath, interspersed with scanty green rushes, and scantier blades of green grass: they are such scenes as Ossian would love to describe, and probably many of his heroes did tread those heaths over which the wind now passes in mournful gusts and moves in melancholy unison with the memory of years that are gone. . . .

These mountains are inhabited entirely by Catholics: in ancient times, they were the asylum of those unfortunate people, and they were not dispossessed of them; probably, because no other people would live in them. In these mountains, therefore, we meet with a people purely Irish, professing what may be well called the Irish religion, and retaining most of the old Irish customs, usages, opinions, and prejudices. I hold long conversations with them, as I meet them on the roads or sit with them in their own houses: hardly a day has passed since my arrival, that I have not walked from eight to ten miles, and either address, or am addressed by, every person I meet. In almost every instance, I have been impressed with their singular acuteness of intellect, and extensive information of what is passing in the world: a London tradesman could not detail the wonderful events we are daily witnessing more correctly, and, probably, would not half so energetically. An Irish peasant, like a Frenchman, speaks with every part of his

body, and his arm and countenance are as eloquent as his tongue.

John Gamble, A VIEW OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND IN THE SUMMER AND AUTUMN OF 1812 (1813), pp. 32–39, 64–66, and SKETCHES OF HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MANNERS IN DUBLIN AND THE NORTH OF IRELAND IN 1810 (1826), pp. 317–319.



FROM NARRATIVE OF A RESIDENCE IN IRELAND

1817

Anne Plumptre

Anne Plumptre (1760–1818) was a well-known playwright, translator, traveler, and travel writer of the early nineteenth century. After living in France between 1802 and 1805, she published an account of her residence there. Her Irish journey of 1814 to 1815 forms the basis of this narrative. Here she links the Irish with the French, both perceived as “different” from the English.

SEE ALSO English Writing on Ireland before 1800

I shall be thought, perhaps, by my own countrymen to cast the severest reflection that can be cast upon the Irish, when I say that they perpetually reminded me of the French. There is a much stronger resemblance in them to the French national character than to the English; and this resemblance is equally forcible in the lower as in the higher classes of society. Nothing is more comic than to observe the difference between an English mechanic and a French or Irish one. I once, when travelling in France, wanted something done to the lid of a trunk, which I thought in some danger of splitting in two. I did not wish, however, to be long delayed by the job; and recollecting how an English carpenter or trunk-maker would have chiselled and planed a piece of wood, and fitted and fitted it over again before he could have been satisfied to nail it upon the trunk, and how much time all this would take, I was rather afraid of submitting my wounded servant to such a process; I thought I should be *impatiente* at the *longueur*, and I tried to persuade myself that the case was not of a very pressing nature. Yet the more I examined, the more imminent the danger appeared; and at length I desired that a carpenter might be sent for, stating what I wanted. *Veni, vidi, vici*

says Caesar; and so it was with the carpenter: I need not have been so much afraid of delay. He brought with him a hammer, a few nails, and a rough spline: the latter was knocked on in two minutes, and all was accomplished. It did not look quite so neat as if it had come from the hands of an English workman: it held the lid together, however, and all was well: but the rapidity with which the whole was performed was amusing and highly characteristic. The same is very much the case with the Irish:—ardent in their pursuits, rapid in their movements, they blaze brilliantly for a while, but the ardour is too apt easily to subside; while with the Englishman, who is less alive at catching fire, when the flame within him is once lighted, it burns on even and steady, nor is readily exhausted. It is perhaps extraordinary, considering the state of depression in which the Irish have been kept for such a lengthened series of years, that they still retain so much of their native wit, ardour, and vivacity; but even now an Irishman, like a Frenchman, will have his joke if it comes in his way, *coûte-qui-coûte*.

A very marked difference is, however, to be observed between the inhabitants of the two extremes of Ireland which I visited, the north-east or county of Antrim, and the south-west, including the counties of Cork and Kerry, strongly supporting the belief that their origin is to be traced to different sources. In the south of Ireland the people are much darker than in the north; and here was the country where the Milesians from Spain, according to all the traditions, both written and oral, were first established. Now the dark complexion, eyes and hair, have been ever, and still are, the distinguishing characteristics of all the Southern nations of Europe; as the fair complexion, blue eyes, and light hair, sometimes deviating into red, were, and are still, of the Northern. The one are bleached by colds and snows, the others darkened by the warmth of the sun. Now, every possible presumptive evidence leads to the belief that the north of Ireland, or perhaps all Ireland and Scotland, were originally peopled from the Northern nations of Europe, the parts which formed the ancient Scandinavia; while the south, if originally peopled by the same, afterwards became the settlement of an Iberian colony, whose descendants remain there to this day. A close and constant intercourse has always subsisted between the inhabitants of the north of Ireland and Scotland, so that they ever have been, as it were, one and the same people. In more than one part the coasts come so near as within eighteen miles of each other: the distance is no more between Port Patrick in Scotland and Donaghadee in Ireland, and between the Mull of Cantire in Scotland and the county of Antrim in Ireland. Indeed there can scarcely be doubt, from the name, that Port Patrick originally an establishment of the Irish. It is well

known that the Irish are in ancient records called *Scots*; but at the Milesian conquest, these people coming from the land of Iberia, one of the leaders also bearing the name *Heber*, thence the name of *Hibernia*, afterwards given to the island, was derived; whilst the natives driven constantly northwards, many of them probably at that time migrating to Scotland, transferred thither with themselves the name they bore. There is besides more of the true Irish quickness and vivacity in the south of Ireland than in the north; the people of the north partake somewhat of the solemnity of their neighbours the Scots.

Reprinted in *STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE*, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 154–155.



ORIGIN OF THE "CATHOLIC RENT"

18 February 1824

The Catholic Association founded by Daniel O'Connell in May 1823 aimed to bring about "emancipation"—the admission of Catholics to seats in parliament and to the highest government offices. The new central body in Dublin had a rocky start; there was difficulty in securing a quorum at some of its early meetings. But early in 1824 the association instituted an "associate membership" that required the payment of only a penny a month (the "Catholic rent"), and as this document indicates, a plan was devised for the systematic collection of this small monthly subscription throughout Ireland. This plan became the vehicle through which a mass movement embracing the Catholic peasantry was soon created.

SEE ALSO Catholic Emancipation Campaign; O'Connell, Daniel; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829

The committee appointed to devise the best mode of raising a general subscription throughout Ireland beg leave respectfully to submit the following report.

The Catholics of Ireland have long been engaged in a painful and anxious struggle to attain, by peaceful and constitutional means, those civil rights to which every subject of these realms is, upon principle, and of justice entitled, and of which our forefathers were base-ly and perfidiously deprived, in defiance of the sacred

claims of conscience and in open and indecent violation of the faith of treaties.

Your committee are impressed with the melancholy conviction that at no former period of this protracted struggle had the Catholic people of Ireland so little reason to entertain hope of immediate success. A strange combination of events has occurred to cloud our prospects and to render the expectation of redress remote and doubtful. . . .

The combination of all these untoward circumstances has almost extinguished hope; and were it forbidden to despair of the sacred cause of liberty and religion, your committee would feel it a duty to recommend a silent submission to events over which we possess, alas, no control, and a tacit acquiescence in an evil system which we want the power, or at least lawful and constitutional means, to crush, and to await, in the sullen silence of unconcealed discontent, for a more favourable opportunity and better organised resources to prove to Britain and the world—that we are men and deserve to be free.

But your committee can never recommend such a course. They do not dare to despair. They know that their cause is just and holy. It is the cause of religion and liberty. It is the cause of their country and of their God. It never can be abandoned by the Catholics of Ireland. . . .

But in order effectually to exert the energies of the Irish people, pecuniary resources are absolutely necessary. Your committee have a just and entire confidence that such resources can be procured with facility, and that it requires nothing more than a reasonable portion of exertion on the part of a few individuals to secure abundant pecuniary means to answer every legitimate object.

The purposes for which pecuniary resources are wanting should be clearly defined and distinctly understood. They should be useful in their objects and strictly legal and constitutional in all their details.

Your committee respectfully submit that the following purposes are of obvious and paramount utility; and that no doubt does or can exist of their being perfectly legal.

1st. To forward petitions to parliament, not only on the subject of Catholic emancipation but for the redress of all local or general grievances affecting the Irish people.

Under this head should be included a salary for a permanent parliamentary agent in London.

Your committee conceive that a sum of £5,000 per ann[um] would cover all the expenses under this first head.

2ndly. To procure legal redress for all such Catholics, assailed or injured by Orange violence, as are unable to obtain it for themselves, to prevent, by due course of law, Orange processions and public insults, to bring before the high courts of criminal justice all such magistrates as should participate in or countenance the illegal proceedings, processions, etc., of the Orange faction, and to arrest, by the powerful arm of the law, that career of violence by which principally in the north, but occasionally in the south, so many Catholics have been murdered by Orangemen, many of whom are intrusted with arms by the government for far different purposes—and, in fine, to prosecute the Orange murderers where we cannot prevent the murders.

There is also another head of legal relief of great importance. It is to procure for the Catholics the actual enjoyment of all such rights in the several corporations in Ireland to which they are by law entitled, and which have for thirty years past been perseveringly withheld from them by interested bigotry.

To this important object your committee would in the first years devote £15,000 per annum.

3rdly. To encourage and support a liberal and enlightened press, as well in Dublin as in London—a press which could readily refute the arguments of our enemies and expose the falsehood of their calumnies upon us and our religion—a press which would publish and explain the real principles of the Catholics, and by the irresistible force of truth, either silence or at least confound our calumniators.

For the last two centuries the British press, in all its exclusive ramifications, from the ponderous folio down to the most paltry ballad, has teemed with the most unfounded calumnies and the grossest falsehoods on the subject of the religion and principles of the Catholics. The popular writers of the present day, even those who support our claims to emancipation, affect an air of candour by joining our worst enemies in traducing our most sacred religion.

It is time that this grievous mischief should be checked; and your committee conceive that a less sum than £15,000 per annum ought not to be dedicated to this most useful purpose.

4thly. To procure for the various schools in the country cheap publications by means of which the Catholic children may attain knowledge without having their religion interfered with, or their social virtue checked by anything unchristian or uncharitable. The money given by parliament for this purpose is shamefully misapplied; and the necessity of a resource of this description is daily felt by the Catholic prelates and pastors, who have the greatest anxiety to promote the edu-

cation of their flocks but are unable to afford sufficient sums of money for that purpose.

Your committee would in the first instance expend £5,000 per annum to remedy this evil; they would recommend that all the savings on the foregoing heads of expenditure (which they trust will be considerable) should be applied then to advance education.

Your committee would respectfully submit the propriety of aiding the resources of the Irish and other Catholics in North America, to procure for them a sufficient number of priests. The number of Catholics in the United States is great and daily increasing. The want of Catholic clergymen is felt as an extreme evil; and it is thought that a sum of £5,000 a year could not be better applied than in remedying in some measure this deficiency.

Besides, the Catholics in Great Britain are multiplying almost beyond hope. The French Revolution supplied the English Catholics with clergymen for many years. That resource is now gone; and it would be suited to the charity and piety of the Irish people to supply their haughty and erratic neighbours with the means of instruction in that ancient faith which, since the first days of Christianity, always was, and still is, and while the world lasts, will be the genuine source of every Christian and social virtue.

Having detailed these five distinct objects, your committee beg leave to state that as they conceive that after exhausting those purposes, there ought to remain a sum of at least £5,000 per annum at the disposal of the Association—they would recommend that such sum should be allowed to accumulate in the public funds, and that out of such accumulation the Catholic Association should from time to time be at liberty to dedicate, in fair and reasonable proportions, in contributions towards erecting schools, building Catholic churches, and erecting and furnishing dwelling-houses for the clergy in the poorer parishes, and ameliorating in other respects the condition of the Catholic clergy in Ireland.

Your committee confidently hope that if the plan which they are about to suggest be adopted, such accumulation will greatly exceed £5,000 per annum and may be five times that sum, and thereby afford means of doing great and permanent good to the most estimable, laborious, learned, and pious clergy with which it has ever pleased the eternal wisdom to bless a faithful and suffering people.

The basis of our plan is founded on the extent of the Catholic population of Ireland. We may expect a good deal of assistance from the liberal portion of our Protestant fellow countrymen, but our reliance for success

must be placed upon the numbers and patriotism of the Catholic people of Ireland. . . .

The detail of the plan of your committee is this. Their purpose—

1st. That a monthly subscription should be raised throughout Ireland, to be denominated "the monthly Catholic rent."

2nd. That the Association should forthwith appoint two of its members [as] a secretary and [an] assistant in order to collect such subscriptions throughout Ireland.

3rd. That such secretary and assistant should immediately open an account with each parish in Ireland and enter therein the particulars of all monies subscribed by such parish[es].

4th. That the Association should adopt the most speedy means of nominating, in conjunction with the inhabitants of each parish, and if possible with the privacy of the Catholic clergyman, a number of persons not to exceed twelve, nor less than three, in order to collect the subscriptions.

5th. That monthly returns be procured from such persons or from as many of them as possible, and that a monthly report, in writing, of the progress made in each parish be given in by the [parochial] secretary for the subscriptions to the secretary of the Catholics of Ireland, to be by him laid before the Association.

6th. That care be taken to publish in, or at least as near, each Catholic chapel as may be permitted by the clergy, the particulars of the sums subscribed in such parish[es], with the names of each subscriber, unless where the individuals shall choose to insert the subscription under the head[ing of] anonymous.

7th. That accounts of subscriptions, debtor and creditor, be published annually for the satisfaction of the subscribers and the public at large.

8th. That all subscriptions be paid, as soon as transmitted to Dublin, into the hands of the treasurer to the association.

9th. That an efficient committee of 21 members be appointed to superintend and manage the collection and expenditure of the subscription money, to be styled and to act as a committee of accounts.

10th. That no monies be expended without an express vote of the Association upon a notice regularly given.

11th. That the amount expected from each individual shall not exceed one penny per month, but that each individual shall be at liberty to give any greater monthly sum he pleases, not exceeding in the entire two shillings per month.

12th. That the guinea paid by each member of the Association on his admission be deemed and taken as part of the entire of the contribution of the individual to the subscription thus proposed, and that each member be requested to allocate his guinea to some particular parish.

13th. That each subscriber be at liberty to allocate his subscription either to the fund generally or to any particular object heretofore specified, and that such allocation be in every respect, strictly and without any deviation, attended to.

14th. That Daniel O'Connell, Esq., be appointed secretary for subscriptions, and James Sugrue, Esq., [act as] his assistant.

Your committee submit that if only one million of the six millions of Catholics which this country contains will contribute the small sum of one farthing a week each, the resources of the Association will exceed the estimate of expenditures heretofore detailed. They cannot doubt the readiness with which the subscription will be raised if proper means are taken to apply for it universally.

Your committee cannot conclude without expressing their decided conviction that if this plan shall be carried into complete operation, all the difficulties in the way of our emancipation will be speedily removed—and we shall have the glory as well as the advantage of carrying into effect the Christian principle of liberty of conscience.

Daniel O'Connell, Chairman.

DUBLIN EVENING POST, 19 February 1824.



THE CATHOLIC RELIEF ACT

1829

Daniel O'Connell's crusade for Catholic emancipation achieved its most notable political successes when the Catholic 40-shilling-freehold voters in certain county constituencies engaged in a "revolt" against the traditional political dictation of their landlords. The most famous such case occurred in July 1828, when O'Connell himself soundly defeated the sitting MP William Vesey Fitzgerald in the Clare by-election. The prospect of many similar Catholic victories, and the fear that the crusade might turn violent if frustrated of its goal, persuaded the Wellington-Peel government in Britain to advise George IV to concede emancipation.

SEE ALSO Catholic Emancipation Campaign; O'Connell, Daniel; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Roman Catholic Church: 1690 to 1829; Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891

AN ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S ROMAN CATHOLIC SUBJECTS

Whereas by various acts of parliament certain restraints and disabilities are imposed on the Roman Catholic subjects of his majesty, to which other subjects of his majesty are not liable, and whereas it is expedient that such restraints and disabilities shall be from henceforth discontinued, and whereas by various acts certain oaths and certain declarations, commonly called the declarations against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints and the sacrifice of the mass, as practised in the church of Rome, are or may be required to be taken, made, and subscribed by the subjects of his majesty as qualifications for sitting and voting in parliament and for the enjoyment of certain offices, franchises, and civil rights, be it enacted . . . that from and after the commencement of this act all such parts of the said acts as require the said declarations, or either of them, to be made or subscribed by any of his majesty's subjects as a qualification for sitting and voting in parliament or for the exercise or enjoyment of any office, franchise, or civil right, be and the same are (save as hereinafter provided and excepted) hereby repealed.

II. And be it enacted that . . . it shall be lawful for any person professing the Roman Catholic religion, being a peer, or who shall after the commencement of this act be returned as a member of the House of Commons, to sit and vote in either house of parliament respectively, being in all other respects duly qualified to sit and vote therein, upon taking and subscribing the following oath, instead of the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration: I, A.B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty King George the Fourth and will defend him to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity. And I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them. And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the Crown, which succession, by an act entitled *An act for the further limitation of the Crown and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject*, is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; hereby utterly re-

nouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the Crown of this realm. And I do further declare that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope or any other authority of the see of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or by any person whatsoever. And I do declare that I do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm. I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of the property within this realm as established by the laws, and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment as settled by law within this realm, and I do solemnly swear that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in the United Kingdom. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God.

V. And be it further enacted that it shall be lawful for persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to vote at elections of members to serve in parliament for England and for Ireland, and also to vote at the elections of representative peers of Scotland and of Ireland, and to be elected such representative peers, being in all other respects duly qualified, upon taking and subscribing the oath hereinbefore appointed and set forth. . . .

X. And be it enacted that it shall be lawful for any of his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices and places of trust or profit under his majesty, his heirs or successors; and to exercise any other franchise or civil right . . . upon taking and subscribing . . . the oath herinbefore appointed. . . .

XII. Provided also, and be it further enacted that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to enable any person or persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to hold or exercise the office of guardians and justices of the United Kingdom or of regent of the United Kingdom, under whatever name, style, or title such office may be constituted, nor to enable any person, otherwise than as he is now by law enabled, to hold or enjoy the office of lord high chancellor, lord keeper or lord commissioner of the great seal of Great Britain or Ireland, or the office of lord lieutenant, or lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors of

Ireland, or his majesty's high commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

XIV. And be it enacted that it shall be lawful for any of his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion to be a member of any lay body corporate, and to hold any civil office or place of trust or profit therein, and to do any corporate act or vote in any corporate election or other proceeding, upon taking and subscribing the oath hereby appointed and set forth, instead of the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, and upon taking also such other oath or oaths as may now by law be required to be taken by any persons becoming members of such lay body corporate. . . .

XVI. Provided also, and be it enacted that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to enable any persons, otherwise than as they are now by law enabled, to hold, enjoy, or exercise any office, place, or dignity of, in, or belonging to the United Church of England and Ireland, or the Church of Scotland, or any place or office whatever of, in, or belonging to any of the ecclesiastical courts of judicature of England and Ireland respectively, or any court of appeal from or review of the sentences of such courts, or of, in, or belonging to the commissary court of Edinburgh, or of, in, or belonging to any cathedral or collegiate or ecclesiastical establishment or foundation, or any office or place whatever of, in, or belonging to any of the universities of this realm, or any office or place whatever, and by whatever name the same may be called, of, in, or belonging to any of the colleges or halls of the said universities, . . . or any college or school within this realm; or to repeal, abrogate, or in any manner to interfere with any local statute, ordinance, or rule, which is or shall be established by competent authority within any university, college, hall, or school, by which Roman Catholics shall be prevented from being admitted thereto or from residing or taking degrees therein. . . .

XXIV. And whereas the Protestant Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, and likewise the Protestant Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, are by the respective Acts of Union of England and Scotland, and of Great Britain and Ireland, established permanently and inviolably, and whereas the right and title of archbishops to their respective provinces, of bishops to their sees, and the deans to their deaneries, as well in England as in Ireland, have been settled and established by law, be it therefore enacted that if any person after the commencement of this act, other than the person thereunto authorised by law, shall assume or use the name, style, or title of archbishop of any province, bishop of any bishopric, or dean of any deanery in England or Ireland,

he shall for every such offence forfeit and pay the sum of £100.

XXV. And be it further enacted that if any person holding any judicial or civil office, or any mayor, provost, jurat, bailiff, or other corporate officer, shall after the commencement of this act resort to or be present at any place or public meeting for religious worship in England or in Ireland, other than that of the United Church of England and Ireland, or in Scotland, other than that of the Church of Scotland, as by law established, in the robe, gown, or other peculiar habit of his office, or attend with the ensign or insignia, or any part thereof, of or belonging to such his office, such person shall, being thereof convicted by due course of law, forfeit such office and pay for every offence the sum of £100.

XXVI. And be it further enacted, that if any Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, or any member of any of the orders, communities, or societies hereinafter mentioned, shall, after the commencement of this act, exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion, or wear the habits of his order, save within the usual places of worship of the Roman Catholic religion, or in private houses, such ecclesiastic or other person shall, being thereof convicted by due courses of law, forfeit for every such offence the sum of £50.

XXXIV. And be it further enacted that in case any person shall after the commencement of this act, within any part of this United Kingdom, be admitted or become a Jesuit, or brother, or member of any other such religious order, community, or society as aforesaid, such person shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.

XXXVII. Provided always, and be it enacted that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend in any manner to affect any religious order, community, or establishment consisting of females bound by religious or monastic vows.

10 Geo. IV, c. 7; A COLLECTION OF THE PUBLIC GENERAL STATUTES . . . (1829), pp. 105–115.



ACCOUNT OF THE WEXFORD RISING

1832

Thomas Cloney

This account of the United Irish rebellion in County Wexford in 1798 was written by a relatively well-off Catholic,

Thomas Cloney. It has been powerfully argued that Cloney minimized the extent of United Irish preparation for rebellion and of his own involvement because when he wrote three decades later association with violence and conspiracy was much less acceptable among elite Catholics than it had been in the 1790s. (See L. M. Cullen, "The 1798 Rebellion in Wexford," in Wexford: History and Society [1987], pp. 248–295.)

SEE ALSO Eighteenth-Century Politics: 1795 to 1800—Repression, Rebellion, and Union

I at this time was about twenty-three years of age and lived with my father, Denis Cloney, at Moneyhore, within three miles of Enniscorthy, and in a direct line from that town to Ross; he rented large tracts of land, both in the Counties of Wexford and Carlow, a good part of which his father left him in possession of, and the remainder he acquired by industry, and altogether they would, if let, produce him an interest of several hundred pounds a year. . . . I was an only son, and had three sisters, all younger than myself and unprovided for: and as my father was aged, and his health then in a very precarious state, they might be considered almost without any other protector but myself, and they were truly dear to me. . . . I was a Catholic, and that placed me in those days on the proscribed list, and under the ban of a furious Orange ascendancy, and their rapacious satellites, a blood thirsty Yeomanry, and a hireling magistracy, who looked forward to the possession of the property, not only of Catholics, but of liberal Protestants, either by plunder or confiscation; where then was the alternative for me? It became indispensable to divert their attention from those objects by meeting them in the field. . . .

On Saturday night the 26th of May, the chapel at Boolavogue and about twenty farmer's [*sic*] houses in that neighbourhood were burned, as also the house of the Catholic Curate, the Rev. J. Murphy. It was on that night that the first assemblage of the people took place in any part of the county of Wexford: some of the farmers and their men met a party of the Camolin Yeomen Cavalry, and in a short rencounter, killed Lieutenant Bookey, who commanded the party and one of his men. They then proceeded to rise that quarter of the county, north and east of Enniscorthy, and on Sunday morning the 27th, they appeared in considerable force on Oulart Hill, about six miles to the northeast of Enniscorthy, headed by a man hitherto the least likely of any other Priest in that county to appear in arms, a quiet inoffensive man, devoting his time and entire energies to the care and spiritual instruction of a peaceable, orderly,

and industrious flock, in a parish where he was Curate, but whose resentment was so justly raised by the sanguinary persecution of his people. Expresses were soon sent from different quarters to Wexford, for a military force to check the progress of the Insurgents, and a division of the North Cork Militia, which had been for some time commanded there by Lord Kingsborough, was now led out by Lieutenant-Colonel Foote, and consisted of about 110 men, besides six officers, who, on arriving at Oulart Hill, ascended rapidly at the north side, while a body of Yeomen Cavalry appeared advancing towards it on the south. The bold and rapid advance of the North Cork Militia, struck terror for a moment in the people, and they were actually on the point of fight, when they perceived the cavalry coming too close, and found they would, by retreating into an open and level country, be exposed to immediate and certain destruction; a number of them were instantly ordered to conceal themselves behind the fences of a ditch, while others lay in ambush in a sort of trench, and allowed the military to approach within a few yards of their main body, when they rushed suddenly on them, and killed with their pikes, 106 men and their Major, Lombard, and four other Officers; Lieutenant-Colonel Foote, a Serjeant, two Privates and a Drummer, out of the whole division, only escaping to Wexford, while of the Insurgents only five were killed and two wounded. The number of the peasantry who shared in the victory, scarcely exceeded the number of the slain Militia; no doubt that the advantageous ground, the close quarters, and the formidable weapons, of which they made so good a use, contributed to their victory.

One of the Yeomen Cavalry was shot at a great distance by an Irish Rifleman, with a Strand Gun, and the rest betook themselves to an immediate and precipitate flight to Wexford. The conquerors flushed with victory, marched immediately to Carrigrue Hill, where they rested for the night, and very early on Monday morning marched upon the little town of Camolin, where they seized a quantity of arms which had been deposited there for safety. From thence they hastily proceeded to Ferns, and on to Scarawalsh Bridge, where they crossed the river Slaney; here they halted for a short time, to obtain an accession of strength, which they obtained on Ballyorrell Hill, and thence proceeded rapidly to Enniscorthy, having then a force of about 7000 men, about 1000 of which were furnished with fire arms. . . .

While the events which I have related were occurring on the 25th, 26th and 27th, the people in my quarter of the country were in perfect ignorance of those occurrences: they were in the most terror-struck and feverish anxiety, as reports were for some time industriously circulated, that the Orangemen would turn

out, and commit a general and indiscriminate massacre on the Roman Catholics. The reports from different quarters of what had been already effected by the Orangemen in this way, confirmed the opinion that the Insurrection would become general. The most peaceable and well disposed fancied they saw themselves, their families, and their neighbours, involved in one common ruin, and that each approaching night might possibly be the last of their domestic happiness. No one slept in his own house—the very whistling of the birds seemed to report the approach of an enemy. The remembrance of the wailings of the women and the cries of the children awake in my mind, even at this period, feelings of deep horror. Such was the state of things in my neighbourhood, yet not one act of hostility against the Government had been even slightly indicated. The dictates of self-preservation are so implanted by an all-wise Creator in the human breast, that the savage in this respect will feel as a philosopher, though his means may be different he will have the same ends in view. . . .

The morning of the 28th having arrived, the people began to collect for mutual protection and advice—and I have often since reflected what a powerful effect mutual adversity has on our passions and prejudices; it soothes and softens down mental asperities, and reconciles the most obstinate differences, while prosperity bursts many a link in the social chain, and often severs the tenderest ties of nature. Grief and despair became now universal; such as had families consulted how they might best provide for their safety, if any one could expect to be safe, or any retreat secure against the licenced incendiary. In the midst of those gloomy forebodings, the firing commenced at Enniscorthy, and continued with little intermission for a considerable time, and was distinctly heard by us, until the town surrendered to the Insurgents; and soon after, a horseman was seen riding in full speed from Enniscorthy towards Moneyhore, the place of my father's residence. When he came within hearing he began to cheer, and continued as he galloped along, crying out "victory! victory!" Never were tidings more joyfully heard, nor more eagerly listened to. After having attended some moments to an imperfect but probably heightened account of the action, which the rude herald gave in an impassioned tone, men, whom consternation, terror, and want of resolve, had a few hours before fixed to the ground on which they stood, proceeded to the roads in groups, and in some cases prepared to search the houses of the neighbouring yeomanry for arms, dreading that the owners would return to them, and sally out at night to murder the families who were still in the ditches, and consume their habitations. This certainly could not be apprehended by any but persons devoid of all reason, as the yeomen had now a full share of those fears for their own safety,

which they had been so lately prominent in creating in the minds of others. Some excesses were now committed, which were, on reflection, deeply to be regretted.

On Tuesday, the 29th of May, before day, a large body of men came to my father's house and pressed me to proceed with them to Enniscorthy. I put them off by promising to follow in a short time. Soon after another and a much more numerous party came, who were louder and more peremptory in their demands. There was now no time to be lost in deliberating. The innocent and guilty were alike driven into acts of unwilling hostility to the existing government; but there was no alternative; every preceding day saw the instruments of torture filling the yawning sepulchres with the victims of suspicion or malice; and as a partial resistance could never tend to mitigate the cruelty of their tormentors, I saw no second course for me, or indeed for any Catholic in my part of the country, to pursue. I joined the people, and took an affectionate farewell of my father and sisters, when he, as I before stated, was in a dying way, and my sisters quite unprotected. Their distraction of mind at my parting is not to be described. This was not a moment for indecision. I proceeded as a Volunteer, among many others, to Enniscorthy, without authority or command; and I believe it is a matter of rare occurrence, that those who are invested with power, willingly submit to have that power abridged, or usurped by one who had not the slightest pretensions to seek it, even did I seek for such an unenviable distinction.

Thomas Cloney, A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THOSE
TRANSACTIONS IN THE COUNTY WEXFORD, IN WHICH THE
AUTHOR WAS ENGAGED, DURING THE AWFUL PERIOD OF 1798
. . . (1832), pp. 9–10, 11–12, 14, 15–16.



ON IRISH CATHOLICISM

1839

Gustave de Beaumont

Gustave de Beaumont (1802–1866) is best known for his collaborations with another traveler and social observer, Alexis de Tocqueville. In this extract from Ireland: Social, Political, and Religious (1839), he reflects on the role of the Catholic clergy in Irish society and the links between national and religious sentiment.

SEE ALSO Roman Catholic Church: 1829 to 1891

The Catholic clergy is the most national body in Ireland; it belongs to the very heart of the country. We have elsewhere seen that Ireland, having been attacked at the same time in its religion and its liberties, his creed and his country were mingled in the heart of every Irishman, and became to him one and the same thing. Having been forced to struggle for his religion against the Englishman, and for his country against the Protestant, he is accustomed to see partisans of his faith only amongst the defenders of his independence, and to find devotion to independence only amongst the friends of his religion.

In the midst of the agitations of which his country and his soul have been the theatre, the Irishman who has seen so much ruin consummated within him and around him, believes that there is nothing permanent or certain in the world but his religion—that religion which is cœval with old Ireland—a religion superior to men, ages, and revolutions—a religion which has survived the most terrible tempests and the most dreadful tyrannies, against which Henry VIII was powerless, which braved Elizabeth, over which the bloody hand of Cromwell passed without destroying it, and which even a hundred and fifty years of continued persecution have failed to overthrow. To an Irishman there is nothing supremely true but his creed.

In defending his religion, the Irishman has been a hundred times invaded, conquered, driven from his native soil; he kept his faith, and lost his country. But, after the confusion made between these two things in his mind, his rescued religion became his all, and its influence on his heart was further extended by its taking there the place of independence. The altar at which he prayed was his country.

Traverse Ireland, observe its inhabitants, study their manners, passions, and habits, and you will find that even in the present day, when Ireland is politically free, its inhabitants are full of prejudices and recollections of their ancient servitude. Look at their external appearance; they walk with their heads bowed down to the earth, their attitude is humble, their language timid; they receive as a favour what they ought to demand as a right; and they do not believe in the equality which the law ensures to them, and of which it gives them proofs. But go from the streets into the chapels. Here the humbled countenances are raised, the most lowly heads are lifted, and the most noble looks directed to heaven; man reappears in all his dignity. The Irish people exists in its church; there alone it is free; there alone it is sure of its rights; there it occupies the only ground that has never given way beneath its feet.

When the altar is thus national, why should not the priest be so likewise? Hence arises the great power

of the Catholic clergy in Ireland. When it attempted to overthrow Catholicism, the English government could not destroy the creed without extirpating the clergy. We have already seen how it tried to ruin that body. Still, in spite of the penal laws, which besides sometimes slumbered, there have been always priests in Ireland. The Catholic worship, it is true, had for a long time only a mysterious and clandestine existence; it was supposed to have no legal existence, and the same fiction was extended to its clergy. Even when the Catholic worship was tolerated, it was not authorised; it was only indirectly recognised when the parliament, in 1798, voted funds to endow a college at Maynooth for the education of Catholic priests. But now the Catholic faith exists publicly in Ireland; it has built its churches, it has organised its clergy, and it celebrates its ceremonies in open day; it counts four archbishops, twenty-one bishops, two thousand and one hundred places of worship, and two thousand and seventy-four parish priests or coadjutors. The law does not thus constitute it, but the law allows it to form itself; the constitution affords it express toleration; and now the Catholic clergy, the depository of the chief national power of Ireland, exercises that power under the shield of the constitution. To comprehend this power, it is not sufficient to understand what their religion is to the Irish people, but also what their priest is to them.

Survey these immense lower classes in Ireland who bear at once all the charges and all the miseries of society, oppressed by the landlord, exhausted by taxation, plundered by the Protestant minister, their ruin consummated by the agents of law. Who or what is their only support in such suffering?—The priest—Who is it that gives them advice in their enterprises, help in their reverses, relief in their distress?—The priest—Who is it that bestows on them, what is perhaps still more precious, that consoling sympathy, that sustaining voice of sympathy, that tear of humanity, so dear to the unfortunate? There is but one man in Ireland that mourns with the poor man who has so much to mourn, and that man is the priest. Vainly have political liberties been obtained and rights consecrated, the people still suffer. There are old social wounds, to which the remedy provided by law affords only slow and tedious cure. From these deep and hideous wounds the Catholic priests alone do not turn their eyes; they are the only persons that attempt their relief. In Ireland the priest is the only person in perpetual relation with the people who is honoured by them.

Those in Ireland who do not oppress the people, are accustomed to despise them. I found that the Catholic clergy were the only persons in Ireland who loved the

lower classes, and spoke of them in terms of esteem and affection

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ON IRISH SOCIETY BEFORE THE FAMINE

1841–1843

Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Carter Hall made five visits to Ireland between 1825 and 1841 and presented their observations in a monumental three-volume work. The following extracts deal with transportation to and within Ireland, a peasant wedding, the Irish game of hurling, and observations on social class.

SEE ALSO Literacy and Popular Culture; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950

A voyage to Ireland is, at present, very different from what it was, within our memory, before the application of steam had made its duration a matter of certainty, and enabled the traveller to calculate without reference to wind or tide. "The sailing-packet" was a small trader—schooner, or sloop; the cabin, of very limited extent, was lined with "berths"; a curtain portioned off those that were appropriated to ladies. In the centre was a table—seldom used, the formality of a dinner being a rare event; each passenger having laid in his own supply of "sea store," to which he resorted when hungered or athirst; finding, however, very often, when his appetite returned, that his basket had been impoverished by the visits of unscrupulous voyagers who were proof against sea-sickness. The steward was almost invariably an awkward boy, whose only recommendation was the activity with which he answered the calls of unhappy sufferers; and the voyage across was a kind of purgatory for the time being, to be endured only in cases of absolute necessity. It was not alone the miserable paucity of accommodation and utter indifference to the comfort of the passengers, that made the voyage an intolerable evil. Though it usually occupied but three or four days, frequently as many weeks were expended in making it. It was once our lot to pass a month between

the ports of Bristol and Cork; putting back, every now and then, to the wretched village of Pill, and not daring to leave it even for an hour, lest the wind should change and the packet weigh anchor. But with us it was "holiday time," and our case was far less dismal than that of an officer to whom we recently related it; his two months' leave of absence had expired the very day he reached his Irish home.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that comparatively little intercourse existed between the two countries, or that England and Ireland were almost as much strangers to each other as if the channel that divided them had been actually impassable. . . .

Machines for travelling in Ireland are, some of them at least, peculiar to the country. The stage-coaches are precisely similar to those in England, and travel at as rapid a rate. They, of course, run upon all the great roads, and are constructed with due regard to safety and convenience. The public cars of M. Bianconi have, however, to a large extent, displaced the regular coaches, and are to be encountered in every district in the south of Ireland. In form they resemble the common outside jaunting-car, but are calculated to hold twelve, fourteen, or sixteen persons; they are well horsed, have cautious and experienced drivers, are generally driven with three horses, and usually travel at the rate of seven Irish miles an hour; the fares averaging about twopence per mile. They are open cars; but a huge apron of leather affords considerable protection against rain; and they may be described as, in all respects, very comfortable and convenient vehicles. . . . His stud consists of 1300 horses—a larger number than her Majesty possesses in Ireland—[and] his cars travel, daily 3500 miles, and visit no fewer than 128 cities and towns. . . .

The cars are of three kinds: "the covered car," "the inside jaunting-car," and the "outside jaunting-car"; the latter being the one most generally in use, and the only one employed in posting. The two former, indeed, can seldom be procured except in large towns. The covered car is a comparatively recent introduction, its sole recommendation being that it is weather-proof, for it effectually prevents a view of the country, except through the two little peep-hole windows in front, or by tying back the oil-skin curtains behind. . . .

The inside jaunting-car is not often to be hired; it is usually private property, and is, perhaps, the most comfortable, as well as elegant, of the vehicles of the country.

The outside jaunting-car is that to which especial reference is made when speaking of the "Irish" car. It is exceedingly light, presses very little upon the horse, and is safe as well as convenient; so easy is it to get on and

off, that both are frequently done while the machine is in motion. It is always driven with a single horse; the driver occupies a small seat in front, and the travellers sit back to back, the space between them being occupied by "the well"—a sort of boot for luggage; but when there is only one passenger the driver usually places himself on the opposite seat "to balance the car," the motion of which would be awkward if one side was much heavier than the other. . . .

The entrance to the county of Kerry ("the kingdom of Kerry," as it was anciently called), from that of Cork, is through a tunnel, of about two hundred yards in length; a very short distance from which there are two others of much more limited extent. They have been cut through rocks—peaks to the mountain we have described as overlooking Glengariff. As the traveller emerges from comparative darkness, a scene of striking magnificence bursts upon him—very opposite in character to that which he leaves immediately behind; for while his eye retains the rich and cultivated beauty of the wooded and watered "glen," he is startled by the contrast of barren and frightful precipices, along the brinks of which he is riding, and gazes with a shudder down into the far off valley, where a broad and angry stream is diminished by distance into a mere line of white. Nothing can exceed the wild grandeur of the prospect; it extends miles upon miles; scattered through the vale and among the hill slopes, are many cottages, white always and generally slated; while to several of them are attached the picturesque lime-kilns; so numerous in all parts of the country. . . .

We had scarcely passed the tunnel, and entered the county of Kerry, when we encountered a group that interested us greatly; on enquiry we learned that a wedding had taken place at a cottage pointed out to us, in a little glen among the mountains, and that the husband was bringing home his bride. She was mounted on a white pony, guided by as smart looking and well dressed a youth as we had seen in the country; his face was absolutely radiant with joy; the parents of the bride and bridegroom followed; and a little girl clung to the dress of a staid and sober matron—whom we at once knew to be the mother of the bride, for her aspect was pensive, almost to sorrow; her daughter was quitting for another home the cottage in which she had been reared—to become a wife. . . .

Postponing, for a while, our descriptive details of the wildest but perhaps most picturesque of the Irish counties, we shall take some note of the games in favour with the peasants of the county . . .

But the great game in Kerry, and indeed throughout the South, is the game of "Hurley"—a game rather rare, although not unknown in England. It is a fine

manly exercise, with sufficient of danger to produce excitement; and is indeed, par excellence, *the* game of the peasantry of Ireland. To be an expert hurler, a man must possess athletic powers of no ordinary character; he must have a quick eye, a ready hand, and a strong arm; he must be a good runner, a skilful wrestler, and withal patient as well as resolute. . . .

The forms of the game are these:—The players, sometimes to the number of fifty or sixty, being chosen for each side, they are arranged (usually bare-foot) in two opposing ranks, with their hurleys crossed, to await the tossing up of the ball, the wickets or goals being previously fixed at the extremities of the hurling-green, which, from the nature of the play, is required to be a level extensive plain. . . . A person is chosen to throw up the ball, which is done as straight as possible, when the whole party, withdrawing their hurleys, stand with them elevated, to receive and strike it in its descent; now comes the crash of mimic war, hurleys rattle against hurleys—the ball is struck and re-struck, often for several minutes, without advancing much nearer to either goal; and when some one is lucky enough to get a clear “puck” at it, it is sent flying over the field. It is now followed by the entire party at their utmost speed; the men grapple, wrestle, and toss each other with amazing agility, neither victor nor vanquished waiting to take breath, but following the course of the rolling and flying prize; the best runners watch each other, and keep almost shoulder to shoulder through the play, and the best wrestlers keep as close on them as possible, to arrest or impede their progress. The ball must not be taken from the ground by the hand; and the tact and skill shown in taking it on the point of the hurley, and running with it half the length of the field, and when too closely pressed, striking it towards the goal, is a matter of astonishment to those who are but slightly acquainted with the play. At the goal, is the chief brunt of the battle. The goal-keepers receive the prize, and are opposed by those set over them; the struggle is tremendous,—every power of strength and skill is exerted; while the parties from opposite sides of the field run at full speed to support their men engaged in the conflict; then the tossing and straining is at its height; the men often lying in dozens side by side on the grass, while the ball is returned by some strong arm again, flying above their heads, towards the other goal. Thus for hours has the contention been carried on, and frequently the darkness of night arrests the game without giving victory to either side. It is often attended with dangerous, and sometimes with fatal, results. . . .

The peculiarities of the old Irish gentry are all but extinct; the originals of the past century bear but a very

remote resemblance to their successors;—the follies and vices—the drinking, duelling, and “roistering,” in former times considered so essentially “Irish,” belong exclusively to the ancestors of the present race. Such anecdotes as that told, upon good authority, of the father of Toler—afterwards Lord Norbury—who provided for his son by giving him, at his outset in the world, “a hundred guineas and a pair of duelling-pistols,” no more illustrate the Ireland of to-day, than the Smithfield fires do the justice of England. The habits once fashionable are no longer tolerated; and the boasts and glories of a past age are scorned and execrated in this. It was, indeed, always acknowledged, that although the “Irish gentleman” was often an object of suspicion, the “gentleman from Ireland” was ever an example of courtesy, good breeding, honour, and intelligence.

In higher society, therefore, little of distinctive character will be perceived, except in that ease and cheerfulness of manner which make a stranger feel instantly “at home,” and the peculiar *tone* of the Irish voice. We do not mean that the better educated have what is understood by “the brogue”; but there is an intonation that belongs to Ireland which is never lost, and cannot be disguised.

The society of the middle class, or rather of the grade above it—the members of the learned professions, and persons on a par with them—is unquestionably agreeable and invigorating in the provinces, and equally so, but more instructive and refined, in the capital and the larger towns. It is everywhere frank and cordial, tempered by playful good-humour and a keen relish for conversation; and is always distinguished by the cheerfulness that borders upon mirth, and the harmony produced by a universal aptness for enjoyment.

The women of Ireland—from the highest to the lowest—represent the national character better than the other sex. In the men, very often, energy degenerates into fierceness, generosity into reckless extravagance, social habits into dissipation, courage into profitless daring, confiding faith into slavish dependence, honour into captiousness, and religion into bigotry; for [in] no country of the world is the path so narrow that marks the boundary between virtue and vice. But the Irish women have—taken in the mass—the lights without the shadows, the good without the bad—to use a familiar expression, “the wheat without the chaff.” Most faithful; most devoted; most pure; the best mothers; the best children; the best wives;—possessing, pre-eminently, the beauty and holiness of virtue, in the limited or the extensive meaning of the phrase. They have been rightly described as “holding an intermediate space between the French and the English”; mingling the vi-

vacuity of the one with the stability of the other; with hearts more *naturally* toned than either: never sacrificing delicacy, but entirely free from embarrassing reserve; their gaiety never inclining to levity, their frankness never approaching to freedom; with reputations not the less securely protected because of the absence of suspicion, and that the natural guardians of honour through present are unseen. . . .

In Ireland, as yet, the aristocracy of wealth has made little way; and to be of "good family" is a surer introduction to society, than to be of large fortune. The prejudice in favour of "birth" is, indeed, almost universal, and pervades all ranks. Consequently, classes are to the last degree exclusive; and their divisions are as distinctly marked and recognised as are those determined by the etiquette of a court. Hence arises that perpetual straining after a higher station, to which many worthy families have been sacrificed: persons in business rarely persevere until they have amassed fortunes, but retire as early as possible after they have acquired competence; and the subdivisions which their properties necessarily undergo, when junior branches are to be provided for, creates a numerous class—almost peculiar to Ireland—of young men possessing the means of barely living without labour; disdaining the notion of "turning to trade"; unable to acquire professions, and ill-suited to adorn them if obtained; content to drag on existence in a state of miserable and degrading dependence, doing nothing—literally "too proud to work, but not ashamed to beg." This feeling operates upon the various grades of society; and the number of "idlers" in the busy world is fearfully large; from "the walking gentleman" of the upper ranks, to the "half-sir" of the middle, and "the jackeen" of the class a little above the lower; the walking gentleman being always elegantly attired, of course always unemployed, with ample leisure for the studies which originate depravity; the "half-sir" being, generally, a younger brother, with little or no income of his own, and so educated as to be deprived, utterly, of the energy and self-dependence which create usefulness; the "Masther Tom," who broke the dogs, shot the crows, first backed the vicious horse, and, followed by a half-pointer, half-lurcher, poached, secretly, upon his elder brother's land, but more openly upon the lands of his neighbours; the "jackeen" being a production found everywhere, but most abundantly in large towns. Happily, however, the class is not upon the increase. . . .

Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, *IRELAND: ITS SCENERY, CHARACTER, &c.*, 3 vols. (1841–1843), vol. 1, pp. 1–2, 63, 64–65, 161–162, 163, 256–258; vol. 2, pp. 314–316.

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ON REPEAL OF THE ACT OF UNION AT THE "MONSTER MEETING" AT MULLINGAR

14 May 1843

Daniel O'Connell

The central tactic in Daniel O'Connell's campaign for repeal of the Act of Union in 1843 was the holding of a series of about forty "monster meetings" (a term first used in derision by The Times of London). At these meetings O'Connell was always the featured speaker, and as at Mullingar on 14 May 1843, he explained why he wanted Ireland to have its own parliament and what reforms he thought such a parliament should adopt. The tactic, designed to overawe British opposition to Repeal, failed when the government banned the "monster meeting" scheduled for Clontarf in October and O'Connell called it off.

SEE ALSO O'Connell, Daniel; Repeal Movement

My first object is to get Ireland for the Irish (loud cheers). I am content that the English should have England, but they have had the domination of this country too long, and it is time that the Irish should at length get their own country—that they should get the management of their own country—the regulation of their own country—the enjoyment of their own country—that the Irish should have Ireland (great cheers). Nobody can know how to govern us as well as we would know how to do it ourselves—nobody could know how to relieve our wants as well as would ourselves—nobody could have so deep an interest in our prosperity or could be so well fitted for remedying our evils and procuring happiness for us as we would ourselves (hear, hear). Old Ireland and liberty! (loud cheers). That is what I am struggling for (hear, hear). If I was to tell the Scotch that they should not have Scotland—if I was to tell the English that they should not have England—if I was to tell the Spaniards that they should not have Spain—or the French that they should not have France, they would have a right to laugh at, to hate, to attack, or to assail me in whatever manner they chose. But I do not say any such thing. What I say is that as all these people have their own countries, the Irish ought to have Ireland (hear, and cheers). What numberless advantages would not the Irish enjoy if they possessed their own country? A domestic parliament would encourage Irish

manufactures. The linen trade and the woollen [trade] would be spreading amongst you. An Irish parliament would foster Irish commerce and protect Irish agriculture. The labourer, the artizan, and the shopkeeper would be all benefited by the repeal of the union; but if I were to describe all the blessings that it would confer, I would detain you here, crowding on each other's backs, until morning before I would be done (laughter). In the first place, I ask, Did you ever hear of the tithe rent-charge (groans)? Are you satisfied to be paying parsons who do not pray for you (no, no)? It is time, therefore, that they should be put an end to (hear, hear). The people of England do not pay for the church of the minority.

A voice: "No, nor the people of Scotland either."

You are quite right, though I think I heard the remark before (laughter). But carry home my words with you and tell them to your neighbours. I tell you, the people of Ireland will not be much longer paying them (hear, hear, and cheers). I next want to get rid of the poor rates (cheers). England does charity in the way a person will throw a bone to a dog, by slashing it in between his teeth (hear, hear). That is the poor law charity, the charity of the commissioners and assistant-commissioners, and all concerned under them except the poor themselves, and when they do give relief, they take up the poor as if they were criminals, or as if poverty were a crime to be punished by perpetual imprisonment (hear and cheers). . . . I know it will be said that I want to leave the poor destitute. I do not want to do any such thing. Would I not have the tithe rent-charge and the ecclesiastical revenues to apply for their relief? And would I not with their aid be able to maintain hospitals for the sick, the lame, the impotent, the aged, and all those who are real objects of charity, and for whom the doors would be open at every hour of the day and during a part of the night, so that anybody who did not like to remain might go out when they liked (hear, hear, and cheers)? I would thus do you two pieces of service by the repeal of the union. I would relieve the poor without the imposition of poor rates, and I would prevent you from paying any clergy but your own (loud cheers). I should not have used the word prevent, because if any of you wished to pay both, you might do it if you pleased (laughter). I often asked Protestants how would they like to pay for the support of the Catholic clergy by force, and they always said they would not like it at all; and why should the Catholics like it one bit the better (hear)? [William] Cobbett had a phrase for it. He used to say, "What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander" (laughter). The next thing that the repeal would abolish is the grand jury cess (cheers). I believe it grinds some of you (cries of "It does so"). There

is not a more iniquitous tax in the world, for it comes on the occupier instead of on the country at large. Give me the repeal, and the national treasury will pay for the making and repairing of all the roads, bridges, and public buildings; and instead of the poor farmers and occupiers paying the money themselves, it will come from the treasury and would go in giving employment to those who now have to pay it (hear, hear). I will tell you another thing I want to do. I want that every head of a family, every married man and every householder, should have a right to vote for members of parliament. They say that I would have an interest in that because I would then have more votes; but my answer is, if I would, it is because the people know I am acting honestly by them, and everybody else who does the same will be equally supported. The landlords now persecute those who vote differently from their wishes, but I would institute the ballot-box. Every married man should have a vote, and any blackguard who could not get a wife anywhere, I would not pity him to be without the vote (cheers and laughter). The good landlord would then be sure to be supported by his tenants; but if he were a scoundrel, whether he was a Catholic, a Protestant, or a Presbyterian, he would deserve to be turned out (hear, hear). If he was serving notices to quit or holding up his head in the street and not looking his tenants in the face and speaking to them, or if he was a man who would not salute their wives and children as he passed them, or if, when he sat upon the bench, he was always fining, fining, fining (loud laughter), the tenant would always have the advantage of using the ballot-box against that fellow (hear, hear, and cheers). . . . You know that the landlords have duties as well as rights, and I would establish the fixity of tenure (loud cheers) to remind them of these duties. I will tell you what my plan is, and you can consider it among yourselves. My plan is that no landlord could recover rent unless he made a lease for twenty-one years to the tenant—no lease or no rent, say I (loud cheers). Unless he made a lease, he would have no more business looking for his rent than a dog would have barking at the moon (cheers and laughter). It may be said that the landlords would in that case put too high a rent on their lands, but I have a remedy for that too in my plan (laughter, and cries of "more power"). At present, if a man goes to register his vote, he must prove on oath what a solvent tenant could pay to his landlord for his holding, and in the same manner I would give the tenant an opportunity of proving what a solvent tenant ought to give for his land in order to fix the amount of rent he would have to pay (cheers). I would give the poor man the benefit of a trial by jury in such case, so that it would be impossible for a landlord to get more than the fair value of his land. It may be said that the poor man would be turned out of

his holding at the expiration of his lease, and his land given to another, but I have a cure for that also (cheers). I would allow the tenant by law every year to register, as he can now register trees that he plants, all the improvements that he makes on his holding, and if the landlord did not pay him the full value of these improvements, he could not turn him out, but would be obliged to give him a new holding. Every tenant would be then building a better house for his pigs than he now inhabits himself, as he would be sure to get every farthing he laid out on his holding before he could be deprived of possession at the end of his lease (hear, hear, and cheers). Is it not, I ask you, worthwhile to look for a repeal of the union for that alone (cheers)? Would it not do more to produce happiness and prosperity in the country and put an end to the horrible wholesale murders of the landlords who now send their tenants to die by twenties in the ditches, and the fearful retaliations by assassination that so frequently take place on the other side (hear). But that is not all. Every year since the union nine millions of money has been sent out of Ireland after being raised from the produce of the soil (cries of "Oh, murder, murder"). It is no wonder you should cry "murder," for there is no country in the world where such a system would exist that must not be poor. The only countries except Ireland where anything like it occurs are Sicily and Sardinia, and both of these, from having absentee landlords, are miserably poor. There is not, however, a country in the world so impoverished as Ireland, where it has been found that there are 2,300,000 persons in a state of destitution every year. . . . For the last ten years, no less than ninety millions have been drawn out of Ireland, but if we get the union [repealed], there will be ninety millions spent in Ireland that would otherwise be taken from her (hear, hear, and cheers). This will leave an average of £750,000 a month, or £125,000 a week of six days, to be spent in wages in giving employment to the people (cheers). I have all this within my grasp if the people join me. Now, what is there in all this that Wellington should stammer at in his old age, and that Peel should bluster and get very angry about it (groans)? . . . They say we want separation from England, but what I want is to prevent separation taking place, and there is not a man in existence more loyally attached than I am to the queen—God bless her. The present state of Ireland is nearly unendurable, and if the people of Ireland had not some person like me to lead them in the paths of peace and constitutional exertion, I am afraid of the result (hear). While I live, I will stand by the throne (hear, hear). But what motive could we have to separate if we obtain all those blessings and advantages I have been enumerating? They would all serve as solid golden links of connexion with England. But I would be glad to

know what good did the union do (hear, hear)? What I want you to do is for every one of you to join me in looking for repeal. As many of you as are willing to do so, let them hold up their hands (here every person in the immense assemblage raised his hands aloft amidst loud continued cheers). I see you have ready hands, and I know you have stout hearts too. But what do I want you to do? Is it to turn out into battle or war (cries of no, no)? Is it to commit riot or crime (cries of no, no)? Remember, "Whoever commits a crime gives strength to the enemy" (hear, hear, and cheers). . . . I want you to do nothing that is not open and legal, but if the people unite with me and follow my advice, it is impossible not to get the repeal (loud cheers and cries of "we will"). And our country deserves that we should exert ourselves for her. Other countries changed their religious opinions at the fantasy of their governors, but Ireland is the only country that for centuries set her governors at defiance, and she is also the only country that was converted to Christianity in the short space of four years (hear, hear, hear). . . .

But nothing could be more true [than] that there was no pursuit of Roman Catholic interests as opposed to Protestant, and that the object in view was to benefit the whole nation; and because it was a national movement, it should never be abandoned until justice was done to the nation (loud cheers). Even their enemies should admit the progress they had made; and let him have but three millions of Repealers, and then he would make his arrangements for obtaining repeal. He would have the Repealers send up three hundred gentlemen, chosen from various parts of the country, each entrusted with £100, [and] that would be £30,000. They should meet in Dublin to consult upon the best means of obtaining legislative independence. They would not leave Dublin till they would agree to an act of parliament to establish a domestic legislature, household suffrage, vote by ballot, fixity of tenure, and a law against absentees having estates in the country. Many estates would then be sold in lots and purchased by those who would become small proprietors; and it was a fact well ascertained that in proportion as the owners in fee were numerous in any country, so in proportion were the people prosperous (hear, hear). It was truly said by Mr Martin, their chairman, that if they had their own parliament, taxation would be diminished to almost nothing—for in five or six years they would be able to pay off their portion of the national debt—the duty upon every exciseable article would be reduced—they would have a pound of tea for little more than was now paid for a couple of ounces, and a pound of sugar at the price of a quarter of a pound, the duty on tobacco would be reduced, so that there was not an old woman in the

country who might not have her pipe lighted from morning to night if she pleased (laughter). . . .

NATION, 20 May 1843.



LETTER ADVOCATING FEDERALISM AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO REPEAL

November 1844

William Sharman Crawford

The Repeal movement of the early 1840s under Daniel O'Connell's leadership was dealt a notable setback in October 1843, when the British government prohibited the holding of the "monster meeting" at Clontarf and then proceeded to indict and try O'Connell and other leading Repealers for conspiracy. As the prospects of Repeal dimmed, the northern landlord and tenant-right advocate William Sharman Crawford (1781–1861) sought to promote the idea of a federal solution to the Anglo-Irish relationship in a series of public letters.

SEE ALSO Local Government since 1800; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

Sir, I have in the preceding sections [actually, in earlier letters] shown, first, the evils produced to Ireland through the want of local legislation by a local body. I have shown, secondly, that it is the principle of British policy to grant local legislative bodies to portions of the empire so circumstanced, and I have taken the constitution of Canada as an example of their construction. I now proceed to inquire on what basis a legislature could be constructed for Ireland which would secure to her these two things; 1st, protection for her rights, and 2dly, the management of her own resources—and would at the same time avoid any danger to the integrity of the empire by leaving in the hands of an imperial parliament those matters of legislation which imperial interests require.

As it is always prudent to adopt a precedent in existence when not inconsistent with the purposes sought to be obtained, I shall take as my basis the act for the constitution of Canada, already referred to in my second section [letter]. I shall suppose, then, that a legislature is constituted for Ireland, consisting of two houses—a House of Lords, which may be considered analogous to

the Legislative Council of Canada, and a House of Commons, analogous to their House of Assembly. I shall not now enter into the particular details of construction; I shall at once refer to the power with which such a parliament may be invested.

1. That this parliament shall be competent (with the royal assent) to make all laws necessary for Ireland and to impose and apply all necessary taxes, subject to the limitations and regulations hereinafter stated.

2. That all bills which may be passed by the local parliament, which make any provisions with regard to religion or religious worship, or pecuniary grants or payments for the purposes of religion, or any bills which relate to [omission in original], shall be subject to the regulations contained in the 42d section of the Canada Act—viz., that before the royal assent be given to any such bills, they shall lie for thirty days on the tables of the houses of the imperial parliament, and in case the said houses shall address the sovereign to withhold the royal assent, such assent shall not be given. (Note—Upon the subject of this exception with regard to religion, I may remark that before any new political constitution can be established, I conceive that some equitable settlement with regard to the Irish church [the Anglican Church of Ireland] and its revenues must be effected; such being made, it is only a reasonable concession to the apprehension of many persons well affected to local legislation, to provide that such settlement shall not be disturbed by any act of the local legislature without the approval of the imperial parliament; and I would further add, by any act of the imperial parliament without the approval of the local parliament. It would be a matter for consideration whether any bills, regarding any other laws than those relating to religion should be made subject to the same rules.)

3. That all acts of the imperial legislature which regard the succession to the throne or the appointment of a regent (if such should be necessary) shall be binding on Ireland without being referred to the local legislature.

4. That the local parliament shall have power to impose and apply, with the assent of the Crown, all taxation necessary for the purposes of Ireland, subject to the regulations and limitations hereinafter stated.

5. That the imperial parliament shall retain a power similar to that provided by the 43rd section of the Canada Act—to impose all duties necessary for the purposes of commerce over the United Kingdom.

6. That the net produce of all duties so imposed shall—in conformity with the proviso contained in the 43rd section of the Canada Act—be paid into the Irish exchequer and placed at the disposal of the local parliament, in [the] same manner as all taxes imposed by the local authority.

7. That if any bill be passed by the local parliament, proposing to alter or repeal, with regard to Ireland, any duty which had been so imposed by the imperial parliament, or to impose any new duty on any article of foreign or colonial produce imported into Ireland, such bill shall be subjected, previous to the royal assent being declared, to the same regulations as provided under the second head with regard to certain laws to be submitted to the consideration of the imperial parliament.

8. That it be a fundamental law that no duties shall be imposed by either parliaments [*sic*] which would impede the perfect freedom of trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

9. That Ireland shall pay a certain quota to the military and naval establishments and other expenses of the empire, that this quota shall be a sum fixed for a certain number of years, not to be increased under any circumstances during the time specified, except by a free grant of the parliament of Ireland; that at the termination of the period specified a new arrangement of the quota may be made if both parliaments consent.

10. That Ireland shall pay the expenses of all her civil establishments and institutions out of her own revenue.

11. That no law made, nor tax imposed, by the local parliament of Ireland shall have operation beyond the limits of Ireland; and that all foreign and colonial legislation of every description shall remain under the control and authority of the imperial parliament.

12. That no law or act of the imperial parliament made after the passing of this act, and operating locally in Ireland, shall be binding on Ireland unless assented [to] by her local parliament—with the exception of those matters reserved in proposition no. 3 and the power of imposing duties reserved in no. 5.

13. That all laws and statutes now in force shall be binding on Ireland till altered or replaced according to the power given by this act.

If the above propositions be examined, I think they shall be found to define with sufficient accuracy the general powers which I would propose to vest in a local and imperial parliament. They are not powers or distinctions which are the mere creations of my imagination—they are taken from the laws of England as developed in her legislation towards her colonial possessions. . . .

I am aware that these propositions will not meet the views of those who claim for Ireland a separate national existence—they will allege that my propositions would place her rather in the position of a colony of a [another] nation. I cannot help this; I repeat what I have

often before stated—that I cannot conceive [any] . . . means of separate national existence, except by a separation of the Crown as well as of the parliament. By this I mean a perfectly independent condition, and I think this condition cannot be obtained, and if temporarily obtained, could not be preserved. I care not what name may be given to the position in which Ireland may be placed if it gives the best practical security for her rights and her interests. Ireland is now in the position of a conquered country, held only by the military power of England; I wish to redeem her from that state by founding the connexion on a just and useful basis.

FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 15 November 1844.



ON RURAL SOCIETY ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT FAMINE

1844–1845

Asenath Nicholson

Asenath Nicholson (1792–1855) was a New England widow of Puritan stock who visited Ireland in the 1840s, initially for the purpose of distributing Bibles to the poor. Such efforts to convert Irish Catholics were common among evangelical Protestants in this period, but Nicholson's evangelicalism was tempered by strong reform principles. Her accounts of her Irish labors reveal a degree of empathy with suffering Catholics rarely found among her Irish co-religionists.

SEE ALSO Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Great Famine; Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Potato and Potato Blight (*Phytophthora infestans*); Rural Life: 1690 to 1845

We have had many “Pencillings by the Way,” and “Cconciliation Halls,” and “Killarney Lakes” from the tops of coaches and from smoking dinner tables. But one day's walk on mountain or bog, one night's lodging where the pig, and the ass, and horned oxen feed,

“Like Aaron's serpent, swallows all the rest.”

“Remember, my children,” said my father, “that the Irish are a suffering people; and when they come to your doors, never send them empty away.” It was in

the garrets and cellars of New York that I first became acquainted with the Irish peasantry, and it was there I saw they were a suffering people. Their patience, their cheerfulness, their flow of blundering, hap-hazard, happy wit, made them to me a distinct people from all I had seen. Often, when seated at my fireside, have I said to those most dear to my heart, "God will one day allow me to breathe the mountain air of the sea-girt coast of Ireland—to sit down in their cabins, and there learn what soil has nurtured, what hardships have disciplined so hardy a race—so patient and so impetuous, so revengeful and so forgiving, so proud and so humble, so obstinate and so docile, so witty and so simple a people." . . .

And now began my cabin life. I had read with the deepest interest in the writings of Charlotte Elizabeth, that the peasantry of the county of Kilkenny were unrivalled in kindness; but burning words from graphic pens would faintly delineate what I there experienced from that interesting people. . . .

The next morning Anne again called to invite me to her house, and to say she had been sent by a few in the parish, to invite me to attend a field dance which was to be on the next day, and the Sabbath. In surprise I was about to answer, when Anne said, "I knew you would not, and told them so, but they begged I would say that they had no other day, as all were at work, and sure God wouldn't be hard upon 'em, when they had not other time, and could do nothing else for the stranger." I thanked them heartily for their kind feelings, and declined. Judge my confusion, when about sunset on Sabbath evening, just after returning from Johnstown, where I had attended church, the cabin door opened, and a crowd of all ages walked in, decently attired for the day, and without the usual welcomes or any apology, the hero who first introduced me seated himself at my side, took out his flute, wet his fingers, saying, "This is for you, Mrs. N., and what will you have?" A company were arranged for the dance, and so confounded was I that my only answer was, "I cannot tell." He struck up an Irish air, and the dance began. I had nothing to say, taken by surprise as I was; my only strength was to sit still.

This dance finished, the eldest son of my hostess advanced, made a low bow, and invited me to lead the next dance. I looked on his glossy black slippers, his blue stockings snugly fitted up to the knee, his corduroys above them, his blue coat and brass buttons, and had no reason to hope that, at my age of nearly half a century, I could ever expect another like offer. However I was not urged to accept it. Improper as it might appear, it was done as a civility, which, as a guest in his mother's house and a stranger, he thought, and all thought (as

I was afterwards told) he owed me. The cabin was too small to contain the three score and ten who had assembled, and with one simultaneous movement, without speaking, all rushed out, bearing me along, and placed me upon a cart before the door, the player at my right hand. And then a dance began, which, to say nothing of the day, was to me of no ordinary kind. Not a laugh—not a loud word was heard; no affected airs, which the young are prone to assume; but as soberly as though they were in a funeral procession, they danced for an hour, wholly for my amusement, and for my welcome. Then each approached, gave me the hand, bade me God speed, leaped over the style, and in stillness walked away. It was a true and hearty Irish welcome, in which the aged, as well as the young, participated. A matron of sixty, of the Protestant faith, was holding by the hand a grandchild of seven years, and standing by the cart where I stood; and she asked when they had retired, if I did not enjoy it? "What are these wonderful people?" was my reply. I had never seen the like. . . .

I had seen a dance, a wake, and a faction, but had never seen a fair; and being invited to occupy a seat in a chamber at Urlingford, which overlooked the field of action, I did so. "You'll not see such fun, ma'am, now," said my companion, "as you would have seen before the days of Father Matthew. Then we had a power of bloody noses, broken bones, and fine work for the police; but ye'll see fine cattle, and fat pigs; and maybe it's the bagpipes ye'd like." . . .

The fair, as a whole, was not censurable; never on any public day in any country had I heard so little profanity and noise, or seen so little disorder and disputing, the tinkers excepted. The peasants, too, were tidily dressed, and with great uniformity; the men in blue coats, corduroy breeches, and blue stockings; whilst a blue petticoat, with a printed dress turned back and pinned behind, coarse shoes, and blue or black stockings (when they have shoes), a blue cloak, with a hood to put over the head, in case of rain, constitute the dress of the women; and thus attired, a Kilkenny peasant seeks no change in storm or sunshine. The habits of cooking and eating have scarcely varied for two centuries; their cabins, their furniture, have undergone little or no change; the thatched roofs, the ground floor, the little window, the stone or mud wall, the peat fire, the clay chimney, the wooden stool, the pot, and the griddle, have probably been the inheritance of many generations. As to cleanliness, their habits are varied, as with all other people; and if few are scrupulously tidy, few are disgustingly filthy. Though every peasant in the Emerald Isle knows that he belongs to the "lower order" (for his teachers and landlords are fond of telling him so), the Kilkenny rustic, by his self-possessed manner in pres-

ence of his superior, says, "I also am a man"; and you do not see that cringing servility; you do not hear "yer honor," "yer reverence," "my lord," and "my lady" so frequently as among many of their class in other parts of Ireland. They are not so wretchedly poor as many; for though few can afford the "mate," except at Christmas or Easter, yet most of them can purchase an occasional loaf, and "the sup of tay," and all can, and all do, by "hook or by crook," get the "blessed tobacco." They are fond of dancing, and a child is taught it in his first lessons of walking. The bagpipes and fiddle are ever at their feasts, especially the latter; and the blind performer always receives a cordial "God bless you." . . .

Thirteen miles brought me to the pleasant town of Durrow, where I stopped for the night, to take passage in the morning for Dublin. Here I found an afflicted woman, whose husband had seven years before gone to New York, and she had not once heard from him. The sight of an American opened anew the channels of grief, which had already done a serious work. Kindness was here lavished without weight or measure, and when I called for my bill in the morning, "We cannot ask you anything, for you have had nothing," alluding to a straw bed which had been prepared by my request. I paid them more than the ordinary price, for they had done more than is customary to be done for lodgers.

At five, while the waning moon and twinkling stars were still looking out upon the beautiful landscape beneath them, I was upon the car, with a talkative young coachman, and rode five miles, passing the domains of the rich, whose high walls and wide-spreading lawns made a striking contrast with the thatched hovels and muddy door-yards of the wretched poor around them. Never had I ridden in Ireland when the stillness, the scenery, and the hour of the morning all so happily combined to make the heart rejoice as now. But the one dreadful, ever-living truth, like a spectre, haunts the traveller at every step; that Ireland's poor, above all others, are the most miserable, the most forgotten, and the most patient of all beings. I heed not who says the picture is too highly drawn. Let them see this picture as I have seen it, let them walk it, let them eat it, let them sleep it, as I have done. . . .

I have spoken plainly, that I might render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and as I visited Ireland to see it as it is, so I report it as I found it. I have stayed to witness that which, though so heart-rendering and painful, has given me but the proof of what common observation told me in the beginning—that there must needs be an explosion of some kind or other. But awful as it is, it has shown Ireland who are her worthy ones within her, and who are her friends abroad, and it will show her greater things than these.

May God bring her from her seven-times-heated furnace, purified and unhurt, and place her sons and daughters among the brightest of the stars that shall shine for ever in the kingdom of heaven, is the sincere desire of the writer.

Aseath Nicholson, IRELAND'S WELCOME TO THE STRANGER, OR AN EXCURSION THROUGH IRELAND IN 1844 & 1845 FOR THE PURPOSE OF PERSONALLY INVESTIGATING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR (1847), pp. iii–iv, 87, 90–91, 96, 97–98, 218–219, 456.



SPEECH ON THE USE OF PHYSICAL FORCE

28 July 1846

Thomas Francis Meagher

Within the Repeal Association the Young Ireland group, among whom Protestants were numerous, became increasingly dissatisfied with Daniel O'Connell's leadership between 1844 and 1846. His worst sins in their eyes were his opposition to the "Godless colleges" in 1845 and his alliance with the Whigs in 1846. O'Connell tried to bring his Young Ireland critics to heel through the "peace resolutions" of July 1846, which involved a total disavowal of physical force under almost any circumstances. In this speech Thomas Francis Meagher ("Meagher of the Sword") refused to repudiate physical force to this degree, and so did numerous other Young Irelanders. The result was a split that became permanent.

SEE ALSO Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation

I will commence as my friend Mr [John] Mitchel concluded, by an allusion to the Whigs (hear, hear). I fully concur with my friend that the "most comprehensive measures" of which the Whig ministers may propose and the English parliament may adopt, will fail to lift this country up to that position which she has the right to occupy and the power to maintain (cheers). A Whig minister, I admit, may improve the province, he will not restore the nation. Franchises, "equal laws," tenant compensation bills, "liberal appointments," in a word "full justice" as they say, may ameliorate, they will not exalt (cheers). They may meet the necessities, they will not call forth the abilities of the country. The errors of the past may be repaired. The hopes of the future will not be fulfilled. . . . From the stateliest mansion down

to the poorest cottage in the land, the inactivity, the meanness, the debasement, which provincialism engenders will be perceptible. These are not the crude sentiments of youth, though the mere commercial politician who has deduced his ideas of self-government from the table of imports and exports may satirise them as such. . . .

Voter's books and reports, these are the only weapons we can employ (hear). Therefore, my lord, I do advocate the peaceful policy of this association (cheers). It is the only policy we can and should adopt (cheers). If that policy be pursued with truth, with courage, with stern determination of purpose, I do firmly believe that it will succeed (loud and enthusiastic cheers). But, my lord, I dissented from the resolutions in question for other reasons (hear, hear). . . . I dissented from these resolutions, for I felt that by assenting to them, I should have pledged myself to the unqualified repudiation of physical force in all countries, at all times, and in every circumstance. This I could not do, for, my lord, I do not abhor the use of arms in the vindication of national rights (cheers).

There are times when arms will alone suffice, and when political ameliorations call for a drop of blood—(cheers)—and many thousand drops of blood (enthusiastic cheering and cries of "Oh, Oh"). Opinion, I admit, will operate against opinion. But as the hon[ourable] member for Kilkenny observed, force must be used against force (cheers and some confusion). The soldier is proof against an argument, but he is not proof against a bullet. The man that will listen to reason, let him be reasoned with, but it is the weaponed arm of the patriot that can alone avail against battalioned despotism (loud cheers). Then, my lord, I do not disclaim the use of force as immoral, nor do I believe that it is the truth to say that the God of heaven withholds His sanction from the use of arms. From the day on which in the valley of Bethulia He nerved the arm of the Jewish girl to smite the drunken tyrant in his tent, down to the hour in which He blessed the insurgent chivalry of the Belgium priests, His Almighty hand has ever been stretched forth from His throne of light to consecrate the flag of freedom, to bless the patriot's sword (loud and enthusiastic cheering). Be it for the defence or be it for the assertion of a nation's liberty, I look upon the sword as a sacred weapon ("No, No" from the Rev. Mr Hopkins). And if, my lord, it has sometimes reddened the shroud of the oppressor, like the anointed rod of the high priest, it has at other times blossomed into flowers to deck the freeman's brow (vehement applause).

Abhor the sword and stigmatise the sword? No, my lord, for in the cragged passes of the Tyrol it cut in pieces the banner of the Bavarian and won an immortality for

the peasant of Innsbruck (hear). Abhor the sword and stigmatise the sword? No, my lord, for at its blow a giant nation sprung up from the waters of the far Atlantic, and by its redeeming magic the fettered colony became a daring free republic. Abhor the sword and stigmatise the sword? No, my lord, for it scourged the Dutch marauders out of the fine old towns of Belgium, back into their own phlegmatic swamps—(cheers)—and knocked their flag, and laws, and sceptre, and bayonets into the sluggish waters of the Scheldt (enthusiastic cheers).

NATION, 1 August 1846.



FROM NARRATIVE OF A RECENT JOURNEY

1847

William Bennett

Traveling in Ireland during the height of the Great Famine with seed provision for the victims, William Bennett ascribed the sufferings which beset Ireland during the nineteenth century to a series of natural calamities rather than to the combination of political, economic, and natural events that had developed over time. Unlike most English commentators on Ireland at this time, though, he did not blame the Irish for the situation in which they found themselves.

SEE ALSO Population, Economy, and Society from 1750 to 1950; Rural Life: 1690 to 1845; Rural Life: 1850 to 1921

Take the line of the main course of the Shannon, continued north to Lough Swilly, and south to Cork. It divides the island into two great portions, east and west. In the eastern there is distress and poverty enough, as part of the same body, suffering from the same causes; but there is much to redeem. In the west it exhibits a people, not in the centre of Africa, the steppes of Asia, the backwoods of America—not some newly-discovered tribes of South Australia, or among the Polynesian Islands—not Hottentots, Bushmen, or Esquimeaux—neither Mahomedans nor Pagans—but some millions of our own Christian nation at home, living in a state and condition low and degraded to a degree unheard of before in any

civilised community; driven periodically to the borders of starvation; and now reduced, by a national calamity, to an exigency which all the efforts of benevolence can only mitigate, not control; and under which *absolute thousands* are not merely pining away in misery and wretchedness, but are dying like cattle off the face of the earth, from want and its kindred horrors! Is this to be regarded in the light of a Divine dispensation and punishment? Before we can safely arrive at such a conclusion, we must be satisfied that human agency and legislation, individual oppressions, and social relationships, have had no hand in it. . . .

Is there anything inherent in the national character fatal to improvement? The Irish are accused of being lazy, improvident, reckless of human life. I doubt their being much more so than the English, the Americans, or any other nation would be under the like circumstances. The distances to which an Irish labourer will go for work, and the hardships he will submit to, are notorious; and the private correspondence of all who have entered into the subject teems with evidence of the alacrity of the poor women and peasant girls for employment of any kind, and of the teachableness and skill they exhibit. The appeal to a wider range of facts is irresistible. Who come over in such numbers to reap our harvests, dig our canals, construct our railroads, in fact wherever hard work is to be obtained? Who save up what money they can, during harvest-time, and such-like seasons of extra employment, to take back to their families at home? Who, in a country where labour is better remunerated, send over sums exceeding all that the wealthy have raised in charity, to comfort those they have left behind, or help over their poor friends and relatives to what they think that happier land? The generosity of the Irish was never questioned. Their peaceableness has been put to the severest test. In no other country, probably, could such a state of things have endured so long, and to such an extremity, without ten-fold more outrages than have been committed. They are naturally a contented and a happy race. The charge of recklessness of human life—apart from those deplorably aggravated deeds arising invariably out of natural jealousies—is answered by the perfect safety of a stranger amongst them; and it has further been placed on the right shoulders in another quarter, more fearlessly than I durst have penned it here.

Reprinted in *STRANGERS TO THAT LAND: BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FAMINE*, edited by Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh (1994), pp. 156–157.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE TENANT-RIGHT CONFERENCE

6–9 August 1850

The clearances associated with the Great Famine, combined with a sharp downturn in agricultural prices beginning in 1849, dramatically heightened the anxieties of tenants all over the country. The formation of local tenant-protection societies soon escalated into the emergence of a national tenant-right movement, signaled by the holding of a tenant-right conference in Dublin in August 1850. This conference, which concluded with the establishment of the Irish Tenant League, embraced what became known as the “three Fs”: fair rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale of the tenant’s interest in his holding.

SEE ALSO Land Questions

SECTION I

1. That a fair valuation of rent between landlord and tenant in Ireland is indispensable.
2. That the tenant shall not be disturbed in his possession so long as he pays the rent fixed by the proposed law.
3. That the tenant shall have a right to sell his interest, with all its incidents, at the highest market value.
4. That where the rent has been fixed by valuation, no rent beyond the valued rent shall be recoverable by any process of law.
5. That cases of minors and other exceptional cases be considered hereafter in any measure to be introduced into parliament.
6. That it be an instruction to the [Irish Tenant] League [founded at this conference] to take into consideration, at the earliest possible period, the condition of farm labourers, and suggest some measure for their permanent protection and improvement in connection with the arrangement of the question between landlord and tenant.

SECTION II

1. That an equitable valuation of land for rent should divide between the landlord and the tenant the net profits of cultivation, in the same way as the profits would be divided between the partners in any other business where one of them is a dormant partner and the other the working capitalist who takes upon him the whole risk.

2. That nothing shall be included in the valuation or paid under the valuation to the landlord on account of improvements made by the tenant in possession or those under whom he claims, unless these have been paid for by the landlord in reduced rent or in some other way.

3. That if the landlord shall at any time have made improvements, either when the land is in his own occupation or with the consent of the tenant in occupation, or if the landlord shall have bought the tenant's improvements, the landlord shall have the right, on letting the same to a new tenant or on giving notice to the tenant in possession, to have such improvements valued for the purpose of adding to the rent.

4. That wherever in Ulster or elsewhere tenant-right custom has prevailed, the value of such right according to the local custom shall be considered in all respects as an improvement made by the tenant, and allowed for accordingly in valuing the rent.

5. That where land is held under lease, the lease shall not be disturbed unless at the request of the lessee or his assigns in possession; and if on such requests the rent be altered by the valuers, the tenant shall hold in future at the altered rent.

6. That the valuation, when once made, shall be permanent.

7. That every seven years there may and shall be a re-adjustment of the rent payable under the valuation, according to the rise or fall of the prices of agricultural produce, when the rise in prices be manifestly occasioned by the deficiency of the crops.

SECTION III

1. That the valuation shall be made by tribunals which shall unite as far as possible the advantages of *impartiality* between landlord and tenant, cheapness, accessibility, and *nomination* by the parties interested.

2. That these advantages may be secured to a reasonable degree—first, by local tribunals consisting of two valuers, one appointed by the landed proprietors and the other by the tenant farmers of the poor law union; secondly, by having valuers bound to value according to instructions embodied in the law; and thirdly, by having attached to each local tribunal a registrar or secretary whose duty it shall be to register all the proceedings of the valuers and keep them informed and reminded of the requirements of the instructions under which they act.

RULES OF THE [IRISH TENANT] LEAGUE

1. That an association to be called the Irish Tenant League be formed on the principles and subject to the

rules hereafter expressed; and that such League be hereby established accordingly.

2. That the sole objects of the Tenant League are to protect the tenant and to procure a good landlord-and-tenant law by the legal co-operation of persons of all classes and of all opinions on other subjects. . . .

FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 7-9 August 1850.



RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE TENANT LEAGUE CONFERENCE

8 September 1852

At a conference in Dublin held in September 1852 and attended by forty-one Liberal MPs, the delegates adopted a policy (set forth in the document below) of independent opposition to any government at Westminster that refused to endorse the tenant-right principles advanced by the prominent northern landlord William Sharman Crawford. The general election of July 1852 saw the return of fifty Irish MPs supposedly committed to tenant-right, but the movement disintegrated after the Independent Irish Party proved unable to preserve its cohesion.

SEE ALSO Land Questions

That in the unanimous opinion of this conference it is essential to the proper management of this cause that the members of parliament who have been returned on tenant-right principles should hold themselves perfectly independent of, and in opposition to, all governments which do not make it a part of their policy and a cabinet question to give to the tenantry of Ireland a measure fully embodying the principles of Mr [William] Sharman Crawford's bill.

FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 9 September 1852.



TWO FENIAN OATHS

1858, 1859

The revolutionary organization that eventually became known as the IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood or Irish

Revolutionary Brotherhood) was set up by James Stephens in Dublin in March 1858. Its original oath (the first one below) clearly identified it as a secret society; its members were later called Fenians. The movement was barely set on foot when in 1859 some of its members in the town and district of Skibbereen in west Cork were arrested and tried for participating in a secret conspiracy. Though the authorities dealt with these culprits leniently, the leaders of the organization decided to adopt a new form of oath (the second one below) allowing the Fenians to argue that their society was not secret.

SEE ALSO Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Stephens, James

I, A.B., do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will do my utmost, at every risk, while life lasts, to make Ireland an independent democratic republic; that I will yield implicit obedience, in all things not contrary to the law of God, to the commands of my superior officers; and that I shall preserve inviolable secrecy regarding all the transactions of this secret society that may be confided to me. So help me God! Amen.

I, A.B., in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly swear allegiance to the Irish Republic, now virtually established; and that I will do my very utmost, at every risk, while life lasts, to defend its independence and integrity; and, finally, that I will yield implicit obedience in all things, not contrary to the laws of God, to the commands of my superior officers. So help me God! Amen.

John O'Leary, *RECOLLECTIONS OF FENIANS AND FENIANISM*, 2 vols. (1896), vol. 1, pp. 120, 121.



"GOD SAVE IRELAND"

1867

The following song, best known under the title of "God Save Ireland," appeared in the *Nation* newspaper within a short time of the execution of the three "Manchester Martyrs" on 23 November 1867. The words were penned by the journalist, poet, and politician T. D. Sullivan, a constitutional nationalist like his more famous brother Alexander Martin Sullivan, the editor of the *Nation*. Set to

an American Civil War tune, the song became practically the Irish national anthem for the next fifty years.

SEE ALSO Balladry in English; Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Politics: 1800–1921—Changes to the Union; Sullivan Brothers (A. M. and T. D.)

Air—"Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching"

I
 High upon the gallows tree
 Swung the noble-hearted Three
 By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;
 But they met him face to face,
 With the courage of their race,
 And they went with souls undaunted to their doom.
 "God save Ireland!" said the heroes;
 "God save Ireland!" said they all:
 "Whether on the scaffold high
 "Or the battle-field we die,
 "Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

II
 Girt around with cruel foes,
 Still their spirit proudly rose,
 For they thought of hearts that loved them, far and
 near;
 Of the millions true and brave
 O'er the ocean's swelling wave,
 And the friends in holy Ireland ever dear.
 "God save Ireland!" said they proudly;
 "God save Ireland!" said they all:
 "Whether on the scaffold high
 "Or the battle-field we die,
 "Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

III
 Climbed they up the rugged stair,
 Rang their voices out in prayer,
 Then with England's fatal cord around them cast,
 Close beneath the gallows tree,
 Kissed like brothers lovingly,
 True to home and faith and freedom to the last.
 "God save Ireland!" prayed they loudly;
 "God save Ireland!" said they all:
 "Whether on the scaffold high
 "Or the battle-field we die,
 "Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

IV
 Never till the latest day
 Shall the memory pass away
 Of the gallant lives thus given for our land;
 But on the cause must go,
 Amidst joy, or weal, or woe,

Till we've made our isle a nation free and grand.
 "God save Ireland!" say we proudly;
 "God save Ireland!" say we all:
 "Whether on the scaffold high
 "Or the battle-field we die,
 "Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

T. D. Sullivan, *SONGS AND POEMS (1899)*, pp. 14–15.



RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE HOME RULE CONFERENCE

18–21 November 1873

Despite its failure in 1867, Fenianism was a clear sign that Irish disaffection was rooted in legitimate grievances, one of which was the continuing lack of self-government. To the disaffection of Irish Catholics was added that of many Irish Protestants when in 1869 the Liberals under Gladstone disestablished the Anglican church in Ireland and then proceeded to pass legislation in 1870 benefiting Irish tenants. Thus the Home Government Association (HGA), launched by Isaac Butt in September 1870, initially attracted the support of many disenchanted Protestants as well as the backing of aggrieved Catholics. The HGA and its successor the Home Rule League (founded in November 1873) revived the idea of a federal solution to the constitutional relationship between Britain and Ireland.

SEE ALSO Butt, Isaac; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

I. That as the basis of the proceedings of this conference, we declare our conviction that it is essentially necessary to the peace and prosperity of Ireland that the right of domestic legislation on all Irish affairs should be restored to our country.

II. That solemnly reasserting the inalienable right of the Irish people to self-government, we declare that time in our opinion has come when a combined and energetic effort should be made to obtain the restoration of that right.

III. That in accordance with the ancient and constitutional rights of the Irish nation, we claim the privilege of managing our own affairs by a parliament assembled in Ireland and composed of the sovereign, the Lords, and the Commons of Ireland.

IV. That in claiming these rights and privileges for our country, we adopt the principle of a federal arrangement, which would secure to the Irish parliament the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, while leaving to the imperial parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the imperial Crown and government, legislation regarding the colonies and other dependencies of the Crown, the relations of the empire with foreign states, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the empire at large; as well as the power of granting and providing the supplies necessary for imperial purposes.

V. That such an arrangement does not involve any change in the existing constitution of the imperial parliament or any interference with the prerogatives of the Crown or disturbance of the principles of the constitution.

VI. That to secure to the Irish people the advantages of constitutional government, it is essential that there should be in Ireland an administration for Irish affairs, controlled, according to constitutional principles, by the Irish parliament and conducted by ministers constitutionally responsible to that parliament.

VII. That in the opinion of the conference a federal arrangement based upon these principles would consolidate the strength and maintain the integrity of the empire and add to the dignity and power of the imperial Crown.

VIII. That while we believe that in an Irish parliament the rights and liberties of all classes of our countrymen would find their best and surest protection, we are willing that there should be incorporated in the federal constitution articles supplying the amplest guarantees that no change shall be made by parliament in the present settlement of property in Ireland, and that no legislation shall be adopted to establish any religious ascendancy in Ireland or to subject any person to disabilities on account of his religious opinions.

IX. That this conference calls on the Irish constituencies at the next general election to return men earnestly and truly devoted to the great cause which this conference has been called to promote, and who, in any emergency that may arise, will be ready to take counsel with a great national conference, to be called in such a manner as to represent the opinions and feelings of the Irish nation; and that with a view of rendering members of parliament and their constituents more in accord on all questions affecting the welfare of the country, it is recommended by this conference that at the close of each session of parliament the representatives should render to their constituents an account of their stewardships.

X. That in order to carry these objects into practical effect, an association be now formed, to be called "the Irish Home Rule League," of which the essential and fundamental principles shall be those declared in the resolutions adopted at this conference, and of which the object, and only object, shall be to obtain for Ireland by peaceable and constitutional means the self-government claimed in those resolutions. . . .

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOME RULE CONFERENCE HELD AT THE ROTUNDA, DUBLIN, ON THE 18TH, 19TH, 20TH, AND 21ST NOVEMBER, 1873 (1874), pp. 201–202.



SPEECH ADVOCATING CONSIDERATION OF HOME RULE BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

30 June 1874

Isaac Butt

Though the son of an Anglican clergyman and himself conservative in temperament and general political inclination, Isaac Butt defended the Fenians as a barrister in the 1860s, was a staunch advocate of tenant right, and founded the Home Government Association in September 1870. Butt sought to dress up Irish Home Rule as a cause that even Conservatives could support because in its federal form it would not threaten the British empire and would draw the teeth of legitimate Irish grievances. He struck these notes when commending Home Rule to the House of Commons in late June 1874. His motion was defeated by 458 to 61.

SEE ALSO Butt, Isaac; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891

The resolutions he now submitted to the House were very clear, and if they were debated, it would be seen that they were quite sufficient to guide the House to a conclusion. In the next place he would direct their attention to this fact—that they involved no change in the constitution, and he was anxious that the House should clearly understand this. He proposed no change in the imperial parliament, and if his scheme were adopted, the House would meet next year just as it had done this; there would not be a single change in members or constituencies; there would be the members for Leeds, Glasgow, Dublin, and Limerick; the only change would be

to take from that assembly some of the duties which it now discharged in reference to Irish business and to relegate them to another. That being so, he was tempted to ask whether the removal of the Irish business from that House would be regarded by the hon[ourable] members as an intolerable grievance? Some might be of opinion that it would be no great grievance if the Irish members were sent away; but the great majority, he believed, would be of opinion that if the Irish business were transacted elsewhere, more time would be left for the transaction of the legitimate business of the House. Now, he might be asked what he called Irish business; and further, if, should Irish members go into a parliament of their own to transact their own business, they would still claim the power and privilege of voting on English questions in this House? He would answer the second question by saying emphatically "No." . . .

The English parliament, including the Scotch members—he would perhaps have a word to say on the last point presently—would meet to discuss purely English affairs, and when there was any question affecting the empire at large, Irish members might be summoned to attend. He saw no difficulty in the matter. The English parliament could manage English affairs as before the union; but now the English parliament undertook a duty it was unable to perform—namely, to manage the internal affairs of Ireland to the satisfaction of the Irish people. He did not seek to interfere with the right of taxing Ireland for imperial purposes, providing always that Ireland had a voice in imperial matters. He was asking only for a constitutional government and the benefit of those free institutions which made England great. If he succeeded in showing that Ireland had not a constitutional government, then he thought he could rely on the justice and generosity of the English parliament and of the Commons at large to give it to her. What was constitutional government? It consisted of adequate representation in parliament—a control of the administration of affairs by a representative assembly of the people, so as to bring the government of the country into harmony with the feeling, the wants, and the wishes of the people. Did the representation by 103 Irish members in the English House of Commons amount to that? Could it be said that the House discharged the great function of constitutional government to Ireland? If it did not, then it followed that Ireland was deprived of that constitutional government which was its inherent right. He knew it might be said that this involved the question whether Ireland and England were not so blended into one nation that the same House might discharge the duties of a representative assembly for both. That again was a matter of fact. The House might wish that they were all West Britons, but wishes would not alter facts. . . . The two countries were not blended to-

gether, because in every department in Ireland the distinction was marked. They had a separate government, a separate lord lieutenant, separate courts of law, and exceptional laws were passed for Ireland which would never be tolerated for England. How, then, could one representative assembly act for both? Was not the consequence that the weaker country had no constitutional government? In this country there was constitutional government. The House of Commons administered the affairs of the nation in harmony with the sentiments of the English people. Statesmen in that House breathed an atmosphere of English feeling; they discussed English questions in an English assembly; they were driven of necessity to mould the administration of the government in accordance with the wants and wishes of the people. They asked the same for Ireland, and they asked for no more. . . .

As a matter of fact, the whole government of Ireland was based upon distrust of all classes in the community. Stipendary magistrates were substituted for the resident gentry of the country, and a sub-inspector of constabulary was a more influential person than the lord lieutenant of a county. The whole record of the legislation for Ireland since the union was made up of successive Arms Acts, suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act, to Party Processions Prevention Acts and Coercion Acts, each one being more severe than its predecessor. And this record was the more gloomy because it was a record of the doings of well-intentioned parliaments. Notwithstanding all that had been done, the curfew bell of the Norman conquerors was rung in many parts of the country, and in others blood money was exacted after the example of the Saxons. Even if it were true—which he denied—that such a course of legislation had been necessary, that very fact would be its most grievous condemnation. He was therefore justified in saying that up to now the government of the country had failed, and in asking that the Irish people might have an opportunity of managing their own affairs. He was told that parliament having passed the Land Act [of 1870] and the Church [Disestablishment] Act [of 1869], the Irish people were ungrateful in coming forward and demanding Home Rule also. It was even said that such a course was an act of ingratitude towards the individual minister who had been mainly instrumental in passing those acts. All he could say was that such assertions showed the faultiness of the system under which they could be possible. Who ever spoke of the English people being grateful for the passing of a good act? . . . Was there an Englishman in the House who would not be glad to get rid of the opprobrium attaching to the government of Ireland? If the wish was really entertained, the way to get rid of it was by allowing the Irish people an opportunity of trying to govern themselves. If they

succeeded, great and glorious would be the reward of those who gave the opportunity; if they failed, theirs alone would be the blame. And where was there to be found any valid objection to granting what they asked? The imperial parliament would hold the army, the navy, and all that was connected with affairs purely imperial, and no difficulty would be found in separating from imperial questions those with which an Irish parliament might properly deal. The United States of America afforded an illustration of a successful federal government with independent state legislatures, and in some of our own colonies they found instances of people owning the imperial sway of England, but at the same time managing their own internal affairs. Even supposing that there might be some disaffected members of an Irish parliament—and this he did not admit—they would be in a miserable minority, and the fact of their disaffection being open to the light would give the strongest assurance of its speedy extinction. In two English colonies were to be found men who, driven out of Ireland because they could no longer endure the system of government existing there, had become ministers under the British crown, and were doing honour alike to the colonies in which they served and to the sovereign who had appointed them. Sir George Grey, the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, wrote strongly in favour of giving a federal parliament to Ireland, and he believed in his soul that it would be the means of effecting a complete union with England. Wrong had driven a large proportion of the Irish people into the madness of insurrection or sympathy with insurrection. It was indeed the consciousness of this fact which made him set himself earnestly to work to devise a means of stopping this miserable series of abortive insurrections and revolts by which Ireland had been torn, and some of the best and bravest of her sons driven into exile. He believed he had devised a plan which would satisfy the just demands of the people without producing a disintegration of the empire; therefore, he had asked the people to give up the madness of revolt and join with him in constitutionally and peacefully making an appeal to England. Many of the people who supported this moderate proposal would waste their lives in useless struggles against England if they saw no other redress for the sufferings of their country. . . . He believed the Irish people were essentially conservative. It was only misgovernment that had driven them into revolt. Give them fair play, and there was no people on earth who would be more attached to true conservative principles than the Irish nation. The geographical position of Ireland made it her interest to be united with England. They were allied to England by ties of kindred and ties of self-interest which bound them to maintain inviolate the connexion with this country, and the way to maintain that connexion

was to give them justice in the management of their own internal affairs. . . . Give us—continued the hon[ourable] and learned gentleman—a full participation in your freedom and make us sharers in those free institutions which have made England so great and glorious. Give us our share, which we have not now, in that greatest and best of all free institutions—a free parliament representing indifferently the whole people.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, *third series*, ccxxx, cols. 700–717.



FROM BELFAST FIFTY YEARS AGO

1875

Thomas Gaffikin

In this lecture delivered in 1875 to the Belfast Workingman's Institute, Thomas Gaffikin recalls the city of his youth in the 1820s. At that point in the development of the Belfast textile industry, cotton, not linen, was the dominant fiber. Spinning took place in mills, but the resulting yarn was still put out to handloom weavers whose looms were located in their houses in the city and its environs.

SEE ALSO Belfast

I endeavour, as briefly as possible, to convey an impression from memory of what Belfast was like in my school-boy days—now more than fifty years ago. . . . That wide and splendid thoroughfare now leading from Cromac Street to Corporation Street could then have been scarcely imagined. This brings us back to our starting point with, perhaps, the impression that few changes in Belfast are more remarkable than the gradual occupation by the town of places formerly, to a more or less extent, covered with water; and this movement has been long on foot. I have heard of old people talking of the time when the river in High Street was open, and describing when markets were held, how both sides of the street were occupied by stalls in front of the houses. . . .

The Dublin Road, like all the other approaches to the town, was paved in the centre with large boulder stones to the rising ground at Fountainville (the only roads about the town that still exhibit this old style of pavement are the Strandtown Road, near Gelston's Corner,

and the old Ballygowan Road at Gooseberry Corner). The first toll-bar on the Dublin Road was where the new Methodist Church now stands, it interrupted the progress of all vehicles except the Royal Mail Coach, which, with four fresh horses in front, and a couple of guards fully armed behind, took the hill at a canter. It was a steeper hill then than now.

The Country Down side of the harbour was called Voke's Quay, and was principally occupied by lighters, lime cobbles, or vessels undergoing repairs. This brings us back to

The old Long Bridge, some twenty feet wide,
With numerous arches for spanning the tide;
Holes made in the walls to drain off the wet,
And niches for safety where vehicles met.

About this time the population numbered some thirty-five or forty thousand. The principal trades were cotton-spinning, tanning, timber, and provisions. We had four or five cotton mills, about thirty tanyards, and extensive provision stores, in different quarters of the town. Smithfield was the principal market for miscellaneous goods, such as hides, wool, clothing, house furnishing (new and old), and every description of farm stock and produce.

We had abundance of ballad-singers and musicians, who, with the old watchmen calling the hours, striking their pikes on the pavement, or springing their rattles on the slightest disturbance or report of a fire, and sweeps, oystermen, piemen, tapesellers, cries of Ballinderry onions and Cromac water, kept up the noise from morning till night. . . . Cockeybendy was a very little bandy-legged man, who knew the tune to play at every house in the locality he frequented. "Garryowen," "St. Patrick's Day," and, "the Boyne Water" were his best paying airs.

We had two competing lines to Dublin, the Mail and Fair Trader coaches. . . . In times of public excitement great crowds used to collect about the time the coach was expected, and very important looked the guard and coachman as they detailed the latest news from the metropolis. . . . A mail coach, with the English and Scottish letters, also ran daily to Donaghadee in connection with the short sea passage to Portpatrick, which Lord Castlereagh had promoted.

There had been great changes in our local trades in fifty years. While some have increased, others have diminished. The cotton spinning has not held its relative position, while coopering and tanning have almost disappeared. High Street was naturally the best business street, but its shops were very different from the elegant establishments of to-day. Instead of a whole

story of plate glass reaching almost to the ground, we had low front and small windows of little panes that were cleaned perhaps once a month, and protected, or rather encumbered, with strong iron railings on the outside. . . .

A buff vest, a swallow-tailed coat, with bright buttons, a frilled shirt, with ruffled cuffs, and a large gold seal hanging from the fob completed the costume of a dandy. I cannot describe the ladies' dress with any minuteness but its tone seemed to be more severe and forbidding than later styles. The coal scuttle bonnet kept the gentlemen at a respectful distance from their faces, while in fine weather they might admire their slender waists, and sandal shoes with ankle ties, but in wet and wintry weather the ladies took their airing in sedan chairs or muffled up and mounted on pattens. The sedan chairs were kept in entries off High Street, and the measured tramp of the bearers could be heard going to and from the theatre, evening parties, or the church on Sundays. The ladies' pattens were heard even more distinctly, and on Sundays in winter the porch of the parish church would be lined during the time of Divine service with the pattens of various sizes and colours.

The population of Belfast then (1823) numbering some forty thousand was of a very mixed character, and as the females preponderated, their labour was cheap and more varied before the flax-spinning mills were established. At that time common labourers' wages were seven shillings a week, while tradesmen and skilled labourers were paid in proportion. The pay of bricklayers and carpenters was about sixteen shillings, their hours of labour being longer than at present. The pay of a foreman or one who had charge of some particular branch of the trade, was sometimes eighteen or twenty shillings. The generality of the workmen and their families appeared as comfortable then as they do now at a time when they are receiving double the pay . . .

The population began to grow rapidly as the spinning mills and weaving factories increased. The districts of Millfield, Carrick Hill, and the Pound were thickly populated by old families long connected with Belfast, and strangers coming amongst them were looked upon with suspicion for some time. In these localities the cock fights and dock fights generally originated. The principal occupation of the people was weaving, but many of them wrought at the production of various articles exposed for sale in the stalls of Smithfield. Ballymacarrett, Sandy Row, and Brown Square were the greatest weaving localities. The sound of the shuttle was heard almost in every house. . . .

The most important changes that have taken place in Belfast are—the great increase in the population, and

the price or value of land in the neighbourhood. Farms of land and town parks, which once were held at from seven to ten shillings per acre, on terminable leases, were renewed to the tenants by the late Marquis (of Donegal). . . . The people of Belfast in the present generation are principally strangers. Living examples of successful merchants who came into Belfast from the neighbouring districts are to be found in every street. . . . Long may good and enterprising men be attracted here for commercial and scientific purposes, and may our native town prosper and flourish, and extend on every side until it clammers the slopes of the beautiful green hills that encircle it.

Reprinted in IRELAND FROM GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT TO THE GREAT FAMINE (1783–1850), edited by James Carty (1966), pp. 36–39.



ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL LAND LEAGUE OF MAYO

16 August 1879

The Land League of Mayo was the precursor of the Irish National Land League established in Dublin in October 1879 with Charles Stewart Parnell as its president. The Mayo League grew out of a series of successful land demonstrations held in the west of Ireland in the summer of 1879 in response to a sharply deteriorating economic situation caused by bad weather, poor crops, and falling agricultural prices. Michael Davitt and other Fenians were instrumental in founding the Mayo League and its successor, the National Land League.

SEE ALSO Davitt, Michael; Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Parnell, Charles Stewart

A meeting in connexion with the land agitation in Mayo . . . took place at Castlebar today in Daly's Hotel and was attended by representative delegates from all parts of the county. . . . Mr Michael Davitt read a document embodying the rules and objects of the proposed association.

This body shall be known as the National Land League of Mayo and shall consist of farmers and others who will agree to labour for the objects here set forth, and subscribe to the conditions of membership, principles, and rules specified below.

Objects: The objects for which this body is organised are—

1. To watch over the interests of the people it represents and protect the same, as far as may be in its power to do so, from an unjust or capricious exercise of power or privilege on the part of landlords or any other class in the community.

2. To resort to every means compatible with justice, morality, and right reason, which shall not clash defiantly with the constitution upheld by the power of the British empire in this country, for the abolition of the present land laws of Ireland and the substitution in their place of such a system as shall be in accord with the social rights and necessities of our people, the traditions and moral sentiments of our race, and which the contentment and prosperity of our country imperatively demand.

3. Pending a final and satisfactory settlement of the land question, the duty of this body will be to expose the injustice, wrong, or injury which may be inflicted upon any farmer in Mayo, either by rack-renting, eviction, or other arbitrary exercise of power which the existing laws enable the landlords to exercise over their tenantry, by giving all such arbitrary acts the widest possible publicity and meeting their perpetration with all the opposition which the laws for the preservation of the peace will permit of. In furtherance of which, the following plan will be adopted:—a. Returns to be obtained, printed, and circulated, of the number of landlords in this county; the amount of acreage in possession of same, and the means by which such land was obtained; farms let by each, with the conditions under which they are held by their tenants and excess of rent paid by same over the government valuation. b. To publish by placard, or otherwise, notice of contemplated evictions for non-payment of exorbitant rent or other unjust cause, and the convening of a public meeting, if deemed necessary or expedient, as near the scene of such evictions as circumstances will allow, and on the day fixed upon for the same. c. The publication of a list of evictions carried out, together with cases of rack-renting, giving full particulars of same, names of landlords, agents, etc., concerned, and number people evicted by such acts. d. The publication of the names of all persons who shall rent or occupy land or farms from which others have been dispossessed for non-payment of exorbitant rents, or who shall offer a higher rent for land or farms than that paid by the previous occupier. The publication of reductions of rent and acts of justice or kindness performed by landlords in the county.

4. This body to undertake the defence of such of its members, or those of local clubs affiliated with it, who may be required to resist by law the actions of landlords

or their agents who may purpose doing them injury, wrong, or injustice in connexion with their land or farms.

5. To render assistance when possible to such farmer-members as may be evicted or otherwise wronged by landlords or their agents.

6. To undertake the organising of local clubs or defence associations in the baronies, towns, and parishes of this county, the holding of public meetings and demonstrations on the land question, and the printing of pamphlets on that and other subjects for the information of the farming classes.

7. And finally, to act as a vigilance committee in Mayo, note the conduct of its grand jury, poor law guardians, town commissioners, and members of parliament, and pronounce on the manner in which their respective functions are performed, wherever the interests, social or political, of the people represented by this club renders it expedient to do so.

Conditions of membership: 1. To be a member or any local club or defence association in the county, and be selected by such club or association to represent the same on the central or county association. . . . 3. To pay any sum not under five shillings a year towards the carrying out of the foregoing objects and the end for which this body is created—the obtaining of the soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland who cultivate it.

Declaration of principles. The land of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland, to be held and cultivated for the sustenance of those whom God decreed to be the inhabitants thereof. Land being created to supply the necessities of existence, those who cultivate it to that end have a higher claim to its absolute possession than those who make it an article of barter to be used or disposed of for purposes of profit or pleasure. The end for which the land of a country is created requires an equitable distribution of the same among the people who are to live upon such distribution of the same among the people who are to live upon the fruits of their labour in its cultivation. Any restriction, therefore, upon such a distribution by a feudal land system embodying the laws of primogeniture and entail, the amassing of large estates, the claiming of proprietorship under penal obligations from occupiers, and preventing the same from developing the full resources of the land, must necessarily be opposed to the divine purpose for which it was created, and to the social rights, security, and happiness of the people.

“Before the conquest the Irish people knew nothing of absolute property in land. The land virtually belonged to the entire sept; the chief was little more than managing member of the association. The feudal idea,

which views all rights as emanating from a head landlord, came in with the conquest, was associated with foreign dominion, and has never to this day been recognised by the moral sentiments of the people. Originally the offspring not of industry but of spoliation, the right has not been allowed to purify itself by protracted possession, but has passed from the original spoliators to others by a series of fresh spoliations, so as to be always connected with the latest and most odious oppression of foreign invaders. In the moral feelings of the Irish people, the right to hold the land goes, as it did in the beginning, with the right to till it." These were the words of John Stuart Mill, the English political economist. . . .

The area of Ireland and the natural wealth of its soil is capable of supporting from twelve to twenty millions of inhabitants if restrictive land laws did not operate against the full development of the country's resources and the unfettered cultivation of the land. Yet a population of 8,000,000 previous to the year 1847 was reduced by death, starvation, and exile, consequent upon an artificial famine and continued impoverishment, to little over 5,000,000 at the present day. Decreased population with its concomitant absorption of small-holdings into large estates has produced no beneficial changes in the condition of the existent farming classes, who are compelled by the coercion of necessity in the absence of manufacturing industry to the acceptance of a non-alternative bargain in the shape of exorbitant rent in order to obtain the use of the soil. The dread of eviction or rack-renting must necessarily operate against the expenditure of labour and enterprise in the cultivation of the land and improvement of farm dwellings and premises which follow in every country where the fruits of the people's industry is [*sic*] protected by the state; hence the soil of Ireland is worse and less cultivated, and the living and habitations of its agricultural classes [*are*] more wretched, than in any country in the civilised world. Over 6,000,000 acres of Irish land is owned by less than 300 individuals, twelve of whom are in possession of 1,297,888 acres between them, while 5,000,000 of the Irish people own not a solitary acre. For the protection of the proprietorial rights of the few thousand landlords in the country, a standing army of semi-military police is maintained which landless millions have to support, while the conduct of the landocracy in the exercise of its legal privileges occasions almost all the evils under which our people suffer.

Thus the rights of the soil cultivators, their security from arbitrary disturbance and incentives to social advancement, together with the general well-being, peace, and prosperity of the people at large, are sacrificed for the benefit of a class insignificant in numbers and of least account in all that goes towards the maintenance

of a country, but which by the aid of existing land laws extracts some twenty million pounds annually from the soil of Ireland without conferring any single benefit in return on the same or [on] the people by whose industry it is produced.

If the land in the possession of 744 landlords in this country were divided into 20-acre farms, it would support in ease and comparative independence over two millions and a half of our people.

To substitute for such an unjust and anomalous system as the present land code—one that would show an equal protection and solicitude for the social rights and well-being of the labouring millions as that shown for those of the wealthy but non-operative few—is the principle upon which enlightened statesmanship aims at following in modern times to meet the growing necessities of that popular intelligence and awakening civilisation which demands the sweeping away of those feudal laws opposed to the social progress and ideas of the age. Sacrificing the interests of the few to the welfare of the many by the abolition of feudal land codes has laid the foundation of solid governments and secured the contentment of peoples in most European countries. The interests of the landlords of Ireland are pecuniary and can be compensated, but the interests of the people of Ireland, dependant upon the produce of the soil, is [*sic*] their very existence. In denouncing the existing land laws and demanding in their place such a system as will recognise and establish the cultivator of the said soil as its proprietor, we neither purpose nor demand the confiscation of the interest which the landlords now hold in the land, but ask that compensation be given them for loss of said rights when the state, for the peace, benefit, and happiness of the people, shall decree the abolition of the present system.

We appeal to the farmers of Ireland to be up and doing at once and organise themselves forthwith in order that their full strength may be put forth in behalf of themselves and their country in efforts to obtain what has brought security and comparative plenty to the farming classes of continental countries. Without an evidence of earnestness and practical determination being shown now by the farmers of Ireland and their friends in a demand for a small proprietary which alone can fully satisfy the Irish people or finally settle the great land question of the country, the tribunal of public opinion will neither credit the urgent necessity for such a change nor lend its influence in ameliorating the condition or redressing the social and political wrongs of which we complain. Let us remember, in the words of one of Ireland's greatest sons [John Mitchel], that "the land is the fund whence we all ultimately draw; and if the terms on which the land is cultivated be

unfair—if the agricultural system of a country be unsound, then the entire structure is rotten and will inevitably come down. Let us never forget that mere appeals to the public to encourage native industry in other departments must be utterly futile so long as the great and paramount native industry of the farmer is neglected. In vain shall we try to rouse national spirit if the very men who make the nation sink into paupers before our face. Paupers have no country, no rights, no duties; and, in short, if we permit the small farmers to be reduced to pauperism—if we see them compelled to give up their land and throw themselves on public relief, there is an end of Ireland.”

The manifesto was unanimously adopted.

FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 18 August 1879.



CALL AT ENNIS FOR AGRARIAN MILITANCY

19 September 1880

Charles Stewart Parnell

Boycotting, of course, was not invented by the Land League, but the League did bring boycotting to bear on the land question in innovative ways and on an unprecedented scale. The word entered the language through the name of Captain Charles Cunningham Boycott, the agent of Lord Erne's estate in County Mayo, who was targeted beginning on 24 September 1880. This was less than a week after Charles Stewart Parnell had advocated such ostracism in a speech at Ennis. On the whole, boycotting was employed to discipline recalcitrant tenant farmers more often than offending landlords or agents.

SEE ALSO Land War of 1879 to 1882; Parnell, Charles Stewart

. . . Depend upon it that the measure of the land bill of next session will be the measure of your activity and energy this winter (cheers)—it will be the measure of your determination not to pay unjust rents—it will be the measure of your determination to keep a firm grip of your homesteads (cheers). It will be the measure of your determination not to bid for farms from which others have been evicted, and to use the strong force of public opinion to deter any unjust men amongst yourselves—

and there are many such—from bidding for such farms (hear, hear). If you refuse to pay unjust rents, if you refuse to take farms from which others have been evicted, the land question must be settled, and settled in a way that will be satisfactory to you. It depends therefore upon yourselves, and not upon any commission or any government. When you have made this question ripe for settlement, then and not till then will it be settled (cheers). It is very nearly ripe already in many parts of Ireland. It is ripe in Mayo, Galway, Roscommon, Sligo, and portions of the County Cork (cheers). But I regret to say that the tenant farmers of the County Clare have been backward in organisation up to the present time. You must take and band yourselves together in Land Leagues. Every town and village must have its own branch. You must know the circumstances of the holdings and of the tenures of the district over which the League has jurisdiction—you must see that the principles of the Land League are inculcated, and when you have done this in Clare, then Clare will take her rank with the other active counties, and you will be included in the next land bill brought forward by the government (cheers). Now, what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which another has been evicted?

Several voices: “Shoot him.”

Mr. Parnell: I think I heard somebody say shoot him (cheers). I wish to point out to you a very much better way—a more Christian and charitable way which will give the lost man an opportunity of repenting (laughter, and hear). When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must shun him on the roadside when you meet him—you must shun him in the streets of the town—you must shun him in the shop—you must shun him in the fairgreen and in the market place, and even in the place of worship, by leaving him alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his country as if he were the leper of old—you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed. If you do this, you may depend on it, there will be no man so full of avarice—so lost to shame—as to dare the public opinion of all the right-thinking men in the county and transgress your unwritten code of laws. People are very much engaged at present in discussing the way in which the land question is to be settled, just the same as when a few years ago Irishmen were at each other's throats as to the sort of parliament we would have if we got one. I am always thinking it is better first to catch your hare before you decide how you are going to cook him (laughter). I would strongly recommend public men not to waste their breath too much in discussing how the land question is to be settled, but rather to help and encourage the people in making it, as I said just now, ripe for

settlement (applause). When it is ripe for settlement, you will probably have your choice as to how it shall be settled, and I said a year ago that the land question would never be settled until the Irish landlords were just as anxious to have it settled as the Irish tenants (cheers).

A voice: "They soon will be."

Mr. Parnell: There are indeed so many ways in which it may be settled that it is almost superfluous to discuss them; but I stand here today to express my opinion that no settlement can be satisfactory or permanent which does not ensure the uprooting of that system of landlordism which has brought the country three times in a century to famine. The feudal system of land tenure has been tried in almost every European country and it has been found wanting everywhere; but nowhere has it brought more exile, produced more suffering, crime, and destitution than in Ireland (cheers). It was abolished in Prussia by transferring the land from the landlords to the occupying tenants. The landlords were given government paper as compensation. Let the English government give the landlords their paper tomorrow as compensation (laughter). We want no money—not a single penny of money would be necessary. Why, if they gave the Irish landlords—the bad section of them—the four or five millions a year that they spend on the police and military (groans) in helping them to collect their rents, that would be a solution of it (cheers), and a very cheap solution of it. But perhaps as with other reforms, they will try a little patchwork and tinkering for a while until they learn better (hear, hear). Well, let them patch and tinker if they wish. In my opinion the longer the landlords wait, the worse the settlement they will get (cheers). Now is the time for them to settle before the people learn the power of combination. We have been accused of preaching communistic doctrines when we told the people not to pay an unjust rent, and the following out of that advice in a few of the Irish counties had shown the English government the necessity for a radical alteration in the land laws. But how would they like it if we told the people some day or other not to pay any rent until this question is settled (cheers). We have not told them that yet, and I suppose it may never be necessary for us to speak in that way (hear). I suppose the question will be settled peaceably, fairly, and justly to all parties (hear, hear). If it should not be settled, we cannot continue to allow this [millstone] to hang round the neck of our country, throttling its industry and preventing its progress (cheers). It will be for the consideration of wiser heads than mine whether, if the landlords continue obdurate and refuse all just concessions, we shall not be obliged to tell the people of Ireland to strike against rent until this question has been settled (cheers). And if the five

hundred thousand tenant farmers of Ireland struck against the ten thousand landlords, I would like to see where they would get police and soldiers enough to make them pay (loud cheers).

FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 20 September 1880.



LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT

22 August 1881

The Land League spearheaded a campaign of violence and intimidation against the existing land system between 1879 and 1881. To this campaign the British government responded with a combination of conciliation and coercion. Conciliation took the form of the 1881 Land Act, which finally conceded the three Fs for which tenant advocates had been contending since the 1850s. To "fair rents," fixity of tenure, and free sale was added a modest provision for tenant land-purchase. The omission of leaseholders and tenants in arrears from the benefits of the Land Act, and the lack of adequate facilities for land purchase, meant that the agrarian struggle would continue in spite of these substantial concessions.

SEE ALSO Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; Land War of 1879 to 1882; Parnell, Charles Stewart

AN ACT TO FURTHER AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO THE OCCUPATION AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN IRELAND, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES RELATING THERETO

Be it enacted . . . as follows:

1. The tenant for the time being of every holding, not hereinafter specially excepted from the provisions of this act, may sell his tenancy for the best price that can be got for the same, subject to the following regulations and subject also to the provisions in this act contained with respect to the sale of a tenancy subject to statutory conditions:

- (1) Except with the consent of the landlord, the sale shall be made to one person only:
- (2) The tenant shall give the prescribed notice to the landlord of his intention to sell his tenancy:
- (3) On receiving such notice the landlord may purchase the tenancy for such sum as may be agreed

upon, or in the event of disagreement, may be ascertained by the court to be the true value thereof:

- (4) Where the tenant shall agree to sell his tenancy to some other person than the landlord, he shall, upon informing the landlord of the name of the purchaser, state in writing therewith the consideration agreed to be given for the tenancy:
- (5) If the tenant fails to give the landlord the notice or information required by the foregoing subsections, the court may, if it think fit and that the just interests of the landlord so require, declare the sale to be void:
- (6) Where the tenancy is sold to some other person than the landlord, the landlord may within the prescribed period refuse on reasonable grounds to accept the purchaser as tenant. . . .
- (7) Where the tenancy is subject to any such conditions as are in this act declared to be statutory conditions, and the sale is made in consequence of proceedings by the landlord for the purpose of recovering possession of the holding by reason of the breach of any of such conditions, the court shall grant to the landlord out of the purchase moneys payment of any debt, including arrears of rent, due to him by the tenant. . . .
- (8) Where permanent improvements on a holding have been made by the landlord or his predecessors in title . . . , and the landlord . . . consents that his property in such improvements shall be sold along with the tenancy . . . , the purchase money shall be apportioned by the court. . . .
- (9) When a tenant sells his tenancy to any person other than the landlord, the landlord may at any time within the prescribed period give notice both to the outgoing tenant and to the purchaser of any sums which he may claim from the outgoing tenant for arrears of rent or other breaches of the contract or conditions of tenancy. And
 - (a) If the outgoing tenant does not within the prescribed period give notice to the purchaser that he disputes such claims or any of them, the purchaser shall out of the purchase moneys pay the full amount thereof to the landlord; and
 - (b) If the outgoing tenant disputes such claims or any of them, the purchaser shall out of the purchase moneys pay to the landlord so much (if any) of such claims as the outgoing tenant admits, and pay the residue of the amount claimed by the landlord into court in the prescribed manner.

Until the purchaser has satisfied the requirements of this subsection, it shall not be obligatory on the landlord to accept the purchaser as his tenant. . . .

- (11) A tenant who has sold his tenancy on any occasion of quitting his holding shall not be entitled on the same occasion to receive compensation for either disturbance or improvements; and a tenant who has received compensation for either disturbance or improvements on any occasion of quitting his holding shall not be entitled on the same occasion to sell his tenancy.
- (12) The tenant of a holding subject to the Ulster tenant-right custom or to a usage corresponding to the Ulster tenant-right custom may sell his tenancy either in pursuance of that custom or usage or in pursuance of this section. . . .
 4. Where the landlord demands an increase of rent from the tenant of a present tenancy . . . , or demands an increase of rent from the tenant of a future tenancy, beyond the amount fixed at the beginning of such tenancy, then,
 - (1) Where the tenant accepts such increase, until the expiration of a term of fifteen years from the time when such increase was made (in this act referred to as a statutory term), such tenancy shall (if it so long continues to subsist) be deemed to be a tenancy subject to statutory conditions, with such incidents during the continuance of the said term as are in this act in that behalf mentioned.
 - (2) Where the tenant of any future tenancy does not accept such increase and sell his tenancy, the same shall be sold subject to the increased rent, and in addition to the price paid for the tenancy, he shall be entitled to receive from his landlord the amount (if any) by which the court may, on the application of the landlord or tenant, decide the selling value of his tenancy to have been depreciated below the amount which would have been such selling value if the rent had been a fair rent. . . .
 - (3) Where the tenant does not accept such increase and is compelled to quit the tenancy by or in pursuance of a notice to quit, but does not sell the tenancy, he shall be entitled to claim compensation as in the case of disturbance by the landlord.
 - (4) The tenant of a present tenancy may, in place of accepting or declining such increase, apply to the court in manner hereafter in this act mentioned to have the rent fixed.

5. A tenant shall not, during the continuance of a statutory term in his tenancy, be compelled to pay a

higher rent than the rent payable at the commencement of such term, and shall not be compelled to quit the holding of which he is tenant except in consequence of the breach of some one or more of the conditions following (in this act referred to as statutory conditions), that is to say,

- (1) The tenant shall pay his rent at the appointed time.
- (2) The tenant shall not, to the prejudice of the interest of the landlord in the holding, commit persistent waste. . . .
- (3) The tenant shall not, without the consent of his landlord in writing, subdivide his holding or sublet the same. . . . Agistment or the letting of land for the purpose of temporary depasturage, or the letting in conacre of land for the purpose of its being solely used . . . for the growing of potatoes or other green crops, the land being properly manured, shall not be deemed a subletting for the purposes of this act. . . .
- (5) The landlord, or any persons authorised by him in that behalf (he or they making reasonable amends and satisfaction for any damage to be done or occasioned thereby), shall have the right to enter upon the holding for any of the purposes following . . .
- (6) The tenant shall not on his holding, without the consent of his landlord, open any house for the sale of intoxicating liquors.

Nothing contained in this section shall prejudice or affect any ejection for non-payment of rent instituted by a landlord, whether before or after the commencement of a statutory term, in respect of rent accrued due for a holding before the commencement of such term.

During the continuance of a statutory term in a tenancy, save as hereinafter provided, the court may, on the application of the landlord and upon being satisfied that he is desirous of resuming the holding or part thereof for some reasonable and sufficient purpose, authorize the resumption thereof by the landlord. . . .

Provided that the rent of any holding subject to statutory conditions may be increased in respect of capital laid out by the landlord under agreement with the tenant to such an amount as may be agreed upon between landlord and tenant. . . .

8. (1) The tenant of any present tenancy to which this act applies, or such tenant and the landlord jointly, or the landlord . . . may from time to time during the continuance of such tenancy apply to

the court to fix the fair rent to be paid by such tenant to the landlord for the holding . . .

- (3) Where the judicial rent [the rent set by the assistant land commissioners] of any present tenancy has been fixed . . . , then, until the expiration of a term of fifteen years from the rent day next succeeding the day on which the determination of the court has been given (in this act referred to as a statutory term), such present tenancy shall (if it so long continue to subsist) be deemed to be a tenancy subject to statutory conditions. . . .
- (6) Subject to rules made under this act, the landlord and tenant of any present tenancy to which this act applies, may . . . by writing under their hands agree and declare what is then the fair rent of the holding; and such agreement and declaration, on being filed in court in the prescribed manner, shall have the same effect and consequences in all respects as if the rent so agreed on were a judicial rent. . . .

10. The landlord and tenant of any ordinary tenancy and the landlord and proposed tenant of any holding to which this act applies which is not subject to a subsisting tenancy, may agree, the one to grant and the other to accept a lease for a term of thirty-one years or upwards (in this act referred to as a judicial lease), on such conditions and containing such provisions as the parties to such lease may mutually agree upon, and such lease . . . shall be substituted for the former tenancy, if any, in the holding. . . .

13. (1) Where proceedings are or have been taken by the landlord to compel a tenant to quit his holding, the tenant may sell his tenancy at any time before, but not after, the expiration of six months from the execution of a writ or decree for possession in an ejection for non-payment or rent, and at any time before, but not after, the execution of such writ or decree in any ejection other than for non-payment of rent; and such tenancy so sold shall be and be deemed to be a subsisting tenancy notwithstanding such proceedings, without prejudice to the landlord's rights, in the event of the said tenancy not being redeemed within said period of six months; and if any judgment or decree in ejection has been obtained before the passing of this act, such tenant may within the same periods respectively apply to the court to fix the judicial rent of the holding, but subject to the provisions herein contained such application shall not invalidate or prejudice any such judgment or decree, which shall remain in full force and effect. . . .

- (3) Where any proceedings for compelling the tenant of a present tenancy to quit his holding shall have been taken before or after an application to fix a judicial rent and shall be pending before such application is disposed of, the court before which such proceedings are pending shall have power . . . to postpone or suspend such proceedings until the termination of the proceedings on the application for such judicial rent. . . .
- (6) A tenant compelled to quit his holding during the continuance of a statutory term in his tenancy, in consequence of the breach by the tenant of any statutory condition, shall not be entitled to compensation for disturbance. . . .

22. A tenant whose holding or the aggregate of whose holdings valued under the act relating to the valuation of rateable property in Ireland at an annual value of not less than one hundred and fifty pounds shall be entitled by writing under his hand to contract himself out of any of the provisions of this act or of the *Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870*.

24. (1) The Land Commission, out of moneys in their hands, may, if satisfied with the security, advance sums to tenants for the purpose of enabling them to purchase their holdings, that is to say,

- (a) Where a sale of a holding is about to be made by a landlord to a tenant in consideration of the payment of a principal sum, the Land Commission may advance to the tenant for the purposes of such purchase any sum not exceeding three fourths of the said principal sum.

- (b) Where a sale of a holding is about to be made by a landlord to a tenant in consideration of the tenant paying a fine and engaging to pay to the landlord a fee farm rent, the Land Commission may advance to the tenant for the purposes of such purchase, any sum not exceeding one half of the fine payable to the landlord. . . .

26. (1) Any estate may be purchased by the Land Commission for the purpose of reselling to the tenants of the lands comprised in such estate their respective holdings, if the Land Commission are satisfied . . . that a competent number of the tenants are able and willing to purchase their holdings from the Land Commission.

- (2) The sale by the Land Commission of a holding to the tenant thereof may be made either in consideration of a principal sum being paid as the whole price . . . or in consideration of a fine and of a fee farm rent, with this qualification, that

the amount of the fee farm rent shall not exceed seventy-five per cent of the rent which in the opinion of the land commission would be a fair rent for the holding.

- (3) For the purposes of this section a competent number of tenants means a body of tenants who are not less in number than three fourths of the whole number of tenants on the estate, and who pay rent not less than two thirds of the whole rent of the estate. . . .

28. (1) Any advance made by the Land Commission for the purpose of supplying money for the purchase of a holding from a landlord or of a holding or parcel from the Land Commission, shall be repaid by an annuity in favour of the Land Commission for thirty-five years of five pounds for every hundred pounds of such advance, and so in proportion for any less sum. . . .

37. (1) The expression "the court" as used in this act shall mean the civil bill court of the county where the matter requiring the cognizance of the court arises. . . .

- (3) Any proceedings which might be instituted before the civil bill court may, at the election of the person taking such proceedings, be instituted before the Land Commission. . . .

40. Any matter capable of being determined by the court under this act, may, if the parties so agree, be decided by arbitration, . . . and where the amount of rent is decided by arbitration, such rent shall for the purposes of this act be deemed to be the judicial rent.

41. A Land Commission shall be constituted under this act consisting of a judicial commissioner and two other commissioners. . . .

43. The lord lieutenant may from time to time, with the consent of the treasury as to number, appoint and by order in council remove assistant commissioners. . . .

44. Any power or act by this act vested in or authorised to be done by the Land Commission, except the power of hearing appeals, may be exercised or done by any one member of the Land Commission or by any sub-commission. . . .

44 & 45 Vict., c. 4; THE PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS . . . (1881), pp. 139-164.

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ON HOME RULE AND THE LAND QUESTION AT CORK

21 January 1885

Charles Stewart Parnell

With the goal of bringing the issue of Irish Home Rule to the center of the stage at Westminster, Charles Stewart Parnell spent the years from 1882 to 1885 building up the Irish Parliamentary Party into a modern political machine. He astutely left the definition of Home Rule ambiguous, as seen in the speech below that he gave at Cork in January 1885. With a bow toward the fears of opponents on the right, he indicated that “Grattan’s parliament” (itself a problematic phrase) was the most that nationalists could demand consistent with a continuing place in the British empire, but in a line that became famous, he also declared that “no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation.”

SEE ALSO Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

. . . At the election in 1880 I laid certain principles before you, and you accepted them (applause, and cries of “we do”). I said and I pledged myself that I should form . . . an independent Irish party to act in opposition to every English government which refused to concede the just rights of Ireland (applause). And the longer time which is gone by since then, the more I am convinced that that is the true policy to pursue so far as parliamentary policy is concerned, and that it will be impossible for either or both of the English parties to contend for any long time against a determined band of Irishmen acting honestly upon these principles and backed by the Irish people (cheers). But we have not alone had that object in view—we have always been very careful not to fetter or control the people at home in any way, not to prevent them from doing anything by their own strength which it is possible for them to do. . . . You have been encouraged to organise yourselves, to depend upon the rectitude of your cause for your justification, and to depend upon the determination which has helped Irishmen through many centuries to retain the name of Ireland and to retain her nationhood. Nobody could point to any single action of ours in the House of Commons or out of it which was not based upon the knowledge that behind us existed a strong and brave people, that

without the help of the people our exertions would be as nothing, and that with their help and with their confidence we should be, as I believe we shall prove to be in the near future, invincible and unconquerable (great applause). . . . We shall struggle, as we have been struggling, for the great and important interests of the Irish tenant farmer. We shall ask that his industry shall not be fettered by rent. We shall ask also from the farmer in return that he shall do what in him lies to encourage the struggling manufacturers of Ireland, and that he shall not think it too great a sacrifice to be called upon when he wants anything, when he has to purchase anything, to consider how we may get it of Irish material and manufacture (hear, hear), even supposing he has to pay a little more for it (cheers). I am sorry if the agricultural population has shown itself somewhat deficient in its sense of duty in this respect up to the present time, but I feel convinced that the matter has only to be put before them to secure the opening up of most important markets in this country for those manufactures which have always existed, and for those which have been reopened anew as a consequence of the recent exhibitions, the great exhibition in Dublin and the other equally great one in Cork, which have been recently held (cheers). We shall also endeavour to secure for the labourer some recognition and some right in the land of his country (applause). We don’t care whether it be the prejudices of the farmer or of the landlord that stands in his way (hear, hear). We consider that whatever class tries to obstruct the labourer in the possession of those fair and just rights to which he is entitled, that class should be put down, and coerced if you will, into doing justice to the labourer. . . . Well, but gentlemen, I go back from the consideration of these questions to the land question, in which the labourers’ question is also involved and the manufacturers’ question. I come back, and every Irish politician must be forcibly driven back, to the consideration of the great question of national self-government for Ireland (cheers). I do not know how this great question will be eventually settled. I do not know whether England will be wise in time and concede to constitutional arguments and methods the restitution of that which was stolen from us towards the close of the last century (cheers). It is given to none of us to forecast the future, and just as it is impossible for us to say in what way or by what means the national question may be settled, in what way full justice may be done to Ireland, so it is impossible for us to say to what extent that justice should be done. We cannot ask for less than restitution of Grattan’s parliament (loud cheers), with its important privileges and wide and far-reaching constitution. We cannot under the British constitution ask for more than the restitution of Grattan’s parliament (renewed cheers), but no man has the right

to fix the boundary to the march of a nation (great cheers). No man has a right to say to his country, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further," and we have never attempted to fix the *ne plus ultra* to the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall (cheers). But, gentlemen, while we leave those things to time, circumstances, and the future, we must each one of us resolve in our own hearts that we shall at all times do everything that within us lies to obtain for Ireland the fullest measure of her rights (applause). In this way we shall avoid difficulties and contentions amongst each other. In this way we shall not give up anything which the future may put in favour of our country; and while we struggle today for that which may seem possible for us with our combination, we must struggle for it with the proud consciousness that we shall not do anything to hinder or prevent better men who may come after us from gaining better things than those for which we now contend (prolonged applause).

FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 22 January 1885.



ON HOME RULE AT WICKLOW

5 October 1885

Charles Stewart Parnell

As a critical general election approached in the autumn of 1885, Parnell gave a speech at Wicklow openly acknowledging that a Home Rule parliament in Ireland would move to protect certain nascent Irish industries—a stance likely to scare Liberal adherents of free trade. But he also tried to turn on its head the argument of opponents that Home Rule would lead to Irish separation and complete independence. To hear him tell it, it was the current forcible yoking together of the two countries in the same British parliament that led to the extreme Irish disaffection that threatened imperial unity.

SEE ALSO Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

When I last spoke in public in Ireland, I expressed my conviction that in the new parliament we should be able to form our platform of a single plank, and that plank [is] the plank of legislative independence (cheers), and

that we should carry that plank to a successful issue in the same way as during the last parliament we have carried other subordinate planks, such as the extension of the franchise and so forth (cheers). My declaration has been received by the English press and by some, although not by all, the English leaders with a storm of disapproval, and they have told us that the yielding of an independent parliament to Ireland is a matter of impossibility. But nothing that has been said in this interval has in the slightest degree diminished my confidence in the near success of our efforts (loud cheers). On the contrary, very much that has been said by our enemies in reference to this claim of ours has very much increased my confidence (cheers). They practically admit that things cannot be allowed to go on as they are; that it is impossible to keep an unwilling people and unwilling representatives in forced legislative connexion with the other two kingdoms (hear, hear). They admit that there must be some change; but the two conditions that they put forward in regard to this change, and as a condition of this change, are—firstly, that the separation of Ireland from England shall not be a consequence of the grant of legislative independence to Ireland; and in the second place they claim that we shall not be allowed to protect our manufacturers at the cost of those in England. . . . To take the last point first and to deal with the question of the protection of Irish manufacturers, I have claimed for Ireland a parliament that shall have power to protect these Irish manufacturers (cheers) if it be the will of the parliament and of the Irish people that they should be protected (cheers). But it is not for me to say beforehand what the action of such a freely elected Irish assembly would be. I may have my own opinion as to the best course for that assembly to take, but I have claimed that no parliamentary assembly will work satisfactorily which has not free power over Irish affairs (applause); which has not free power to raise a revenue for the purpose of government in Ireland as shall seem fit and best to that assembly (applause). I am of the opinion . . . that it would be wise to protect certain Irish industries at all events for a time (hear, hear); that it is impossible for us to make up for the loss of the start in the manufacturing race which we have experienced owing to adverse legislation in times past against Irish industries by England, unless we do protect these industries, not many in number, which are capable of thriving in Ireland (applause). I am not of the opinion that it would be necessary for us to protect these industries very long; possibly protection continued for two or three years would give us that start which we have lost owing to the nefarious legislative action of England in times past (hear, hear). . . . I believe there are several industries which would thrive, and could be made to thrive, in Ireland. But I think that as regards many other

branches of manufacture, of which we have now to seek our supply from the English markets, we should still have to go to their markets for supply on account of natural reasons which I have not time to enter into at the present moment. But I claim this for Ireland, that if the Irish parliament of the future considers that there are certain industries in Ireland which could be benefited by protection, which could be nursed by protection, and which could be placed in such a position as to enable them to compete with similar industries in other countries by a course of protection extending over a few years, the parliament ought to have power to carry out that policy (cheers). . . . I will proceed a little further, and I will deal with the claim that has been put forward, that some guarantee should be given that the granting of legislative powers to Ireland should not lead to the separation of Ireland from England. This claim is one which at first sight may seem a fair one. It may appear preposterous, and it undoubtedly would be preposterous, to ask England to concede to us an engine which we announced our intention of using to bring about either separation of the two countries, or which we accepted silently with the intention of so using it; but there is a great difference between having such an intention or announcing such an intention and giving counter guarantees against such an intention. It is not possible for human intelligence to forecast the future in these matters; but we can point to this—we can point to the fact that under 85 years of parliamentary connexion with England, Ireland has become intensely disloyal and intensely disaffected (applause); that notwithstanding the Whig policy of so-called conciliation, alternative conciliation and coercion, and ameliorative measures, that disaffection has broadened, deepened, and intensified from day to day (cheers). Am I not, then, entitled to assume that one of the roots of this disaffection and feeling of disloyalty is the assumption by England of the management of our affairs (cheers). It is admitted that the present system can't go on, and what are you going to put in its place? (Cries of "Home Rule.") My advice to English statesmen considering this question would be this—trust the Irish people altogether or trust them not at all (cheers). Give with a full and open hand—give our people the power to legislate upon all their domestic concerns, and you may depend upon one thing, that the desire for separation, that means of winning separation at least, will not be increased or intensified (cheers). Whatever chance the English rulers may have of drawing to themselves the affection of the Irish people lies in destroying the abominable system of legislative union between the two countries by conceding fully and freely to Ireland the right to manage her own affairs. It is impossible for us to give guarantees, but we can point to the past; we can show that the record of En-

glish rule is a constant series of steps of bad to worse (cheers), that the condition of English power is more insecure and more unstable at the present moment than it has ever been (applause). We can point to the example of other countries—of Austria and of Hungary—to the fact that Hungary, having been conceded self-government, became one of the strongest factors in the Austrian empire. We can show the powers that have been freely conceded to the colonies—to the greater colonies—including this very power to protect their own industries against and at the expense of those of England. We can show that disaffection has disappeared in all the greater English colonies, that while the Irishman who goes to the United States of America carries with him a burning hatred of English rule (cheers); that while that burning hatred constantly lives in his heart, never leaves him, and is bequeathed to his children, the Irishman coming from the same village, and from the same parish, and from the same townland, equally maltreated, cast out on the road by the relentless landlord, who goes to one of the colonies of Canada or one of the colonies of Australia and finds there another and a different system of English rule to that which he has been accustomed to at home, becomes to a great extent a loyal citizen and a strength and a prop to the community amongst whom his lot has been cast; that he forgets the little memories of his experience of England at home, and that he no longer continues to look upon the name of England as a symbol of oppression and the badge of the misfortunes of his country (cheers). I say that it is possible and that it is the duty of English statesmen at the present day to inquire and examine into these facts for themselves with their eyes open; and to cease the impossible task, which they admit to be impossible, of going forward in the continued misgovernment of Ireland and persisting in the government of our people by a people outside herself who know not her real wants (cheers); and if these lessons be learned, I am convinced that the English statesman who is great enough and who is powerful enough to carry out these teachings, to enforce them on the acceptance of his countrymen, to give to Ireland full legislative liberty, full power to manage her own domestic concerns, will be regarded in the future by his countrymen as one who has removed the greatest peril to the English empire (hear, hear)—a peril, I firmly believe, which if not removed, will find some day . . . an opportunity of revenging itself—(loud cheers)—to the destruction of the British empire—for the misfortunes, the oppressions, and the misgovernment of our country (loud cheers).

FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 6 October 1885.



ON THE HOME RULE BILL OF 1886

8 April 1886

William Gladstone

The outcome of the general election of 1885, in which Irish nationalist MPs won eighty-six seats, helped to convince the Liberal prime minister William Gladstone to identify his party with Irish self-government. His speech introducing the Home Rule bill in April 1886 was designed to persuade other politicians that Ireland deserved to be governed in accordance with "Irish ideas," and that any other course would require the persistent use of coercion, which good Liberals found abhorrent. When ninety-three Liberals defected on the second reading of the bill in June, Home Rule was defeated by thirty votes.

SEE ALSO Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Unionism from 1885 to 1922

I could have wished, Mr Speaker, on several grounds, that it had been possible for me on this single occasion to open to the House the whole of the policy intentions of government with respect to Ireland. The two questions of land and of Irish government are in our view closely and inseparably connected, for they are the two channels through which we hope to find access, and effectual access, to that question which is the most vital of all—namely, the question of social order in Ireland. . . .

Since the last half-century dawned, we have steadily engaged in extending as well as in consolidating free institutions. I divide the period since the Act of Union with Ireland into two—the first from 1800 to 1832, the epoch of what is still justly called the Great Reform Act; and secondly, from 1833 to 1885. I do not know whether it has been as widely observed as I think it deserves to be that in the first of those periods—32 years—there were no less than 11 years—it may seem not much to say, but wait for what is coming—there were no less than 11 of those 32 years in which our statute book was free throughout the whole year from repressive legislation of an exceptional kind against Ireland. But in the 53 years since we advanced far in the career of liberal principles and actions—in those 53 years from 1833 to 1885—there were but two years which were entirely free from the action of this special legislation for

Ireland. Is not that of itself almost enough to prove we have arrived at the point where it is necessary that we should take a careful and searching survey of our position? . . .

Well, sir, what are the results that have been produced? This result above all—and now I come to what I consider to be the basis of the whole mischief—that rightly or wrongly, yet in point of fact, law is discredited in Ireland, and discredited in Ireland upon this ground especially—that it comes to the people of that country with a foreign aspect and in a foreign garb. These coercion bills of ours, of course—for it has become a matter of course—I am speaking of the facts and not of the merits—these coercion bills are stiffly resisted by the members who represent Ireland in parliament. The English mind, by cases of this kind and by the tone of the press towards them, is estranged from the Irish people, and the Irish mind is estranged from the people of England and Scotland. I will not speak of other circumstances attending the present state of Ireland, but I do think that I am not assuming too much when I say that I have shown enough in this comparatively brief review—and I wish it could have been briefer still—to prove that if coercion is to be the basis for legislation, we must no longer be seeking, as we are always laudably seeking, to whittle it down almost to nothing at the very first moment we begin, but we must, like men, adopt it, hold it, sternly enforce it, till its end has been completely attained—with what results to peace, goodwill, and freedom I do not now stop to inquire. Our ineffectual and spurious coercion is morally worn out. . . .

Now, I enter upon another proposition to which I hardly expect broad exception can be taken. I will not assume, I will not beg, the question, whether the people of England and Scotland will ever administer that sort of effectual coercion which I have placed in contrast with our timid and hesitating repressive measures; but this I will say, that the people of England and Scotland will never resort to that alternative until they have tried every other. Have they tried every other? Well, some we have tried, to which I will refer. I have been concerned with some of them myself. But we have not yet tried every alternative because there is one—not unknown to human experience—on the contrary, widely known to various countries in the world, where this dark and difficult problem has been solved by the comparatively natural and simple, though not always easy, expedient of stripping of law of its foreign garb and investing it with a domestic character. I am not saying that this will succeed; I by no means beg the question at this moment; but this I will say, that Ireland, as far as I know, and speaking of the great majority of the people of Ireland,

believes it will succeed and that experience elsewhere supports that conclusion. The case of Ireland, though she is represented here not less fully than England or Scotland, is not the same as that of England or Scotland. England, by her own strength and by her vast majority in this House, makes her own laws just as independently as if she were not combined with two other countries. Scotland—a small country, smaller than Ireland, but a country endowed with a spirit so masculine that never in the long course of history, excepting for two brief periods, each of a few years, was the superior strength of England such as to enable her to put down the national freedom beyond the border—Scotland, wisely recognised by England, has been allowed and encouraged in this House to make her own laws as freely and as effectually as if she had a representation six times as strong. The consequence is that the mainspring of law in England is felt by the people to be English; the mainspring of law in Scotland is felt by the people to be Scotch; but the mainspring of law in Ireland is not felt by the people to be Irish, and I am bound to say—truth extorts from me the avowal—that it cannot be felt to be Irish in the same sense as it is English and Scotch. The net results of this statement which I have laid before the House, because it was necessary as the groundwork of my argument, are these—in the first place, I admit it to be little less than a mockery to hold that the state of law and of facts conjointly, which I have endeavoured to describe, conduces to the real unity of this great, noble, and world-wide empire. In the second place, something must be done, something is imperatively demanded from us to restore to Ireland the first conditions of civil life—the free course of law, the liberty of every individual in the exercise of every legal right, the confidence of the people in the law, apart from which no country can be called in the full sense of the word a civilised country, nor can there be given to that country the blessings which it is the object of civilised society to attain. Well, this is my introduction to the task I have to perform, and now I ask attention to the problem we have before us.

It is a problem not unknown in the history of the world; it is really this—there can be no secret about it as far as we are concerned—how to reconcile imperial unity with diversity of legislation. Mr Grattan not only held these purposes to be reconcilable, but he did not scruple to go the length of saying this—“I demand the continued severance of the parliaments with a view to the continued and everlasting unity of the empire.” Was that a flight of rhetoric, an audacious paradox? No; it was the statement of a problem which other countries have solved, and under circumstances much more difficult than ours. We ourselves may be said to have solved it, for I do not think that anyone will question the fact

that, out of the six last centuries, for five centuries at least Ireland has had a parliament separate from ours. That is a fact undeniable. Did that separation of parliament destroy the unity of the British empire? Did it destroy it in the 18th century? Do not suppose that I mean that harmony always prevailed between Ireland and England. We know very well there were causes quite sufficient to account for a recurrence of discord. But I take the 18th century alone. Can I be told that there was no unity of empire in the 18th century? Why, sir, it was the century which saw our navy come to its supremacy. It was the century which witnessed the foundation of that great, gigantic manufacturing industry which now overshadows the whole world. It was in a pre-eminent sense the century of empire, and it was in a sense, but too conspicuous, the century of wars. Those wars were carried on, that empire was maintained and enormously enlarged, that trade was established, that navy was brought to supremacy, when England and Ireland had separate parliaments. Am I to be told that there was no unity of empire in that state of things? Well, sir, what has happened elsewhere? Have any other countries had to look this problem in the face? The last half-century—the last 60 to 70 years since the great war—has been particularly rich in its experience of this subject and in the lessons which it has afforded to us. There are many cases to which I might refer to show how practicable it is, or how practicable it has been found by others whom we are not accustomed to look upon as our political superiors—how practicable it has been found by others to bring into existence what is termed local autonomy, and yet not to sacrifice, but to confirm imperial unity. . . .

What is the essence of the union? That is the question. It is impossible to determine what is and what is not the repeal of the union, until you settle what is the essence of union, Well, I define the essence of the union to be this—that before the Act of Union there were two independent, separate, co-ordinate parliaments; after the Act of Union there was but one. A supreme statutory authority of the imperial parliament over Great Britain, Scotland, and Ireland as one United Kingdom was established by the Act of Union. That supreme statutory authority it is not asked . . . in the slightest degree to impair. . . .

I will deviate from my path for a moment to say a word upon the state of opinion in that wealthy, intelligent, and energetic portion of the Irish community which, as I have said, predominates in a certain portion of Ulster. Our duty is to adhere to sound general principles and to give the utmost consideration we can to the opinions of that energetic minority. The first thing of all, I should say, it that if upon any occasion, by any in-

dividual or section, violent measures have been threatened in certain emergencies, I think the best compliment I can pay to those who have threatened us is to take no notice whatever of the threats, but to treat them as momentary ebullitions which will pass away with the fears from which they spring, and at the same time to adopt on our part every reasonable measure for disarming those fears. I cannot say it is otherwise when five-sixths of its lawfully-chosen representatives are of one mind in this matter. There is a counter voice; and I wish to know what is the claim of those by whom that counter voice is spoken, and how much is the scope and allowance we can give them. Certainly, sir, I cannot allow it to be said that a Protestant minority in Ulster or elsewhere is to rule the question at large for Ireland. I am aware of no constitutional doctrine tolerable on which such a conclusion could be adopted or justified. But I think that the Protestant minority should have its wishes considered to the utmost practicable extent in any form which they may assume.

Various schemes, short of refusing the demand of Ireland at large, have been proposed on behalf of Ulster. One scheme is that Ulster itself, or perhaps with more appearance of reason, a portion of Ulster, should be excluded from the operation of the bill we are about to introduce. Another scheme is that certain rights with regard to certain subjects—such, for example, as education and some other subjects—should be reserved and should be placed to a certain extent under the control of provincial councils. These, I think, are suggestions which reached me in different shapes; there may be others. But what I wish to say of them is this—there is no one of them which has appeared to us to be so completely justified, either upon its merits or by the weight of opinion supporting and recommending it, as to warrant our including it in the bill and proposing it to parliament upon our responsibility. What we think is that such suggestions deserve careful and unprejudiced consideration. It may be that free discussion, which I have no doubt will largely take place after a bill such as we purpose shall have been laid on the table of the House, may give to one of these proposals, or to some other proposals, a practical form, and that some such plan may be found to be recommended by a general or predominant approval. If it should be so, it will at our hands have the most favourable consideration. . . .

In 1782 there were difficulties that we have now before us. At any time it might have been very fairly said that no one could tell how a separate legislature would work unless it had under its control what is termed a responsible government. We have no such difficulty and no such excuse now. The problem of responsible gov-

ernment has been solved for us in our colonies. It works very well there; and in perhaps a dozen cases in different quarters of the globe it works to our perfect satisfaction. It may be interesting to the House if I recount the fact that that responsible government in the colonies was, I think, first established by one of our most distinguished statesmen, Earl Russell, when he held the office of colonial secretary in the government of Lord Melbourne. But it was a complete departure from established tradition; and if I remember right, not more than two or three years before that generous and wise experiment was tried, Lord Russell had himself written a most able despatch to show that it could not be done; that with responsible government in the colonies you would have two centres of gravity and two sources of motion in the empire; while a united empire absolutely required that there should be but one, and that consequently the proposition could not be entertained. . . .

There is only one subject more which I feel it still necessary to detain the House. It is commonly said in England and Scotland—and in the main it is, I think, truly said—that we have for a great number of years been struggling to pass good laws for Ireland. We have sacrificed our time, we have neglected our own business, we have advanced our money—which I do not think at all a great favour conferred on her—and all this in the endeavour to give Ireland good laws. That is quite true in regard to the general course of legislation since 1829. But many of those laws have been passed under influences which can hardly be described otherwise than as influences of fear. Some of our laws have been passed in a spirit of grudging and of jealousy. . . .

But, sir, I do not deny the general good intentions of parliament on a variety of great and conspicuous occasions, and its desire to pass good laws for Ireland. But let me say that in order to work out the purposes of government there is something more in this world occasionally required than even the passing of good laws. It is sometimes requisite not only that good laws should be passed, but also that they should be passed by the proper persons. The passing of many good laws is not enough in cases where the strong permanent instincts of the people, their distinctive marks of character, the situation and history of the country, require not only that these laws should be good but [that] they should proceed from a congenial and native source, and besides being good laws, should be their own laws.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, *series 3, ccciv*,
cols. 1036–1085.

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THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY PLEDGE

30 June 1892 (instituted in 1885)

The careful selection of parliamentary candidates and the payment of salaries to needy members were two of the central pillars on which the Irish Parliamentary Party was erected by Parnell between 1882 and 1885. The third pillar was the party pledge, introduced in 1885, which required all members to maintain their independence of the other parties at Westminster and to vote as a compact bloc on all questions that arose in parliament. The adoption of the pledge brought the tight discipline that Home Rule MPs had often escaped in the past.

SEE ALSO Electoral Politics from 1800 to 1921; Home Rule Movement and the Irish Parliamentary Party: 1870 to 1891; Parnell, Charles Stewart; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

I pledge myself that in the event of my election to parliament, I will sit, act, and vote with the Irish Parliamentary Party ; and if at a meeting of the party, convened upon due notice, specially to consider the question, it be determined by resolution, supported by a majority of the Irish party, that I have not fulfilled the above pledges, I hereby undertake to resign my seat.

Davit MSS, Library of Trinity College, Dublin; reprinted in IRISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 1172–1922, edited by Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell (1943), pp. 281–282.

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FROM "THE NECESSITY FOR DE-ANGLICISING IRELAND"

25 November 1892

Douglas Hyde

Among the most important of the renegades from the old traditions of the Protestant Ascendancy class in late nineteenth-century Ireland was Douglas Hyde (1863–1947), the founder of the Gaelic League in July 1893, a prolific scholar, and late in life the president of independent

Ireland. He deplored the abandonment of the native tongue among those who could still speak the language if they wished. But it was not only the loss of the language that Hyde deeply lamented, but also the whole process by which Ireland was becoming ever more anglicized. His presidential address to the newly formed National Literary Society in Dublin in November 1892 became a classic pronouncement of the Gaelic Revival.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Gaelic Revival; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League; Hyde, Douglas

. . . If we take a bird's-eye view of our island today and compare it with what it used to be, we must be struck by the extraordinary fact that the nation which was once, as every one admits, one of the most classically learned and cultured nations in Europe, is now one of the least so; how one of the most reading and literary peoples has become one of the *least* studious and most *un-literary*, and how the present art products of one of the quickest, most sensitive, and most artistic races on earth are now only distinguished for their hideousness.

I shall endeavour to show that this failure of the Irish people in recent times has been largely brought about by the race diverging during this century from the right path and ceasing to be Irish without becoming English. I shall attempt to show that with the bulk of the people this change took place quite recently, much more recently than most people imagine, and is in fact still going on. I should also like to call attention to the illogical position of men who drop their own language to speak English, of men who translate their euphonious Irish names into English monosyllables, of men who read English books and know nothing about Gaelic literature, nevertheless protesting as a matter of sentiment that they hate the country which at every hand's turn they rush to imitate.

I wish to show you that in anglicising ourselves wholesale, we have thrown away with a light heart the best claim which we have upon the world's recognition of us as a separate nationality. What did Mazzini say? What is Goldwin Smith never tired of declaiming? What do the *Spectator* and *Saturday Review* harp on? That we ought to be content as an integral part of the United Kingdom because we have lost the notes of nationality, our language and customs.

It has always been very curious to me how Irish sentiment sticks in this half-way house—how it continues to apparently hate the English and at the same time

continues to imitate them; how it continues to clamour for recognition as a distinct nationality and at the same time throws away with both hands what would make it so. If Irishmen only went a little farther, they would become good Englishmen in sentiment also. But—illogical as it appears—there seems not the slightest sign or probability of their taking that step. It is the curious certainty that come what may, Irishmen will continue to resist English rule even though it should be for their good, which prevents many of our nation from becoming unionists upon the spot. It is a fact, and we must face it as a fact, that although they adopt English habits and copy England in every way, the great bulk of Irishmen and Irishwomen over the whole world are known to be filled with a dull, ever-abiding animosity against her, and—right or wrong—to grieve when she prospers and joy when she is hurt. Such movements as Young Irelandism, Fenianism, Land Leagueism, and parliamentary obstruction seem always to gain their sympathy and support. It is just because there appears no earthly chance of their becoming good members of the empire that I urge that they should not remain in the anomalous position they are in, but since they absolutely refuse to become the one thing, that they become the other; cultivate what they have rejected, and build up an Irish nation on Irish lines.

But you ask, Why should we wish to make Ireland more Celtic than it is—why should we de-anglicise it at all?

I answer because the Irish race is at present in a most anomalous position, imitating England and yet apparently hating it. How can it produce anything good in literature, art, or institutions as long as it is actuated by motives so contradictory? Besides, I believe it is our Gaelic past which, though the Irish race does not recognise it just at present, is really at the bottom of the Irish heart and prevents us becoming citizens of the empire, as, I think, can be easily proved.

To say that Ireland has not prospered under English rule is simply a truism; all the world admits it, England does not deny it. But the English retort is ready. You have not prospered, they say, because you would not settle down contentedly, like the Scotch, and form part of the empire. "Twenty years of good, resolute, grandfatherly government," said a well-known Englishman, will solve the Irish question. He possibly made the period too short, but let us suppose this. Let us suppose for a moment—which is impossible—that there were to arise a series of Cromwells in England for the space of one hundred years, able administrators of the empire, careful rulers of Ireland, developing to the utmost our national resources, whilst they unremittingly stamped out every spark of national feeling, making Ireland a

land of wealth and factories, whilst they extinguished every thought and every idea that was Irish, and left us at last after a hundred years of good government, fat, wealthy, and populous, but with all our characteristics gone, with every external that at present differentiates us from the English lost or dropped; all our Irish names of places and people turned into English names; the Irish language completely extinct; the O's and the Macs dropped; our Irish intonation changed, as far as possible, by English schoolmasters into something English; our history no longer remembered or taught; the names of our rebels and martyrs blotted out; our battlefields and traditions forgotten; the fact that we were not of Saxon origin dropped out of sight and memory, and let me know put the question—How many Irishmen are there who would purchase material prosperity at such a price? It is exactly such a question as this and the answer to it that shows the difference between the English and Irish race. Nine Englishmen out of ten would jump to make the exchange, and I as firmly believe that nine Irishmen out of ten would indignantly refuse it.

And yet this awful idea of complete anglicisation, which I have here put before you in all its crudity, is and has been making silent inroads upon us for nearly a century.

Its inroads have been silent because, had the Gaelic race perceived what was being done, or had they been once warned of what was taking place in their own midst, they would, I think, never have allowed it. When the picture of complete anglicisation is drawn for them in all its nakedness, Irish sentimentality becomes suddenly a power and refuses to surrender its birthright.

What lies at the back of the sentiments of nationality with which the Irish millions seem so strongly leavened, what can prompt them to applaud such sentiments as:

"They say the British empire owes much to Irish hands,
That Irish valour fixed her flag o'er many conquered
lands;
And ask if Erin takes no pride in these her gallant sons,
Her Wolseleys and her Lawrences, her Wolfes and Wel-
lingtons.

Ah! these were of the empire—we yield them to her
fame,
And ne'er in Erin's orisons are heard their alien name;
But those for whom her heart beats high and benedic-
tions swell,
They died upon the scaffold and they pined within the
cell."

Of course, it is a very composite feeling which prompts them; but I believe that what is largely behind it is the half unconscious feeling that the race which at one time held possession of more than half Europe, which established itself in Greece and burned infant Rome, is now—almost extirpated and absorbed elsewhere—making its last stand for independence in this island of Ireland; and do what they may, the race of today cannot wholly divest itself from the mantle of its own past. Through early Irish literature, for instance, can we best form some conception of what that race really was, which, after overthrowing and trampling on the primitive peoples of half Europe, was itself forced in turn to yield its speech, manners, and independence to the victorious eagles of Rome. We alone of the nations of Western Europe escaped the claws of those birds of prey; we alone developed ourselves naturally upon our own lines outside of and free from all Roman influence; we alone were thus able to produce an early art and literature, *our* antiquities can best throw light upon the pre-Romanised inhabitants of half Europe, and—we are our father's sons. . . .

What we must endeavour to never forget is this, that the Ireland of today is the descendant of the Ireland of the seventh century, then the school of Europe and the torch of learning. It is true that Northmen made some minor settlements in it in the ninth and tenth centuries, it is true that the Normans made extensive settlements during the succeeding centuries, but none of those broke the continuity of the social life of the island. Dane and Norman drawn to the kindly Irish breast issued forth in a generation or two fully Irishised and more Hibernian than the Hibernians themselves, and even after the Cromwellian plantation the children of numbers of the English soldiers who settled in the south and midlands were, after forty years' residence and after marrying Irish wives, turned into good Irishmen and unable to speak a word of English, while several Gaelic poets of the last century have, like Father English, the most unmistakably English names. In two points only was the continuity of the Irishism of Ireland damaged. First, in the north-east of Ulster, where the Gaelic race was expelled and the land planted with aliens, whom our dear mother Erin, assimilative as she is, has hitherto found it difficult to absorb, and in the ownership of the land, eight-ninths of which belongs to people many of whom always lived or live abroad, and not half of whom Ireland can be said to have assimilated.

During all this time the continuation of Erin's national life centred, according to our way of looking at it, not so much in the Cromwellian or Williamite landholders who sat in College Green and governed the country, as in the mass of the people whom Dean Swift

considered might be entirely neglected and looked upon as hewers of wood and drawers of water; the men who nevertheless constituted the real working populations, and who were living on in the hopes of better days; the men who have since made America, and have within the last ten years proved what an important factor they may be in wrecking or in building the British empire. These are the men of whom our merchants, artisans, and farmers mostly consist, and in whose hands is today the making or marring of an Irish nation. But, alas, *quantum mutatus ab illo!* What the battleaxe of the Dane, the sword of the Norman, the wile of the Saxon were unable to perform, we have accomplished ourselves. We have at last broken the continuity of Irish life, and just at the moment when the Celtic race is presumably about to largely recover possession of its own country, it finds itself deprived and stript of its Celtic characteristics cut off from the past, yet scarcely in touch with the present. It has lost since the beginning of this century almost all that connected it with the era of Cuchullain and of Ossian, that connected it with the Christianisers of Europe, that connected it with Brian Boru and the heroes of Clontarf, with the O'Neills and O'Donnells, with Rory O'More, with the Wild Geese, and even to some extent with the men of '98. It has lost all that they had—language, traditions, music, genius, and ideas. Just when we should be starting to build up anew the Irish race and the Gaelic nation—as within our own recollection Greece has been built up anew—we find ourselves despoiled of the bricks of nationality. The old bricks that lasted eighteen hundred years are destroyed; we must now set to, to bake new ones, if we can, on other ground and of other clay. . . .

Charles Gavan Duffy, George Sigerson, and Douglas Hyde,
THE REVIVAL OF IRISH LITERATURE (1894), pp. 118–129.



ADDRESS AT THE FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SINN FÉIN

28 November 1905

Arthur Griffith

Almost every Irish nationalist leader of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries advocated protectionist tariffs as one major instrument in the development of Irish

industry. In his speech before the first annual conference of the National Council of Sinn Féin in November 1905, Arthur Griffith declared himself a follower of the German economist Friedrich List, whose writings supported this viewpoint. The protectionist policies of independent Ireland after 1921, however, were of limited success and were eventually replaced beginning in the 1960s by free trade.

SEE ALSO Griffith, Arthur; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922

. . . I am in economics largely a follower of the man who thwarted England's dream of the commercial conquest of the world, and who made the mighty confederation before which England has fallen commercially and is falling politically—Germany. His name is a famous one in the outside world, his works are the text books of economic science in other countries—in Ireland his name is unknown and his works unheard of—I refer to Frederick List, the real founder of the German Zollverein—. . .

Brushing aside the fallacies of Adam Smith and his tribe, List points out that between the Individual and humanity stands, and must continue to stand, a great fact—the nation. The nation, with its special language and literature, with its peculiar origin and history, with its special manners and customs, laws and institutions, with the claims of all these for existence, independence, perfection, and continuance for the future, with its separate territory, a society which, united by a thousand ties of minds and interests, combines itself into one independent whole, which recognises the law of right for and within itself, and in its united character is still opposed to other societies of a similar kind in their national liberty, and consequently can, only under the existing conditions of the world, maintain self-existence and independence by its own power and resources. As the individual chiefly obtains, by means of the nation and in the nation, mental culture, power of production, security, and prosperity, so is the civilisation of the human race only conceivable and possible by means of the civilisation and development of individual nations. But as there are amongst men infinite differences in condition and circumstances, so there are in nations—some are strong, some are weak, some are highly civilised, some are half civilised, but in all exists as in the unit the impulse of self-preservation and the desire for improvement. It is the task of national politics to ensure existence and continuance to the nation

to make the weak strong, the half civilised more civilised. It is the task of national economics to accomplish the economical development of the nation and fit it for admission into the universal society of the future. . . .

We in Ireland have been taught by our British lords lieutenant, our British educational boards, and our Barington lecturers that our destiny is to be the fruitful mother of flocks and herds—that it is not necessary for us to pay attention to our manufacturing arm since our agricultural arm is all sufficient. The fallacy is apparent to the man who thinks—but is a fallacy which has passed for truth in Ireland. With List I reply: A nation cannot promote and further its civilisation, its prosperity, and its social progress equally as well by exchanging agricultural products for manufactured goods as by establishing a manufacturing power of its own. A merely agricultural nation can never develop to any extent a home or foreign commerce, with inland means of transport, and its foreign navigation, increase its population in due proportion to their well-being or make notable progress in its moral, intellectual, social, and political development; it will never acquire important political power or be placed in a position to influence less advanced nations and to form colonies of its own. A mere agricultural state is infinitely less powerful than an agricultural-manufacturing state. An agricultural nation is a man with one arm who makes use of an arm belonging to another person, but cannot, of course, be sure of having it always available. An agricultural-manufacturing nation is a man who has both arms of his own at his own disposal. . . . We must offer our producers protection where protection is necessary; and let it be clearly understood what protection is. Protection does not mean the exclusion of foreign competition; it means the enabling of the native manufacturer to meet foreign competition on an equal footing. It does not mean that we shall pay a higher profit to any Irish manufacturer, but that we shall not stand by and see him crushed by mere weight of foreign capital. If an Irish manufacturer cannot produce an article as cheaply as an English[man] or other foreigner, solely because his foreign competitor has had larger resources at his disposal, then it is the first duty of the Irish nation to accord protection to the Irish manufacturer. If, on the other hand, an Irish manufacturer can produce as cheaply, but charges an enhanced price, such a man deserves no support—he is in plain words a swindler. It is the duty of our public bodies in whose hands the expenditure of £4,000,000 annually is placed to pay where necessary an enhanced price for Irish manufactured articles, when the manufacturers show them they cannot produce them at the lesser price—this is protection. . . . With the development of [Ireland's] . . .

manufacturing arm will proceed the rise of a national middle class in Ireland and a trained national democracy and—I here again quote List against the charlatans who profess to see in a nation's language and tradition things of no economic value—"in every nation will the authority of national language and national literature, the civilising arts and the perfection of municipal institutions keep pace with the development of the manufacturing arm." How are we to accord protection to and procure the development of our manufacturing arm? First, by ourselves individually; secondly, through our county [councils], urban and district councils, and poor law guardians; thirdly, by taking over control of those inefficient bodies known as harbour commissioners; fourthly, by stimulating our manufacturers and our people to industrial enterprise; and fifthly, by inviting to aid in our development, on commercial lines, Irish-American capital. In the first case every individual knows his duty, whether he practises it or not—it is, unless where fraud is attempted, to pay if necessary an enhanced price for Irish goods and to use whenever possible none but Irish goods. As to our public elective bodies which annually control the expenditure of our local taxation, their duty is the same. . . .

We propose the formation of a Council of Three Hundred composed of members of the General Council of County Councils and representatives of the urban councils, rural councils, poor law boards, and harbour boards of the country to sit in Dublin and form a *de facto* Irish parliament. Associated and sitting and voting with this body, which might assemble in Dublin in the spring and in the autumn, could be the persons elected for Irish constituencies, who decline to confer on the affairs of Ireland with foreigners in a foreign city. On its assembly in Dublin this national assembly should appoint committees to especially consider and report to the general assembly on all subjects appertaining to the country. On the reports of these committees the council should deliberate and formulate workable schemes which, once formulated, it would be the duty of all county councils, rural councils, urban councils, poor law boards, and other bodies to give legal effect to so far as their powers permit, and where their legal powers fall short, to give it the moral force of law by inducing and instructing those whom they represent to honour and obey the recommendations of the Council of Three Hundred individually and collectively.

UNITED IRISHMAN, 9 December 1905.



RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE
PUBLIC MEETING FOLLOWING THE
FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
SINN FÉIN

28 November 1905

The journalist and politician Arthur Griffith edited the weekly newspaper Sinn Féin beginning in 1906. He identified the term "Sinn Féin" with a set of ideas that emphasized abstention from the Westminster parliament, passive resistance to British domination, and the development of the Irish economy. The National Council of Sinn Féin, founded by Griffith in 1903, evolved into a party of sorts by 1907, but the party put forward no candidates in either of the general elections of 1910 and was generally moribund before World War I. Nevertheless, the Griffith doctrine of Irish political, economic, and cultural self-sufficiency (outlined briefly in the document below) was to have its day after the 1916 Rising.

SEE ALSO Griffith, Arthur; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922

1. That the people of Ireland are a free people, and that no law made without their authority or consent is or can ever be binding on their conscience. That the General Council of County Councils presents the nucleus of a national authority, and we urge upon it to extend the scope of its deliberation and action, to take within its purview every question of national interest, and to formulate lines of procedure for the nation.
2. That national self-development through the recognition of the duties and rights of citizenship on the part of the individual, and by the aid and support of all movements originating from within Ireland, instinct with national tradition and not looking outside Ireland for the accomplishment of their aims, is vital to Ireland.

UNITED IRISHMAN, 9 December 1905.



DECLARATION AGAINST HOME RULE

10 October 1911

A combination of political, economic, and religious reasons motivated Irish unionists to oppose Home Rule. The tenacity and scope of their resistance increased in the aftermath of the two general elections of 1910, confirming the Liberals in government office and leading to the passage of the Parliament Act of 1911, which made Home Rule seem inevitable in the near future by abolishing the absolute veto of the House of Lords. The Protestants of Ulster dominated unionist resistance, but in general the 400,000 or so Protestants living in southern Ireland were also strenuously opposed to Home Rule, as the document below, produced during a meeting of southern Unionists in Dublin, makes clear.

SEE ALSO Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Unionism from 1885 to 1922

We, Irishmen belonging to the three southern provinces, being of all creeds and classes, representing many separate interests, and sharing a common desire for the honour and welfare of our country, hereby declare our unalterable determination to uphold the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland.

We protest against the creation of a separate parliament for Ireland, whether independent or subordinate.

We protest against the creation of an executive dependent for its existence upon the pleasure of such a parliament.

We do so upon the following grounds: because any measure for the creation of a separate Irish parliament and a separate Irish executive would produce most dangerous social confusion, involving a disastrous conflict of interests and classes and a serious risk of civil war. Because such a measure would endanger the commercial relations between Ireland and Great Britain, and would cause in Ireland widespread financial distrust, followed by a complete paralysis of enterprise.

Because such a measure would imperil personal liberty, freedom of opinion, and the spirit of tolerance in Ireland.

Because such a measure, instead of effecting a settlement, would inevitably pave the way for further efforts towards the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain.

Because no statutory limitations restricting the authority of an Irish legislative assembly or the power of

an Irish executive could protect the freedom and the rights of minorities in this country. Because such a measure would hand over Ireland to the government of a party which, notwithstanding [its] professions, the political purpose of which is obvious, has proved itself during its long course of action unworthy of the exercise of power by its repeated defiance of the law and disregard of the elementary principles of honesty and justice.

Because the great measures enacted in recent years by the imperial parliament have resulted in such industrial, agricultural, social, and educational progress that our country has been steadily advancing in prosperity, and we view with the gravest alarm an experiment which must in large measure destroy the good work already done and hinder the progress now in operation.

Finally, regarding the question from a wider point of view than that which concerns alone the internal government of Ireland, highly prizing as we do the advantages we derive from our present imperial position, and being justly proud of the place we Irishmen have long held amongst those to whom the empire owes its prosperity and fame, having been always faithful in our allegiance to our sovereigns and upholders of the constitution, we protest against any change that will deprive us of our birthright, by which we stand on equal ground with our fellow-countrymen of Great Britain as subjects of our king and citizens of the British empire.

THE TIMES, 11 October 1911.



“SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT”
SIGNED AT THE “ULSTER DAY”
CEREMONY IN BELFAST

28 September 1912

Backed by the Tory Party in Britain and deeply embittered by the passage of the Parliament Act of 1911, northern unionists staged the great “Ulster Day” ceremony on 28 September 1912 as a mass protest against the apparently imminent prospect of Home Rule. All over the province, but above all in Belfast, unionists lined up to sign the document called the “Solemn League and Covenant.” Over 218,000 Ulstermen signed it on that day or shortly afterward, some doing so in their own blood. Women were not permitted to sign the document itself, but 229,000 unionist women signed a declaration of support.

SEE ALSO Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Unionism from 1885 to 1922

Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn covenant, throughout this our time of threatened calamity, to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a parliament being forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names. And further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this covenant. God save the king.

Ronald McNeill, *ULSTER'S STAND FOR UNION (1922)*,
pp. 105–106.



ADDRESS ON THE ULSTER QUESTION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

11 February 1914

Sir Edward Carson

Ulster Protestants were apparently prepared to fight to resist Irish Home Rule. The introduction of the third Home Rule bill in April 1912 helped to prompt the formation in January 1913 of the Ulster Volunteer Force, a 100,000-man Protestant army. This force succeeded in arming itself in April 1914. These events strengthened the hand of the Unionist Party leader Sir Edward Carson at Westminster, where he and his colleagues sought to extract concessions, especially the exclusion of Ulster, from Prime Minister Asquith. In this speech in February 1914, Carson suggested that violence could be avoided by excluding Ulster, though unionists would oppose the bill to the last.

SEE ALSO Carson, Sir Edward; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Unionism from 1885 to 1922

. . . The speech from the throne talks of the fears of these men [the Ulster unionists]. Yes, they have, I think, genuine fears for their civil and religious liberty under the [proposed Home Rule] bill, but do not imagine that that is all that these men are fighting for. They are fighting for a great principle and a great ideal. They are fighting to stay under the government which they were invited to come under, under which they have flourished and under which they are content, and to refuse to come under a government which they loath and detest. Men do not make sacrifices or take up the attitude these men in Ulster have taken up on a question of detail or paper safeguards. I am not going to argue whether they are right or wrong in resisting. It would be useless to argue it because they have thoroughly made up their minds, but I say this: If these men are not morally justified when they are attempted to be driven out of one government with which they are satisfied and put under another which they loath, I do not see how resistance ever can be justified in history at all. There was one point made by the prime minister yesterday, and repeated by Lord Morley in another place [the House of Lords] which I should like to deal with for one moment, although it has been already referred to by my right hon[ourable] friend last night. The prime minister said, it is "as the price of peace that any suggestion we make will be put forward," . . . and he elaborated that by saying that he did not mean the mere abandonment of resistance, but that he meant that the bill, if these changes were made . . . , should as the price of the changes be accepted generally by opponents in Ireland and in the Unionist Party, so as to give, as he hoped, a good chance and send-ff to the bill. If he means that as the condition of the changes in the bill, we are to support the bill or take any responsibility whatever for it, I tell him we never can do it. Ulster looms very largely in this controversy simply because Ulster has a strong right arm, but there are unionists in the south and west who loath the bill just as much as we Ulster people loath it, whose difficulties are far greater, and who would willingly fight, as Ulster would fight, if they had the numbers. Nobody knows the difficulties of these men better than I do. Why, it was only the other day some of them ventured to put forward as a business proposition that this bill would be financial ruin to their businesses, saying no more, and immediately they were boycotted, and resolutions were passed, and they were told that they ought to understand as Protestants that they ought to be thankful and grateful for being allowed to live in peace

among the people who are there. Yes, we can never support the bill which hands these people over to the tender mercies of those who have always been their bitterest enemies. We must go on whatever happens, opposing the bill to the end. That we are entitled to do; that we are bound to do. But I want to speak explicitly about the exclusion of Ulster. . . . If the exclusion of Ulster is not shut out, and if at the same time the prime minister says he cannot admit anything contrary to the fundamental principles of the bill, I think it follows that the exclusion of Ulster is not contrary to the fundamental principles of the bill. If that is so, are you really going on to these grave difficulties in the future that the gracious speech from the throne deals with, and not going to make your offer now, at once, with a view, not to our adopting the bill, but to putting an end to resistance in Ulster. Why do you hesitate? Surely, something that is not fundamental to the principles of the bill is a thing that you may readily concede, rather than face these grave difficulties which you yourselves admit to exist. I can only say this to the prime minister: If the exclusion for that purpose is proposed, it will be my duty to go to Ulster at once and take counsel with the people there; for I certainly do not mean that Ulster should be any pawn in any political game. . . .

No responsible man, whether he was a leader or follower, could possibly go to the people under any condition and say, "We are offered something," but say to them that for political purposes "you ought to prepare to fight for it rather than accept it"; and I am not going to do anything of the kind.

On the other hand, I say this, that if your suggestions—no matter what paper safeguards you put, or no matter what other methods you may attempt to surround these safeguards with for the purpose of raising what I call "your reasonable atmosphere"—if your suggestions try to compel these people to come into a Dublin parliament, I tell you I shall, regardless of personal consequences, go on with these people to the end with their policy of resistance. Believe me, whatever way you settle the Irish question, there are only two ways to deal with Ulster. It is for statesmen to say which is the best and right one. She is not a part of the community which can be bought. She will not allow herself to be sold. You must therefore either coerce her if you go on, or you must in the long run, by showing that good government can come under the Home Rule bill, try and win her over to the case of the rest of Ireland. You probably can coerce her—though I doubt it. If you do, what will be the disastrous consequences not only to Ulster but to this country and the empire? Will my fellow-countryman, the leader of the Nationalist Party, have gained anything? I will agree with him—I do not believe

he wants to triumph any more than I do. But will he have gained anything if he takes over these people and then applies for what he used to call—at all events his party used to call—the enemies of the people to come in and coerce them into obedience? No, sir, one false step taken in relation to Ulster will in my opinion render forever impossible a solution of the Irish question. I say this to my nationalist fellow-countrymen and indeed also to the government: You have never tried to win over Ulster. You have never tried to understand her position. You have never alleged, and can never allege, that this bill gives her one atom of advantage. Nay, you cannot deny that it takes away many advantages that she has as a constituent part of the United Kingdom. You cannot deny that in the past she had produced the most loyal and law-abiding part of the citizens of Ireland. After all that, for these two years, every time we came before you, your only answer to us—the majority of you, at all events—was to insult us and to make little of us. I say to the leader of the Nationalist Party, if you want Ulster, go and take her, or go on and win her. You have never wanted her affections; you have wanted her taxes.

THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES (OFFICIAL REPORT), HOUSE OF COMMONS, series 5, lviii, cols. 171–177.



O'DONOVAN ROSSA GRAVESIDE PANEGYRIC

1 August 1915

Patrick H. Pearse

While he lived, the old Fenian Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa (1831–1915) from Skibbereen was the very embodiment of what it meant to be an Irish revolutionary nationalist. The Irish Republican Brotherhood used his funeral in Glasnevin cemetery in Dublin to create an impressive demonstration of militancy. The keynote was the famous oration given by Patrick Pearse at his graveside. This powerful speech continued to project the spirit of Fenian revolution long after the event itself on 1 August 1915.

SEE ALSO Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood; Pearse, Patrick; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

It has seemed right, before we turn away from this place in which we have laid the mortal remains of [Jeremiah]

O'Donovan Rossa, that one among us should, in the name of all, speak the praise of that valiant man and endeavour to formulate the thought and the hope that are in us as we stand around his grave. And if there is anything that makes it fitting that I, rather than some other, I rather than one of the grey-haired men who were young with him and shared in his labour and in his suffering, should speak here, it is perhaps that I may be taken as speaking on behalf of a new generation that has been re-baptised in the Fenian faith, and that has accepted the responsibility of carrying out the Fenian programme. I propose to you, then, that here by the grave of this unrepentant Fenian we renew our baptismal vows; that here by the grave of this unconquered and unconquerable man, we ask of God, each one for himself, such unshakable purpose, such high and gallant courage, such unbreakable strength of soul as belonged to O'Donovan Rossa.

Deliberately here we avow ourselves, as he avowed himself in the dock, Irishmen of one allegiance only. We of the Irish Volunteers, and you others who are associated with us in today's task in brotherly union for the achievement of the freedom of Ireland. And we know only one definition of freedom: it is Tone's definition, it is Mitchel's definition, it is Rossa's definition. Let no man blaspheme the cause that the dead generations of Ireland served by giving it any other name and definition than their name and their definition.

We stand at Rossa's grave not in sadness but rather in exaltation of spirit that it has been given to us to come thus into so close a communion with that brave and splendid Gael. Splendid and holy causes are served by men who are themselves splendid and holy. O'Donovan Rossa was splendid in the proud manhood of him, splendid in the heroic grace of him, splendid in the Gaelic strength and clarity and truth of him. And all that splendour and pride and strength was compatible with a humility and a simplicity of devotion to Ireland, to all that was olden and beautiful and Gaelic in Ireland, the holiness and simplicity of patriotism of a Michael O'Clery or of an Eoghan O'Growney. The clear true eyes of this man almost alone in his day visioned Ireland as we of today would surely have her: not free merely, but Gaelic as well; not Gaelic merely, but free as well.

In a closer spiritual communion with him now than ever before or perhaps ever again, in a spiritual communion with those of his day, living and dead, who suffered with him in English prisons, in communion of spirit too with our own dear comrades who suffer in English prisons today, and speaking on their behalf as well as our own, we pledge to Ireland our love, and we pledge to English rule in Ireland our hate. This is a place of peace, sacred to the dead, where men should speak

with all charity and with all restraint; but I hold it a Christian thing, as O'Donovan Rossa held it, to hate evil, to hate untruth, to hate oppression, and hating them, to strive to overthrow them. Our foes are strong and wise and wary; but strong and wise and wary as they are, they cannot undo the miracles of God who ripens in the hearts of young men the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation. And the seeds sown by the young men of '65 and '67 are coming to their miraculous ripening today. Rulers and defenders of realms had need to be wary if they would guard against such processes. Life springs from death, and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations. The defenders of this realm [the British] have worked well in secret and in the open. They think that they have pacified Ireland. They think that they have purchased half of us and intimidated the other half. They think that they have foreseen everything, think that they have provided against everything; but the fools, the fools, the fools!—they have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.

COLLECTED WORKS OF PADRAIC H. PEARSE: POLITICAL WRITINGS AND SPEECHES (1916), pp. 133–137.



"WHAT IS OUR PROGRAMME?"

22 January 1916

James Connolly

After the failure of the workers' mass resistance to the famous Dublin lockout of 1913, James Connolly had the unenviable task of restoring morale to the Irish labor movement and of promoting the advanced nationalism to which he was also committed. His particular way of reconciling militant nationalism with the goals of the labor movement was made evident in the article "What Is Our Programme?" which he published in the Workers' Republic (new series), a newspaper that he edited from May 1915.

SEE ALSO Connolly, James; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921

We are often asked the above question. Sometimes the question is not too politely put, but sometimes it is put in frantic bewilderment, sometimes it is put in wrathful

objurgation, sometimes it is put to tearful entreaty, sometimes it is put by nationalists who affect to despise the labour movement, sometimes it is put by socialists who distrust the nationalists because of the anti-labour record of many of their friends, sometimes it is put by our enemies, sometimes by our friends, and always it is pertinent and worthy of an answer.

The labour movement is like no other movement. Its strength lies in being like no other movement. It is never so strong as when it stands alone. Other movements dread analysis and shun all attempts to define their objects. The labour movement delights in analysing, and is perpetually defining and re-defining its principles and objects.

The man or woman who has caught the spirit of the labour movement brings that spirit of analysis and definition into all his or her public acts, and expects at all times to answer the call to define their position. They cannot live on illusions, nor thrive by them; even should their heads be in the clouds, they will make no forward step until they are assured that their feet rest upon the solid earth.

In this they are essentially different from the middle or professional classes and the parties or movements controlled by such classes in Ireland. These always talk of realities but nourish themselves and their followers upon the unsubstantial meat of phrases; always prate about being intensely practical but nevertheless spend their whole lives in following visions.

When the average non-labour patriot in Ireland who boasts his practicality is brought in contact with the cold world and its problems, he shrinks from the contact; should his feet touch the solid earth, he affects to despise it as a “mere material basis” and strives to make the people believe that true patriotism needs no foundation to rest upon other than the brainstorms of its poets, orators, journalists, and leaders.

Ask such people for a programme and you are branded as a carping critic; refuse to accept their judgment as the last word in human wisdom and you become an enemy to be carefully watched; insist that in the crisis of your country’s history your first allegiance is to your country and not to any leader, executive, or committee, and you are forthwith a disturber, a factionist, a wrecker.

What is our programme! We at least, in conformity with the spirit of our movement, will try and tell it.

Our programme in time of peace was to gather into Irish hands in Irish trade unions the control of all the forces of production and distribution in Ireland. We never believed that freedom would be realised without fighting for it. From our earliest declaration of policy in

Dublin in 1896 the editor of this paper has held to the dictum that our ends should be secured “peacefully if possible, forcibly if necessary.” Believing so, we saw what the world outside Ireland is realising today, that the destinies of the world and the fighting strength of armies are at the mercy of organised labour as soon as that labour becomes truly revolutionary. Thus we strove to make labour in Ireland organised—and revolutionary.

We saw that should it come to a test in Ireland (as we hoped and prayed it might come) between those who stood for the Irish nation and those who stood for the foreign rule, the greatest civil asset in the hand of the Irish nation for use in the struggle would be the control of Irish docks, shipping, railways, and production by unions who gave sole allegiance to Ireland.

We realised that the power of the enemy to hurl his forces upon the forces of Ireland would lie at the mercy of the men who controlled the transport system of Ireland; we saw that the hopes of Ireland a nation rested upon the due recognition of the identity of interest between that ideal and the rising hopes of labour.

In Europe today we have seen the strongest governments of the world exerting every effort, holding out all possible sort of inducement to organised labour to use its organisation on the side of those governments in time of war. We have spent the best part of our lifetime striving to create in Ireland the working class spirit that would create an Irish organisation of labour willing to do voluntarily for Ireland what those governments of Europe were beseeching their trade unions to do for their countries. And we have partly succeeded.

We have succeeded in creating an organisation that will willingly do more for Ireland than any trade union in the world has attempted to do for its national government. Had we not been attacked and betrayed by many of our fervent advanced patriots, had they not been so anxious to destroy us, so willing to applaud even the British government when it attacked us, had they stood by us and pushed our organisation all over Ireland, it would not be in our power at a word to crumple up and demoralise every offensive move of the enemy against the champions of Irish freedom.

Had we been able to carry out all our plans, as such an Irish organisation of labour alone could carry them out, we could at a word have created all the conditions necessary to the striking of a successful blow whenever the military arm of Ireland wished to move.

Have we a programme? We are the only people that had a programme—that understood the mechanical conditions of modern war, and the dependence of national power upon industrial control.

What is our programme now? At the grave risk of displeasing alike the perfervid Irish patriot and the British "competent military authority," we shall tell it.

We believe that in times of peace we should work along the lines of peace to strengthen the nation, and we believe that whatever strengthens and elevates the working class strengthens the nation.

But we also believe that in times of war we should act as in war. We despise, entirely despise and loathe, all the mouthings and mouthers about war who infest Ireland in time of peace, just as we despise and loathe all the cantings about caution and restraint to which the same people treat us in times of war.

Mark well, then, our programme. While the war lasts and Ireland still is a subject nation, we shall continue to urge her to fight for her freedom.

We shall continue, in season and out of season, to teach that the "far-flung battle line" of England is weakest at the point nearest its heart, that Ireland is in that position of tactical advantage, that a defeat of England in India, Egypt, the Balkans, or Flanders would not be so dangerous to the British empire as any conflict of armed forces in Ireland, that the time for Ireland's battle is NOW, the place for Ireland's battle is HERE.

That a strong man may deal lusty blows with his fists against a host of surrounding foes and conquer, but will succumb if a child sticks a pin in his heart.

But the moment peace is once admitted by the British government as being a subject ripe for discussion, that moment our policy will be for peace and in direct opposition to all talk or preparation for armed revolution.

We will be no party to leading out Irish patriots to meet the might of an England at peace. The moment peace is in the air, we shall strictly confine ourselves and lend all our influence to the work of turning the thought of labour in Ireland to the work of peaceful reconstruction.

That is our programme. You can now compare it with the programme of those who bid you hold your hand now and thus put it in the power of the enemy to patch up a temporary peace, turn round and smash you at his leisure, and then go to war again with the Irish question settled—in the graves of Irish patriots.

We fear that is what is going to happen. It is to our mind inconceivable that the British public should allow conscription to be applied to England and not to Ireland. Nor do the British government desire it. But that government will use the cry of the necessities of war to force conscription upon the people of England and will then make a temporary peace and turn round to force

Ireland to accept the same terms as have been forced upon England.

The English public will gladly see this done—misfortune likes company. The situation will then shape itself thus: The Irish Volunteers who are pledged to fight conscription will either need to swallow their pledge and see the young men of Ireland conscripted, or will need to resent conscription and engage the military force of England at a time when England is at peace.

This is what the diplomacy of England is working for, what the stupidity of some of our leaders who imagine they are Wolfe Tones is making possible. It is our duty, it is the duty of all who wish to save Ireland from such shame or such slaughter, to strengthen the hand of those of the leaders who are for action as against those who are playing into the hands of the enemy.

We are neither rash nor cowardly. We know our opportunity when we see it, and we know when it has gone. We know that at the end of this war England will have at least an army of one million men, or more than two soldiers for every adult male in Ireland. And these soldiers [will be] veterans of the greatest war in history.

We shall not want to fight those men. We shall devote our attention to organising their comrades who return to civil life, to organising them into trade unions and labour parties to secure them their rights in civil life.

Unless we emigrate to some country where there are men.

WORKERS' REPUBLIC, 22 January 1916.



PROCLAMATION OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC

24 April 1916

The Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) decided soon after the start of World War I that a rising should occur in Ireland to overthrow British rule before the war was over. For this enterprise the IRB sought German assistance and infiltrated the leadership of the Irish Volunteers, a military but poorly armed body whose leaders rejected the notion of fighting for Britain and wanted Home Rule or independence. The IRB Military Council eventually set Easter Sunday 1916 as the day for the rising to begin. It began a day late amid confusion over conflicting orders and without German arms. Its greatest achievement was the proclamation of an Irish republic that Patrick Pearse read in front of the General Post Office on Easter Monday.

SEE ALSO Connolly, James; Pearse, Patrick; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921

POBLACHT NA H-ÉIREANN: THE PROVISIONAL
GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC TO THE
PEOPLE OF IRELAND

Irishmen and Irishwomen: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a sovereign independent state, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to and hereby claims the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and oblivious of the differences, carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent national government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and

women, the Provisional Government hereby constituted will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government:
Thomas J. Clarke, Seán Mac Diarmada, Thomas
MacDonagh, P. H. Pearse, Eamonn Ceannt, James
Connolly, Joseph Plunkett

Reprinted in IRISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, 1172-1922,
edited by Edmund Curtis and R. B. McDowell (1943),
pp. 317-318.



"EASTER 1916"

1916

William Butler Yeats

At the time of the Easter Rising, Yeats was living in England and later complained of not having been informed in advance of the plot. Maud Gonne, whose estranged husband John MacBride was one of the executed leaders, persuaded Yeats to return now that "tragic dignity had returned to Ireland." This poem was written between May and September 1916, possibly as a palinode to retract earlier statements, such as those found in the poem "September 1913," lambasting the rising Catholic middle class for their philistinism. Here Yeats presents his reflections on the revolutionaries, some of whom he had numbered among his friends, as well as his ambivalent views on nationalism and heroism.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Poetry, Modern; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921; Yeats, W. B.

I have met them at close of day
Coming with vivid faces
From counter or desk among grey
Eighteenth-century houses.

I have passed with a nod of the head
 Or polite meaningless words,
 Or have lingered awhile and said
 Polite meaningless words,
 And thought before I had done
 Of a mocking tale or a gibe
 To please a companion
 Around the fire at the club,
 Being certain that they and I
 But lived where motley is worn:
 All changed, changed utterly:
 A terrible beauty is born.

That woman's days were spent
 In ignorant good-will,
 Her nights in argument
 Until her voice grew shrill.
 What voice more sweet than hers
 When, young and beautiful,
 She rode to harriers?
 This man had kept a school
 And rode our winged horse;
 This other his helper and friend
 Was coming into his force;
 He might have won fame in the end,
 So sensitive his nature seemed,
 So daring and sweet his thought.
 This other man I had dreamed
 A drunken, vainglorious lout.
 He had done most bitter wrong
 To some who are near my heart,
 Yet I number him in the song;
 He, too, has resigned his part
 In the casual comedy;
 He, too, has been changed in his turn,
 Transformed utterly:
 A terrible beauty is born.

Hearts with one purpose alone
 Through summer and winter seem
 Enchanted to a stone
 To trouble the living stream.
 The horse that comes from the road,
 The rider, the birds that range
 From cloud to tumbling cloud,
 Minute by minute they change;
 A shadow of cloud on the stream
 Changes minute by minute;
 A horse-hoof slides on the brim,
 And a horse plashes within it;
 The long-legged moor-hens dive,
 And hens to moor-cocks call;
 Minute by minute they live:
 The stone's in the midst of all.

Too long a sacrifice
 Can make a stone of the heart.
 O when may it suffice?

That is Heaven's part, our part
 To murmur name upon name,
 As a mother names her child
 When sleep at last has come
 On limbs that had run wild.
 What is it but nightfall?
 No, no, not night but death;
 Was it needless death after all?
 For England may keep faith
 For all that is done and said.
 We know their dream; enough
 To know they dreamed and are dead;
 And what if excess of love
 Bewildered them till they died?
 I write it out in a verse—
 MacDonagh and MacBride
 And Connolly and Pearse
 Now and in time to be,
 Wherever green is worn,
 Are changed, changed utterly:
 A terrible beauty is born.

SELECTED POEMS AND TWO PLAYS OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS,
edited by M. L. Rosenthal (1962), pp. 85–87.



DECLARATION OF IRISH INDEPENDENCE

21 January 1919

Following the general election of December 1918, the victorious Sinn Féin candidates who were not in jail met in Dublin in January 1919 and established an Irish parliament which they christened Dáil Éireann. Among their very first acts was to issue a declaration of independence ratifying the Irish Republic that had been proclaimed by the leaders of the Easter Rising in April 1916.

SEE ALSO Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921

Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people:

And whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation:

And whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and main-

tained by military occupation against the declared will of the people:

And whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday 1916 by the Irish Republican Army, acting on behalf of the Irish people:

And whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete independence in order to promote the common weal, to re-establish justice, to provide for future defence, to insure peace at home and good will with all nations and to constitute a national polity based upon the people's will with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen:

And whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has, in the general election of December of 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic:

Now, therefore, we, the elected representatives of the ancient Irish people in national parliament assembled, do in the name of the Irish nation ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command:

We ordain that the elected representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish parliament is the only parliament to which that people will give its allegiance:

We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English garrison:

We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of every free nation in the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter:

In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God, Who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through long centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His Divine blessing on this the last stage of the struggle we have pledged ourselves to carry through to freedom.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF IRELAND, 1919-1921, OFFICIAL RECORD (*n.d.*),
pp. 15-16.



THE "DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME" OF DÁIL ÉIREANN

21 January 1919

In its original radical form the "Democratic Programme" was the work of the labor leader Thomas Johnson. Even after being toned down by Seán T. O'Kelly, this idealistic document seemed to commit the independent government declared by Dáil Éireann in January 1919 to a social revolution. Though adopted in revised form by the Dáil, it was soon submerged by the more urgent necessities of revolutionary war, and after independence it was essentially forgotten by the bourgeois leaders of the new state.

SEE ALSO Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922

We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first president, Pádraig Mac Phiarais, we declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation, but to all its material possessions, the nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the nation, and with him we reaffirm that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

We declare and we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of liberty, equality, and justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the commonwealth, and declare it is the duty of the nation that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service, we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the nation's labour.

It shall be the first duty of the government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

The Irish Republic fully realises the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading, and foreign poor law system, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the nation's aged and infirm, who shall not be regarded as a burden but rather entitled to the nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise, it shall be the duty of the Republic to take such measures as will safeguard the health of the people and ensure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the nation.

It shall be our duty to promote the development of the nation's resources, to increase the productivity of its soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its waterways and harbours in the interests and for the benefit of the Irish people.

It shall be the duty of the Republic to adopt all measures necessary for the creation and invigoration of our industries and to ensure their being developed on the most beneficial and progressive co-operative and industrial lines. With the adoption of an extensive Irish consular service, trade with foreign nations shall be revived on terms of mutual advantage and goodwill, and while undertaking the organisation of the nation's trade, import and export, it shall be the duty of the Republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.

It shall also devolve upon the national government to seek co-operation of the governments of other countries in determining a standard of social and industrial legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF IRELAND, 1919-1921, OFFICIAL RECORD (*n.d.*),
pp. 22-23.



GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND ACT

23 December 1920

In the midst of the war of independence between 1919 and 1921, the British government carried into law at Westminster in London the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. Its provisions with respect to the setting up of a Home Rule parliament in southern Ireland were essentially ignored by the revolutionary nationalists, but northern unionists proceeded to implement its provisions in the Six

Counties by setting up a legislature and an executive government there. For decades afterward Protestants completely dominated these governmental institutions in Northern Ireland.

SEE ALSO Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE BETTER GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND . . .

Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:
ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTS FOR SOUTHERN IRELAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND A COUNCIL OF IRELAND.

1. (1) On and after the appointed day there shall be established for Southern Ireland a parliament to be called the parliament of Southern Ireland consisting of his majesty, the Senate of Southern Ireland, and the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and there shall be established for Northern Ireland a parliament to be called the parliament of Northern Ireland consisting of his majesty, the Senate of Northern Ireland, and the House of Commons of Northern Ireland.

(2) For the purpose of this act, Northern Ireland shall consist of the parliamentary counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone, and the parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry, and Southern Ireland shall consist of so much of Ireland as is not comprised within the said parliamentary counties and boroughs.

2. (1) With a view to eventual establishment of a parliament for the whole of Ireland, and to bringing about harmonious action between the parliaments and governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland, and to the promotion of mutual intercourse and uniformity in relation to matters affecting the whole of Ireland, and to providing for the administration of services which the two parliaments mutually agree should be administered uniformly throughout the whole of Ireland, or which by virtue of this act are to be so administered, there shall be constituted, as soon as may be after the appointed day, a council to be called the Council of Ireland.

(2) Subject as hereinafter provided, the Council of Ireland shall consist of a person nominated by the lord lieutenant acting in accordance with instructions from his majesty, who shall be president, and forty other per-

sons, of whom seven shall be members of the Senate of Southern Ireland, thirteen shall be members of the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, seven shall be members of the Senate of Northern Ireland, and thirteen shall be members of the House of Commons of Northern Ireland.

The members of the Council of Ireland shall be elected in each case by the members of that house of the parliament of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland of which they are members. The election of members of the Council of Ireland shall be the first business of the Senates and Houses of Commons of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland.

A member of the council shall, on ceasing to be a member of that house of the parliament of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland by which he was elected a member of the council, cease to be a member of the council: provided that, on the dissolution of the parliament of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland, the persons who are members of the council elected by either house of that parliament shall continue to hold office as members of the council until the date of the first meeting of the new parliament and shall then retire unless re-elected.

The president of the council shall preside at each meeting of the council at which he is present and shall be entitled to vote in case of an equality of votes, but not otherwise.

The first meeting of the council shall be held at such time and place as may be appointed by the lord lieutenant.

The council may act notwithstanding a vacancy in their number, and the quorum of the council shall be fifteen; subject to aforesaid, the council may regulate their own procedure, including the delegation of powers to committees.

(3) The constitution of the Council of Ireland may from time to time be varied by identical acts passed by the parliament of Southern Ireland and the parliament of Northern Ireland, and the acts may provide for all or any of the members of the Council of Ireland being elected by parliamentary electors, and determine the constituencies by which the several elective members are to be returned and the number of the members to be returned by the several constituencies and the method of election.

Power to Establish a Parliament for the Whole of Ireland

3. (1) The parliaments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland may, by identical acts agreed to by an absolute majority of members of the House of Commons of each parliament at the third reading (hereinaf-

ter referred to as constituent acts), establish, in lieu of the Council of Ireland, a parliament for the whole of Ireland consisting of his majesty and two houses (which shall be called and known as the parliament of Ireland), and may determine the number of members thereof and the manner in which the members are to be appointed or elected, and the constituencies of which the several elective members are to be returned, and the number of members to be returned by the several constituencies, and the method of appointment or election, and the relations of the two houses to one another; and the date at which the parliament of Ireland is established is hereinafter referred to as the date of Irish union:

Provided that the bill for a constituent act shall not be introduced except upon a resolution passed at a previous meeting of the house in which the bill is to be introduced.

(2) On the date of Irish union the Council of Ireland shall cease to exist, and there shall be transferred to the parliament and government of Ireland all powers then exercisable by the Council of Ireland, and (except so far as the constituent acts otherwise provide) the matters which under this act cease to be reserved matters at the date of Irish union, and any other powers for the joint exercise of which by the parliament or governments of Southern and Northern Ireland provision has been made under this act.

(3) There should also be transferred to the parliament and government of Ireland, except so far as the constituent acts otherwise provide, all the powers and duties of the parliaments and governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland, including all powers as to taxation, and unless any powers and duties are retained by the parliaments and governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland under the constituent acts, those parliaments and governments shall cease to exist:

Provided that if any powers and duties are so retained, the constituent acts shall make provision with respect to the financial relations between the exchequers of Southern and Northern Ireland on the one hand and the Irish exchequer on the other.

(4) If by the constituent acts any powers and duties are so retained as aforesaid, the parliaments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland may subsequently by identical acts transfer any of those powers and duties to the government and parliament of Ireland, and in the event of all such powers and duties being so transferred, the parliaments and governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland shall cease to exist.

Legislative Powers

4. (1) Subject to the provisions of this act, the parliament of Southern Ireland and the parliament of

Northern Ireland shall respectively have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland, with the following limitations, namely, that they shall not have power to make laws except in respect of matters exclusively relating to the portion of Ireland within their jurisdiction or some part thereof, and (without prejudice to that general limitation) that they shall not have power to make laws in respect of the following matters in particular, namely:—

- (1) The Crown or the succession to the Crown, or a regency, or the property of the Crown (including foreshore vested in the Crown), or the lord lieutenant, except as respects the exercise of his executive power in relation to Irish services as defined for the purposes of this act; or
- (2) The making of peace or war, or matters arising from a state of war; or the regulation of the conduct of any portion of his majesty's subjects during the existence of hostilities between foreign states with which his majesty is at peace, in relation to those hostilities; or
- (3) The navy, the army, the air force, the territorial force, or any other naval, military, or air force, or the defence of the realm, or any other naval, military, or air force matter (including any pensions and allowances payable to persons who have been members of or in respect of service in any such force or their widows or dependants, and provision for the training, education, employment, and assistance for the reinstatement in civil life of persons who have ceased to be members of any such force); or
- (4) Treaties, or any relations with foreign states, or relations with other parts of his majesty's dominions, or matters involving the contravention of treaties or agreements with foreign states or any part of his majesty's dominions, or offences connected with any such treaties or relations, or procedure connected with the extradition of criminals under any treaty, or the return of fugitive offenders from or to any part of his majesty's dominions; or
- (5) Dignities or titles of honour; or
- (6) Treason, treason felony, alienage, naturalisation, or aliens as such, or domicile; or
- (7) Trade with any place out of the part of Ireland within their jurisdiction, except so far as trade may be affected by the exercise of the powers of taxation given to the said parliaments, or by regulations made for the sole purpose of preventing contagious disease, or by steps taken by means of

inquiries or agencies out of the part of Ireland within their jurisdiction for the improvement of the trade of that part or for the protection of traders of that part from fraud; the granting of bounties on the export of goods; quarantine; navigation, including merchant shipping (except as respects inland waters, the regulation of harbours, and local health regulations); or

- (8) Submarine cables; or
- (9) Wireless telegraphy; or
- (10) Aerial navigation; or
- (11) Lighthouses, buoys, or beacons (except so far as they can consistently with any general act of the parliament of the United Kingdom be constructed or maintained by a local harbour authority); or
- (12) Coinage; legal tender; negotiable instruments (including bank notes), except so far as negotiable instruments may be affected by the exercise of the powers of taxation given to the said parliaments; or any change in the standard of weights and measures; or
- (13) Trade marks, designs, merchandise marks, copyright, or patent rights; or
- (14) Any matter which by this act is declared to be a reserved matter, so long as it remains reserved. Any law made in contravention of the limitations imposed by this section shall, so far as it contravenes those limitations, be void.

(2) The limitation on the powers of the said parliaments to the making of laws with respect to matters exclusively relating to the portion of Ireland within their respective jurisdiction shall not be construed so as to prevent the said parliaments by identical legislation making laws respecting matters affecting both Southern and Northern Ireland.

5. (1) In the exercise of their power to make laws under this act, neither the parliament of Southern Ireland nor the parliament of Northern Ireland shall make a law so either directly or indirectly to establish or endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof, or give a preference, privilege, or advantage, or impose any disability or disadvantage, on account of religious belief or religious or ecclesiastical status, or make any religious belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or alter the constitution of any religious body except where the alteration is approved on behalf of the religious body by the governing body thereof, or divert from any religious denomination the

fabric of cathedral churches, or, except for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water, or drainage works, or other works of public utility upon payment of compensation, any other property, or take any property without compensation. Any law made in contravention of the restrictions imposed by this subsection shall, so far as it contravenes those restrictions, be void.

(2) Any existing enactment by which any penalty, disadvantage, or disability is imposed on account of religious belief or on a member of any religious order as such shall, as from the appointed day, cease to have effect in Ireland.

6. (1) Neither the parliament of Southern Ireland nor the parliament of Northern Ireland shall have power to repeal or alter any provision of this act (except as is specially provided by this act), or of any act passed by the parliament of the United Kingdom after the appointed day and extending to the part of Ireland within their jurisdiction, although that provision deals with a matter with respect to which the parliaments have power to make laws.

(2) Where any act of the parliament of Southern Ireland or the parliament of Northern Ireland deals with any matter with respect to which that parliament has power to make laws which is dealt with by any act of the parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the appointed day and extending to the part of Ireland within its jurisdiction, the act of the parliament of Southern Ireland or the parliament of Northern Ireland shall be read subject to the act of the parliament of the United Kingdom, and so far as it is repugnant to that act, but no further, shall be void.

(3) Any order, rule, or regulation made in pursuance of, or having the force of, an act of parliament of the United Kingdom shall be deemed to be a provision of an act within the meaning of this section.

7. (1) The Council of Ireland shall have power to make orders with respect to matters affecting interests both in Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland, in any case where the matter—

- (a) is of such a nature that if it had affected interests in one of those areas only, it would have been within the powers of the parliament for that area; and
- (b) is a matter to affect which, it would, apart from this provision, have been necessary to apply to the parliament of the United Kingdom by petition for leave to bring in a private bill.

(2) The provisions contained in the first schedule to this act shall have effect with respect to the procedure for making such orders.

(3) Any order so made by the Council of Ireland under this section shall be presented to the lord lieutenant for his majesty's assent, in like manner as a bill passed by the Senate and House of Commons of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland, and on such assent being given, the order shall have effect in Southern and Northern Ireland respectively, as if enacted by the parliament of Southern Ireland or Northern Ireland, as the case may be.

Executive Authority

8. (1) The executive power in Southern Ireland and in Northern Ireland shall continue vested in his majesty the king, and nothing in this act shall affect the exercise of that power. . . .

IO & II Geo. V, c. 67; reprinted in IRISH POLITICAL DOCUMENTS, 1916-1949, edited by Arthur Mitchell and Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (1989), pp. 91-96.



THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY

6 December 1921

The British coalition government that negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 was dominated by Conservatives, who were bound to reject recognizing Southern Ireland as a republic or allowing Ulster to be coerced into a united Ireland. Thus the treaty conceded only dominion status to Southern Ireland and left the existing Northern Ireland government intact, though it did not rule out future North-South unity (see the treaty's provisions relating to the stillborn Council of Ireland). But the treaty split the Irish political movement that had fought the war of independence together; it led to the Civil War of 1922 to 1923 and became the main touchstone of political allegiances for decades thereafter.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Collins, Michael; Griffith, Arthur; de Valera, Eamon; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND: ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

1. Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of

Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a parliament having powers to make laws for the peace and good government of Ireland and an executive responsible to that parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

2. Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out, the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the imperial parliament and government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice, and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the imperial parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

3. The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the governor-general of Canada, and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments.

4. The oath to be taken by members of the parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form: I do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V, his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

5. The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the public debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof and towards the payment of war pensions as existing at that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set off or counter-claim, the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British empire.

6. Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence, the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by his majesty's imperial forces, but this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the revenue or the fisheries.

The foregoing provisions of this article shall be reviewed at a conference of representatives of the British and Irish governments to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defence.

7. The government of the Irish Free State shall afford to his majesty's imperial forces :

- (a) In time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the annex hereto, or such

other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British government and the government of the Irish Free State; and

- (b) In time of war or of strained relations with a foreign power such harbour and other facilities as the British government may require for the purposes of such defence as aforesaid.

8. With a view to securing the observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defence force, the establishments thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

9. The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary port and other dues.

10. The government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of police forces, and other public servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance hereof.

Provided that this agreement shall not apply to members of the Auxiliary Police Force or to persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the two years next preceding the date hereof. The British government will assume responsibility for such compensation or pensions as may be payable to any of these excepted persons.

11. Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the act of parliament for the ratification of this instrument, the powers of the parliament and the government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland unless a resolution is passed by both houses of the parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of the holding such elections before the end of the said month.

12. If before the expiration of the said month an address is presented to his majesty by both houses of the parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the parliament and government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland), shall so

far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect subject to the necessary modifications.

Provided that if such an address is so presented, a commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the government of Northern Ireland, and one, who shall be chairman, to be appointed by the British government, shall determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such commissions.

13. For the purpose of the last foregoing article the powers of the parliament of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, to elect members of the Council of Ireland shall, after the parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted, be exercised by that parliament.

14. After the expiration of the said month, if no such address as is mentioned in Article 12 hereof is presented, the parliament and government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred on them by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, but the parliament and government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have, in relation to matters in respect of which the parliament of Northern Ireland has not the power to make laws under the act (including matters which under the said act are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland), the same powers as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such provisions as may be agreed in manner hereinafter appearing.

15. At any time after the date hereof the government of Northern Ireland and the provisional government of Southern Ireland hereinafter constituted may meet for the purpose of discussing the provisions subject to which the last foregoing article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented, and those provisions may include:

- (a) Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland.
- (b) Safeguards with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland.
- (c) Safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade or industry of Northern Ireland.
- (d) Safeguards for minorities in Northern Ireland.

- (e) The settlement of the financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State.
- (f) The establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the defence forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland respectively,

and if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included amongst the provisions subject to which the powers of the parliament and government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article 14 hereof.

16. Neither the parliament of the Irish Free State nor the parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as to either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof, or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects state aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

17. By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a parliament and government in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a provisional government, and the British government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such provisional government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such provisional government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

18. This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by his majesty's government for the approval of parliament and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and, if approved, shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

(Signed)

*On behalf of the British delegation,
D. Lloyd George.
Austen Chamberlain.*

Birkenhead.
Winston S. Churchill.
L. Worthington-Evans.
Hamar Greenwood.
Gordon Hewart.

*On behalf of the Irish delegation,
Art Ó Gríobhtha (Arthur Griffith).
Mícheál O Coileáin.
Riobárd Bartún.
E. S. Ó Dugáin.
Seórsa Ghabháin Uí Dhubhthaigh.*

6th December 1921.

PRIVATE SESSIONS OF THE SECOND DÁIL: MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS, 18 AUGUST 1921 TO 14 SEPTEMBER 1921, AND REPORT OF DEBATES, 14 DECEMBER 1921 TO 6 JANUARY 1922 (*n.d.*), pp. 312–314.



“TIME WILL TELL”

19 December 1921

Eamon de Valera

In the following speech by Eamon de Valera in Dáil Éireann against the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921, de Valera was responding to a speech by Arthur Griffith in which Griffith moved that the treaty should be adopted by Dáil Éireann. De Valera argued that the treaty would not end the centuries of conflict between Britain and Ireland; he made very specific objections to the oath of allegiance. Like the majority of Dáil deputies who spoke either in favor or against the treaty, he did not mention partition.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Civil War; de Valera, Eamon; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union

I think it would scarcely be in accordance with standing orders of the Dáil if I were to move directly the rejection of this Treaty. I daresay, however, it will be sufficient that I should appeal to this House not to approve of the Treaty.

We were elected by the Irish people, and did the Irish people think we were liars when we said that we meant to uphold the Republic, which was ratified by the vote of the people three years ago and was further ratified—

expressly ratified—by the vote of the people at the elections last May? When the proposal for negotiation came from the British government asking that we should try by negotiation to reconcile Irish national aspirations with the association of nations forming the British empire, there was no one here as strong as I was to make sure that every human attempt should be made to find whether such reconciliation was possible. I am against this Treaty because it does not reconcile Irish national aspirations with association with the British government. I am against this Treaty, not because I am a man of war, but a man of peace. I am against this Treaty because it will not end the centuries of conflict between the two nations of Great Britain and Ireland. We went out to effect such a reconciliation, and we have brought back a thing which will not even reconcile our own people, much less reconcile Britain and Ireland.

If there was to be reconciliation, it is obvious that the party in Ireland which typifies national aspirations for centuries should be satisfied, and the test of every agreement would be the test of whether the people were satisfied or not. A war-weary people will take things which are not in accordance with their aspirations. You may have a snatch election now, and you may get a vote of the people, but I will tell you that Treaty will renew the contest, that it is going to begin the same history that the Union began, and Lloyd George is going to have the same fruit for his labours as Pitt had. When in Downing Street the proposals to which we could unanimously assent in the cabinet were practically turned down at the point of the pistol and immediate war was threatened upon our people, it was only then that this document was signed; and that document has been signed by plenipotentiaries, not perhaps individually under duress, but it has been signed, and would only affect this nation as a document signed under duress, and this nation would not respect it.

I wanted, and the cabinet wanted, to get a document we could stand by, a document that could enable Irishmen to meet Englishmen and shake hands with them as fellow-citizens of the world. That document makes British authority our masters in Ireland. It was said that they had only an oath to the British king in virtue of common citizenship, but you have an oath to the Irish constitution, and that constitution will be a constitution which will have the king of Great Britain as head of Ireland. You will swear allegiance to that constitution and to that king; and if the representatives of the Republic should ask the people of Ireland to do that which is inconsistent with the Republic, I say they are subverting the Republic. It would be a surrender which was never heard of in Ireland since the days of Henry II; and are we in this generation, which has made Irishmen

famous throughout the world, to sign our names to the most ignoble document that could be signed?

When I was in prison in solitary confinement, our warders told us that we could go from our cells into the hall, which was about fifty feet by forty. We did go out from the cells to the hall, but we did not give our word to the British jailer that he had the right to detain us in prison because we got that privilege. Again, on another occasion, we were told that we could get out to a "garden party," where we could see the flowers and the hills, but we did not for the privilege of going out to garden parties sign a document handing over our souls and bodies to the jailers. Rather than sign a document which would give Britain authority in Ireland, they should be ready to go into slavery until the Almighty had blotted out their tyrants. If the British government passed a Home Rule Act or something of that kind, I would not have said to the Irish people, "Do not take it." I would have said, "Very well; this is a case of the jailer leading you from the cell to the hall," but by getting that we did not sign away our right to whatever form of government we pleased.

It was said that an uncompromising stand for a Republic was not made. The stand made by some of them [us?] was to try and reconcile a Republic with an association. [Editors' note: De Valera is here referring to his idea of the external association of Ireland with the countries making up the British Commonwealth.] There was a document presented to this House to try to get unanimity, to see whether the views which I hold could be reconciled to that party which typified the national aspirations of Ireland for centuries. The document was put there for that purpose, and I defy anybody in this House to say otherwise than that I was trying to bring forward before this assembly a document which would bring real peace between Great Britain and Ireland—a sort of document we would have tried to get and would not have agreed if we did not get. It would be a document that would give real peace to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, and not the officials [politicians?]. I know it would not be a politicians' peace. I know the politician in England who would take it would risk his political future, but it would be a peace between peoples and would be consistent with the Irish people being full masters of everything within their own shores.

Criticism of this Treaty is scarcely necessary from this point of view, that it could not be ratified because it would not be legal for this assembly to ratify it, because it would be inconsistent with our position. We were elected here to be the guardians of an independent Irish state, a state that had declared its independence; and this House could—no more than the ignominious House that voted away the colonial parliament that was

in Ireland in 1800, unless we wished to follow the example of that House and vote away the independence of our people—we could not ratify that instrument if it were brought before us for ratification. It is therefore to be brought before us not for ratification, because it would be inconsistent, and the very fact that it is inconsistent shows that it could not be reconciled with Irish aspirations, because the aspirations of the Irish people have been crystallised into the form of government they have at the present time.

As far as I was concerned, I am probably the freest man here to express my opinion. Before I was elected president at the private session, I said, "Remember, I do not take, as far as I am concerned, oaths as regards forms of government. I regard myself here to maintain the independence of Ireland and to do the best for the Irish people," and it is to do the best for the Irish people that I ask you not to approve but to reject this Treaty.

You will be forsaking the best interest of Ireland if you pretend to the world that this will lay the foundation of a lasting peace, and you know perfectly well that even if Mr Griffith and Mr Collins set up a Provisional Government in Dublin Castle, until the Irish people would have voted upon it, the government would be looked upon as a usurpation equally with Dublin Castle in the past.

We know perfectly well there is nobody here who has expressed more strongly dissent from any attacks of any kind upon the delegates that went to London than I did. There is no one who knew better than I did how difficult is the task they had to perform. I appealed to the Dáil, telling them the delegates had to do something a mighty army or a mighty navy would not be able to do. I hold that, and I hold that it was in their excessive love for Ireland they have done what they have.

I am as anxious as anyone for the material prosperity of Ireland and the Irish people, but I cannot do anything that would make the Irish people hang their heads. I would rather see the same thing over again than that Irishmen should have to hang their heads in shame for having signed and put their hands to a document handing over their authority to a foreign country. The Irish people would not want me to save them materially at the expense of their national honour. I say it is quite within the competence of the Irish people if they wished to enter into an association with other peoples, to enter into the British empire; it is within their competence if they want to choose the British monarch as their king, but does this assembly think the Irish people have changed so much within the past year or two that they now want to get into the British empire after seven centuries of fighting? Have they so changed that they now want to choose the person of the British monarch,

whose forces they have been fighting against and who . . . [has] been associated with all the barbarities of the past couple of years—have they changed so much that they want to choose the king as their monarch? It is not King George as a monarch they choose: it is Lloyd George, because it is not the personal monarch they are choosing, it is British power and authority as sovereign authority in this country. The sad part of it, as I was saying, is that a grand peace could at this moment be made—and to see the difference! I say, for instance, if approved by the Irish people, and if Mr Griffith, or whoever might be in his place, thought it wise to ask King George over to open parliament, he would see black flags in the streets of Dublin. Do you think that that would make for harmony between the two peoples? What would the people of Great Britain say when they saw the king accepted by the Irish people greeted in Dublin with black flags? If a Treaty was entered into, if it was a right Treaty, he could have been brought here. Yes, he could. Why not? I say if a proper peace had been made, you could bring, for instance, the president of France, the king of Spain, or the president of America here, or the head of any other friendly nation here, in the name of the Irish state, and the Irish people would extend to them in a very different way a welcome as the head of a friendly nation coming on a friendly visit to their country, and not as a monarch who came to call Ireland his legitimate possession. In one case the Irish people would regard him as a usurper, in the other case it would be the same as a distinguished visitor to their country. Therefore, I am against the Treaty because it does not do the fundamental thing and bring us peace. The Treaty leaves us a country going through a period of internal strife just as the Act of Union did.

One of the great misfortunes in Ireland for past centuries has been the fact that our internal problems and our internal domestic questions could not be gone into because of the relationship between Ireland and Great Britain. Just as in America during the last presidential election, it was not the internal affairs of the country were uppermost; it was other matters. It was the big international question. That was the misfortune for America at the time, and it was the great misfortune for Ireland for 120 years; and if the present pact is agreed on, that will continue. I am against it because it is inconsistent with our position, because if we are to say the Irish people do not mean it, then they should have told us that they did not mean it.

Had the chairman of the delegation said he did not stand for the things they had said they stood for, he would not have been elected. The Irish people can change their minds if they wish to. The Irish people are our masters, and they can do as they like, but only the

Irish people can do that, and we should give the people credit that they meant what they said just as we mean what we say.

I do not think I should continue any further on this matter. I have spoken generally, and if you wish, we can take these documents up, article by article, but they have been discussed in private session and I do not think there is any necessity for doing so.

Therefore, I am once more asking you to reject the Treaty for two main reasons: that, as every teachta [deputy] knows, it is absolutely inconsistent with our position; it gives away Irish independence; it brings us into the British empire; it acknowledges the head of the British empire, not merely as the head of an association, but as the direct monarch of Ireland, as the source of executive authority in Ireland.

The ministers of Ireland will be his majesty's ministers, the army that Commandant MacKeon spoke of will be his majesty's army. You may sneer at words, but I say words mean, and I say in a Treaty words do mean something—else why should they be put down? They have meanings and they have facts, great realities that you cannot close your eyes to. This Treaty means that the ministers of the Irish Free State will be his majesty's ministers, and the Irish forces will be his majesty's forces. Well, time will tell, and I hope it will not have a chance because you will throw this out. If you accept it, time will tell. It cannot be one way in this assembly and another way in the British House of Commons. The Treaty is an agreed document, and there ought to be pretty fairly common interpretation of it. If there are differences of interpretation, we know who will get the best of them.

I hold, and I do not mind my words being on record, that the chief executive authority in Ireland is the British monarch—the British authority. It is in virtue of that authority the Irish ministers will function. It is to the commander-in-chief of the Irish army, who will be the English monarch, they will swear allegiance, these soldiers of Ireland. It is on these grounds, as being inconsistent with our position and with the whole national tradition for 750 years, that it cannot bring peace. Do you think that because you sign documents like this you can change the current of tradition? You cannot. Some of you are relying on that "cannot" to sign this Treaty. But do not put a barrier in the way of future generations.

Parnell was asked to do something like this—to say it was a final settlement. . . . Parnell said, practically, "You have no right to ask me, because I have no right to say that any man can set boundaries to the march of a nation." As far as you can, if you take this, you are presuming to set bounds to the onward march of a nation.

SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS BY EAMON DE VALERA, 1917–73,
 edited by Maurice Moynihan (1980), pp. 87–91. Reproduced
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SPEECH IN FAVOR OF THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY OF DECEMBER 1921

7 January 1922

Arthur Griffith

Arthur Griffith headed the delegation that negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty in London between October and December 1921. Though the British prime minister David Lloyd George may have outmaneuvered him at a critical stage of the negotiations, preventing Griffith from breaking off the talks on the Ulster question when he failed to secure complete independence from Britain, the Irish delegates made a bargain that a slim majority of the Dáil, and a much larger majority of the general population, considered worthy of acceptance. Griffith offered a strong defense of the treaty in the Dáil on 7 January 1922, combating the main objections from Eamon de Valera and other staunch republicans.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Griffith, Arthur; Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

. . . We were sent to make some compromise, bargain, or arrangement; we made an arrangement; the arrangement we made is not satisfactory to many people. Let them criticise on that point, but do not let them say that we were sent to get one thing and that we got something else. We got a different type of arrangement from that which many wished; but when they charge us or insinuate that we went there with a mandate to demand a republic, and nothing but a republic, then they are maligning us; if we got that mandate, we would have finished up in five minutes in Downing Street. . . . We went there to London, not as republican doctrinaires, but looking for the substance of freedom and independence. If you think what we brought back is not the substance of independence, that is a legitimate ground for attack upon us, but to attack us on the ground that we went there to get a republic is to attack us on false and lying grounds; and some of those who criticise on that ground know perfectly the conditions

under which we went. "We are ready," said President de Valera, . . . "to leave the whole question between Ireland and England to external arbitration." What did that mean? Need I comment on it? Is that saying you will have a republic and nothing but a republic? . . . I have listened here for days to discussions on the oath [of allegiance to the British crown required by the Treaty]. If you are going to have a form of association with the British empire, call it what you will, you must have an oath; and such an oath was suggested and put before us and not rejected, and put before the plenipotentiaries when going back to London. The difference between these two oaths is the difference in the terms. I am not going to speak in terms of theology or terms of law about them; we have had quite a considerable discussion on that point; but what I am going to speak about is this: that in this assembly there are men who have taken oath after oath to the king of England; and I noticed that these men applauded loudly when insulting or slighting references were made to the young soldiers here on account of the oath. . . . Ah! This hypocrisy that is going to involve the lives of gallant and brave men is damnable. . . .

You say we are dishonourable men; this does not affect the fact of the Treaty which has been discussed on the basis of the failure, at least, of the plenipotentiaries, and not discussed on what was in it. It has been discussed in the way that Carlyle once described—and I have thought of this many times while listening to the criticism of the Treaty—he describes the fly that crawled along the front of the Cologne cathedral and communicated to all the other flies what a horribly rough surface it was, because the fly was unable to see the edifice. Now, as to that Treaty, an effort has been made to put us in the position of saying that this Treaty is an ideal thing; an effort has been made to put us into a false position. That Treaty is not an ideal thing; it has faults. I could draw up a treaty—any of us could draw up a treaty which would be more satisfactory to the Irish people; we could "call spirits from the vasty deep," but will they come when you call them? We have a Treaty signed by the heads of the British government; we have nothing signed against it. I could draw up a much better treaty myself, one that would suit myself; but it is not going to be passed. We are therefore face to face with a practical situation. Does this Treaty give away the interests and the honour of Ireland? I say it does not. I say it serves the interests of Ireland; it is not dishonourable to Ireland. It is not an ideal thing; it could be better. It has no more finality than that we are the final generation on the face of the earth (applause). No man is going, as we quoted here—I have used, it all my life—"No man can set bounds to the march of a nation." But we here can accept the Treaty and deal with it in good

faith with the English people, and through the files of events reach, if we desire it, any further status that we desire or require after[ward]. Who is going to say what the world is to be like in ten years hence? We can make peace on the basis of that Treaty; it does not forever bind us not to ask for any more. England is going beyond where she is at present; all nations are going beyond where they are at present; and in the meantime we can move on in comfort and peace to the ultimate goal. This Treaty gives the Irish people what they have not had for centuries; it gives them a foothold in their own country; it gives them solid ground on which to stand; and Ireland has been a quaking bog for three hundred years, where there was no foothold for the Irish people. Well, reject this Treaty; throw Ireland back into what she was before this Treaty came—I am not a prophet, though I have listened to many prophets here, and I can't argue with prophets; but I know where Ireland was twenty or thirty years ago, I know where Ireland was when there was only a few dozen of us up in Dublin trying to keep the national idea alive, not trying to keep it alive, because the Irish people never deserted it, but a few of us who had faith in our people and faith in our country, stood by her—you are going to throw Ireland back to that; to dishearten the men who made the fight and to let back into Irish politics the time-servers and men who let down Ireland before, and who will, through their weakness if not through dishonesty, let down Ireland again. You can take this Treaty and make it the basis of an Irish Ireland. . . .

I have heard in this assembly statements about the people of Ireland. The people of Ireland sent us here—we have no right and no authority except what we derive from the people of Ireland—we are here because the people of Ireland elected us, and our only right to speak is to seek what they want. I am told that the people of Ireland elected us to get a republic. They elected us in 1918 to get rid of the Parliamentary Party; they elected us in 1921 as a gesture, a proper gesture of defiance to the Black and Tans; they elected us, not as doctrinaire republicans, but as men looking for freedom and independence. When we agreed to enter into negotiations with England with the object of producing a treaty, we were bound, I hold, to respect whatever the Irish people—the people of Ireland—thought of that Treaty. I have heard one deputy saying here that it does not matter what his constituents say. I tell him it does. If representative government is going to remain on the earth, then a representative must voice the opinion of his constituents; if his conscience will not let him do that, he has only one way out, and that is to resign and refuse to misrepresent them; but that men who know their constituents want this Treaty should come here and tell us that, by virtue of the vote they derive from these constituents, they are

going to vote against the Treaty—that is the negation of all democratic right; it is the negation of all freedom. . . .

IRIS DHAIL ÉIREANN, OFFICIAL REPORT: DEBATE ON THE TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND SIGNED IN LONDON ON THE 6TH [OF] DECEMBER, 1921 (*n.d.*), pp. 336–340.



PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY IRA LEADERS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

29 June 1922

This proclamation and the following proclamation came one day after the army of the Provisional Government launched an attack on the Four Courts, which had been occupied by republican forces for several months. The attack ended months of stand-off between the pro- and antitreaty sides and sustained efforts by leaders on both sides to avert war. The republican forces were outnumbered from the beginning; the Civil War ended in May 1923 with a republican cease-fire.

SEE ALSO Irish Republican Army (IRA); Politics: 1800 to 1921—Challenges to the Union; Sinn Féin Movement and Party to 1922; Struggle for Independence from 1916 to 1921

Fellow Citizens of the Irish Republic: The fateful hour has come. At the dictation of our hereditary enemy our rightful cause is being treacherously assailed by recreant Irishmen. The crash of arms and the boom of artillery reverberate in this supreme test of the nation's destiny. Gallant soldiers of the Irish Republic stand vigorously firm in its defence and worthily uphold their noblest traditions. The sacred spirits of the Illustrious Dead are with us in this great struggle. "Death before Dishonour," being an unchanging principle of our national faith as it was of theirs, still inspires us to emulate their glorious effort. We, therefore, appeal to all citizens who have withstood unflinchingly the oppression of the enemy during the past six years, to rally to the support of the Republic and recognise that the resistance now being offered is but the continuance of the struggle that was suspended with British. We especially appeal to our former comrades of the Irish Republic to return to that allegiance and thus guard the nation's honour from the infamous stigma that her sons aided her foes in retain-

ing a hateful domination over her. Confident of victory and of maintaining Ireland's Independence this appeal is issued by the army executive on behalf of the Irish Republican Army.

(Signed:) Comdt. Gen. Liam Mellows, Comdt. Gen. Rory O'Connor, Comdt. Gen. Jos. McKelvey, Comdt. Gen. Earnán Ó Máille, Comdt. Gen. Seumas Robinson, Comdt. Gen. Sean Moylan, Comdt. Gen. Michael Kilroy, Comdt. Gen. Frank Barrett, Comdt. Gen. Thomas Derig, Comdt. T. Barry, Col. Comdt. F. Ó Faolain, Brig. Gen. J. O'Connor, Gen. Liam Lynch, Comdt. Gen. Liam Deasey, Col. Comdt. Peadar O'Donnell, P. Ruttledge.

28th June, 1922.

POBLACHT NA HÉIREANN WAR NEWS, no. 2, 29 June 1922.



PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
PROCLAMATION AT THE BEGINNING OF
THE CIVIL WAR

29 June 1922

SEE ALSO Civil War; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

For forty-eight hours the soldiers of your army have unflinchingly borne the brunt of battle against the forces of anarchy in your capital. Some of them have given their lives, and others have been wounded in the defence of your rights as citizens.

You are faced with a conspiracy, whose calculated end is to destroy the Treaty signed by your representatives, and endorsed by yourselves.

Under the Treaty, the government and control of your own country and resources have been surrendered back to you. After centuries of usurpation you are asked to reject this surrender, and to engage in a hopeless and unnecessary war with Great Britain.

The people in the Four Courts say they are fighting for a Republic—in reality they are fighting to bring the British back.

Remember, we ask no man or woman to yield to any ideal or principle. Liberty will be secured to all, under constitutional guarantees.

But it will be constitutional liberty, and no man shall be permitted to do violence to the views of his neighbour or to the will of the majority.

Least of all will the profession of ideals and principles be permitted as an excuse of undermining the people's right to security of the person, security of property, and freedom to live their own lives in their own way, as long as they do not trespass on the rights of others.

Fellow citizens, this is what your government stands for, that is what your soldiers are fighting for. In this programme we do not hesitate to turn to you for support in any call which we may be compelled to make on you. Dishonest appeals to your emotions, founded in many cases upon deliberate falsehoods, are being circulated amongst you. Your proven steadiness and good sense will discard these appeals, and discountenance these falsehoods.

IRISH INDEPENDENT, 30 June 1922.



SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE FREE
STATE PARLIAMENT

11 September 1922

William T. Cosgrave

The Dáil or parliament of the Irish Free State held its first meeting less than three weeks after the death of Michael Collins. The decision to convene the Dáil while civil war still raged was a statement by the Provisional Government that democracy would prevail. The attendance consisted of the protreaty Sinn Féin members, members of the Labour Party, the Farmers' Party, and independents; the thirty-six antitreaty Sinn Féin members boycotted the parliament.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Cosgrave, W. T.; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

... The nation which has struggled so long against the most powerful foreign aggression will not submit to an armed minority which makes war upon its liberties, its institutions, its representation and its honour. During its long and bitter struggle Irish honour was bright and resplendent. An Irishman's word of honour was dearer than his life, and no political advantage can have any respect without honour. There must be clear thinking on

this subject of peace. We demand no concessions which cannot be given without honour. We insist upon the people's rights. We are the custodians of the rights of the people and we shall not hesitate to shoulder them. We are willing to come to a peaceful understanding with those in arms, but it must be on a definite basis. We want peace with England on the terms agreed to by the country. Apart from the question of the honour of the nation we are satisfied that the nation stands to lose incomparably less from the armed internal opposition than from a reconquest. The national army is prepared to pay the price, and so are we. Last December Ireland was in a position of power and of influence of great promise for the country. Foreign nations expressed their appreciation of the settlement, and for a short period there was a boom in business. The action of the opposition destroyed that boom, lessened that power and damaged the reputation of the nation. These potentialities must be restored. Great material loss has been inflicted on the nation. It is impossible to estimate the extent of this loss, but it is easy to appreciate how much was needed to restore the country after the war with the English; war with the English in this sense meaning not the last 3 or 4 or 5 years, but the war which restricted national development, which left us a poor nation, which left us industrially and politically on the same level with the smaller nations of Europe, and the education of the country fashioned as if Ireland were a province and not a nation. Hard work lies before the parliament of the nation, and with the active and cordial cooperation of both and of the various sections making up the community it will be possible to restore the Irish nation not alone to the position in which it was at the time the treaty was signed but to the potentialities which the treaty offered and which it is possible to get out of the treaty. There is now no reason why blame should be shifted on the British or any other government blamed if we do not succeed. This parliament and this government is of the people and expects to get that support which is essential to a government and a parliament. We must realise our responsibilities not to one section or to one order of the community, and we must seek to make the administration of this country and the business of the parliament something worthy of the people. Our army and police force must be efficient; the courts must command the confidence of the people, and the parliament must resuscitate the Gaelic spirit and the Gaelic civilisation for which we have been fighting through the ages and all but lost. The nation is still full of vigour and is conscious that a mere handful of violent persons is for the moment standing athwart its upward and onward march towards the achievement of its highest hopes.

Reprinted in *IRISH POLITICAL DOCUMENTS, 1916-1949*, edited by Arthur Mitchell and Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (1985), pp. 144-145.



CONSTITUTION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

5 December 1922

The 1922 constitution was drafted in Dublin's Shelbourne Hotel by a committee chaired by Michael Collins. The initial version was designed to win the support of opponents of the Anglo-Irish Treaty by omitting contentious clauses such as the oath of allegiance to the king, but this version was extensively altered by the British law officers to ensure that it conformed to the treaty. This constitution remained in force until 1937.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; Civil War; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

Whereas the house of the parliament constituted pursuant to the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, sitting as a constituent assembly for the settlement of the constitution of the Irish Free State, has passed the measure (hereinafter referred to as "the Constituent Act") set forth in the schedule to this act, whereby the constitution appearing as the First Schedule to the Constituent Act is declared to be the constitution of the Irish Free State:

And whereas by the Constituent Act the said constitution is made subject to the following provisions, namely:—

The said constitution shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland set forth in the Second Schedule hereto annexed (hereinafter referred to as the Scheduled Treaty) which are hereby given the force of law, and if any provision of the said constitution or of any amendment thereof or of any law made thereunder is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of the Scheduled Treaty, it shall, to the extent only of such repugnancy, be absolutely void and inoperative and the parliament and the executive council of the Irish

Free State shall respectively pass such further legislation and do all such other things as may be necessary to implement the Scheduled Treaty.

And whereas by Article seventy-four of the said constitution provision is made for the continuance within the Irish Free State of existing taxation in respect of the current present financial year and any preceding financial year, and in respect of any period ending or occasion happening within those years, and it is expedient to make a corresponding provision with respect to taxation within the rest of the United Kingdom:

Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:—

1. The constitution set forth in the First Schedule to the Constitution Act shall, subject to the provisions to which the same is by the Constituent Act so made subject as aforesaid, by the constitution of the Irish Free State, and shall come into operation on the same being proclaimed by his majesty in accordance with article eighty-three of the said constitution, but his majesty may at any time after the proclamation appoint a governor-general for the Irish Free State.

2. (1) In relation to taxes and duties, so far as leviable outside the Irish Free State, the following provisions shall have effect:—

(a) The establishment of the Irish Free State shall not affect any liability to pay any tax or duty payable in respect of the current or any preceding financial year, or in respect of any period ending on or before the last day of the current financial year, or payable on any occasion happening within the current or any preceding financial year, or the amount of such liability, and all such taxes and duties as aforesaid and arrears therefore shall continue to be assessed, levied, and collected and all payments and allowances of such taxes and duties shall continue to be made in like manner in all respects as immediately before the establishment of the Irish Free State, subject to the like adjustments of the proceeds collected as were theretofore applicable, and arrears thereof shall continue to be assessed, levied, and collected and all payments and allowances of such taxes and duties shall continue to be made in like manner in all respects as immediately before the establishment of the Irish Free State, subject to the like adjustments of the proceeds collected as were theretofore applicable.

(b) Goods transported during the current financial year from or to the Irish Free State to or from any other part of the United Kingdom or the Isle of Man shall not, except in respect of the forms to be used and the information to be furnished, be treated as goods imported or exported as the case may be.

(2) If an arrangement is made with the Irish Free State for an extension of the provisions of this section as respects all or any taxes and duties to the next ensuing financial year or any part thereof, it shall be lawful for his majesty, if a resolution to that effect is passed by the Commons House of Parliament, by order in council to extend the provisions of this section so as to apply, in the case of the taxes and duties to which the arrangement relates, in respect to the next ensuing financial year or part thereof in like manner as it applies in respect of the current financial year.

(3) For the purposes of this section, the expression "financial year" means, as respects income tax (including super-tax), the year of assessment, and as respects other taxes and duties, the year ending on the thirty-first day of March.

3. If the parliament of the Irish Free State make provision to that effect, any act passed before the passing of this act which applies to or may be applied to self-governing dominions, whether alone or to such dominions and other parts of his majesty's dominions, shall apply or may be applied to the Irish Free State in like manner as it applies or may be applied to self-governing dominions.

4. Nothing in the said constitution shall be construed as prejudicing the power of parliament to make laws affecting the Irish Free State in any case where, in accordance with constitutional practice, parliament would make laws affecting other self-governing dominions.

5. This act may be cited as the Irish Free State Constitution Act, 1922 (Session 2), and shall be deemed to be the act of parliament for the ratification of the said Articles of Agreement as from the passing whereof the month mentioned in Article eleven of the said articles is to run.

SCHEDULE

Constituent Act

Dáil Éireann sitting as a Constituent Assembly in this provisional parliament, acknowledging that all lawful authority comes from God to the people and in the confidence that the national life and unity of Ireland shall thus be restored, hereby proclaims the establishment of

the Irish Free State (otherwise called Saorstát Éireann) and in the exercise of undoubted right, decrees and enactments as follows:—

1. The constitution set forth in the First Schedule hereto annexed shall be the constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann).

2. The said constitution shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland set forth in the Second Schedule hereto annexed (hereinafter referred to as “the Scheduled Treaty”) which are hereby given the force of law, and if any provision of the said constitution or of any amendment thereof or of any law made thereunder is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of the Scheduled Treaty, it shall, to the extent only of such repugnancy, be absolutely void and inoperative and the parliament and the executive council of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) shall respectively pass such further legislation and do all such other things as may be necessary to implement the Scheduled Treaty.

3. This act may be cited for all purposes as the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) Act, 1922.

FIRST SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO
CONSTITUTION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE
(SAORSTÁT ÉIREANN)

Article 1 The Irish Free State (otherwise hereinafter called or sometimes called Saorstát Éireann) is a co-equal member of the community of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Article 2 All powers of government and all authority legislative, executive, and judicial in Ireland, are derived from the people of Ireland and the same shall be exercised in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) through the organisations established by or under, and in accord with, this constitution.

Article 3 Every person, without distinction of sex, domiciled in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) at the time of the coming into operation of this constitution who was born in Ireland or either of whose parents was born in Ireland or who has been ordinarily resident in the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) for not less than seven years, is a citizen of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) and shall within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) enjoy the privileges and be subject to the obligations of such citizenship: Provided that any such person being a citizen of another State may elect not to accept the citizenship hereby conferred; and the conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the

Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) shall be determined by law.

Article 4 The national language of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) is the Irish language, but the English language shall be equally recognised as an official language. Nothing in this Article shall prevent special provisions being made by the parliament of the Irish Free State (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as the “Oireachtas”) for districts or areas in which only one language is in general use.

Article 5 No title of honour in respect of any services rendered in or in relation to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) may be conferred on any citizen of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) except with the approval or upon the advice of the executive council of the state.

Article 6 The liberty of the person is inviolable, and no person shall be deprived of his liberty except in accordance with law. Upon complaint made by or on behalf of any person that he is being unlawfully detained, the high court and any and every judge thereof shall forthwith enquire into the same and may make an order requiring the person in whose custody such person shall be detained to produce the body of the person so detained before such court or judge without delay and to certify in writing as to the cause of the detention and such court or judge shall thereupon order the release of such person unless satisfied that he is being detained in accordance with the law: Provided, however, that nothing in this article contained shall be invoked to prohibit control or interfere with any act of the military forces of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) during the existence of a state of war or armed rebellion.

Article 7 The dwelling of each citizen is inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered except in accordance with law.

Article 8 Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order and morality, guaranteed to every citizen, and no law may be made either directly or indirectly to endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference, or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects state aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water or drainage works or other works of public utility, and on payment of compensation.

Article 9 The right of free expression of opinion as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions is guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public morality. Laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and the right of free assembly may be exercised shall contain no political, religious or class distinction.

Article 10 All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) have the right to free elementary education.

Article 11 All the lands and waters, mines and minerals, within the territory of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) hitherto vested in the state, or any department thereof, or held for the public use or benefit, and also all the natural resources of the same territory (including the air and all forms of potential energy), and also all royalties and franchises within that territory shall, from and after the date of the coming into operation of this constitution, belong to the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann), subject to any trusts, grants, leases or concessions then existing in respect thereof, or any valid private interest therein, and shall be controlled and administered by the Oireachtas, in accordance with such regulations and provisions as shall be from time to time approved by legislation, but the same shall not, nor shall any part thereof, be alienated, but may in the public interest be from time to time granted by way of lease or licence to be worked or enjoyed under the authority and subject to the control of the Oireachtas: Provided that no such lease or licence may be made for a term exceeding ninety-nine years, beginning from the date thereof, and no such lease or licence may be renewable by the terms thereof.

Article 12 A legislature is hereby created to be known as the Oireachtas. It shall consist of the king and two houses, the chamber of deputies (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as "Dáil Éireann") and the Senate (otherwise called and herein generally referred to as "Seanad Éireann"). The sole and exclusive power of making laws for the peace, order and good government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) is vested in the Oireachtas.

Article 13 The Oireachtas shall sit in or near the city of Dublin or in such other place as from time to time it may determine.

Article 14 All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) without distinction of sex, who have reached the age of twenty-one years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws, shall have the right to vote for members of Dáil Éireann, and to take part in the referendum and initiative. All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) without

distinction of sex who have reached the age of thirty years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws, shall have the right to vote for members of Seanad Éireann. No voter may exercise more than one vote at an election to either house and the voting shall be by secret ballot. The mode and place of exercising this right shall be determined by law.

Article 15 Every citizen who has reached the age of twenty-one years and who is not placed under disability or incapacity by the constitution or by law shall be eligible to become a member of Dáil Éireann.

Article 16 No person may be at the same time a member both of Dáil Éireann and of Seanad Éireann and if any person who is already a member of either house is elected to be a member of the other house, he shall forthwith be deemed to have vacated his first seat.

Article 17 The oath to be taken by members of the Oireachtas shall be in the following form:—

I do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Such oath shall be taken and subscribed by every member of the Oireachtas before taking his seat therein before the representative of the Crown or some person authorised by him. . . .

Reprinted in IRISH POLITICAL DOCUMENTS, 1916–1949, edited by Arthur Mitchell and Pádraig Ó Snodaigh (1985), pp. 150–156.



REPUBLICAN CEASE-FIRE ORDER

28 April 1923

The republican's cease-fire brought to an end a war that they had no chance of winning; the cease-fire was made possible by the death in combat of Irish Republican Army's chief of staff Liam Lynch. His successor Frank Aiken was much closer to Eamon de Valera and much more willing to agree to a cease-fire. De Valera tried to negotiate peace terms, but the government was not prepared to make any compromises, and on 24 May, Frank Aiken issued an order to "cease fire and dump arms." De Valera, Aiken, and other leaders were arrested shortly afterward.

SEE ALSO Civil War; de Valera, Eamon; Irish Republican Army (IRA); Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

DÁIL ÉIREANN
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND
PROCLAMATION

The government of the Republic, anxious to contribute its shares to the movement for peace, and to found it on principles that will give governmental stability and otherwise prove of value to the nation, hereby proclaims its readiness to negotiate an immediate cessation of hostilities on the basis of the following:—

- (1) That the sovereign rights of this nation are inalienable and indivisible.
- (2) That all legitimate governmental authority in Ireland, legislative, executive and judicial, is derived exclusively from the people of Ireland.
- (3) That the ultimate court of appeal for deciding disputed questions of national expediency and policy is the people of Ireland—the judgment being by majority vote of the adult citizenry, and the decision to be submitted to, and resistance by violence excluded, not because the decision is necessarily right or just or permanent, but because acceptance of this rule makes for peace, order, and unity in national action, and is the democratic alternative to arbitrament by force. Adequate opportunities and facilities must, of course, be afforded for a full and proper presentation to the court of all facts and issues involved, and it must be understood that 1 and 2 are fundamental and non-judicable.
- (4) That no individual or class of individuals who subscribe to these principles of national right, order, and good citizenship can be justly excluded by any political oath, test, or other device from their proper share and influence in determining national policy, or from the councils and parliament of the nation.
- (5) That freedom to express political or economic opinions, or to advocate political or economic programmes, freedom to assemble in public meeting, and freedom of the press are rights of citizenship and of the community which must not be abrogated.
- (6) That the military forces of the nation are the servants of the nation and, subject to the foregoing, amenable to the national assembly when freely elected by the people.

We are informed that many in the ranks of our opponents will accept these principles as we accept them. If that be so, peace can be arranged forthwith.

We hope that this advance will be met in the spirit in which we make it, and that it will be supported by all who love our country, and who desire a speedy and just ending to the present national troubles.

As evidence of our own goodwill, the army command is issuing herewith an order to all units to suspend aggressive action—the order to take effect as soon as may be, but not later than noon Monday, April 30th.

*Eamon de Valera, President.
Dublin, April 27th, 1923.*

*Óglaigh na h-Éireann
(Irish Republican Army) . . .
General Headquarters, Dublin,
April 27th, 1923 . . .*

To: O.C.'s Commands and Independent Brigades.

Suspension of Offensive

1. In order to give effect to decision of the government and army council, embodied in attached proclamation of this date, you will arrange the suspension of all offensive operations in your area as from noon, Monday, April 30th.

2. You will ensure that—whilst remaining on the defensive—all units take adequate measures to protect themselves and their munitions.

Frank Aiken, Chief of Staff.

IRISH TIMES, 28 April 1923.



SPEECH ON IRELAND'S ADMISSION TO
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

10 September 1923

William T. Cosgrave

Britain sought to ensure that all foreign relations between the dominions (such as the Irish Free State) and countries outside the Commonwealth would be conducted through the British Foreign Office. The decision to join the League of Nations less than a year after the establishment of the Irish Free State was an indication that the Irish government was determined to pursue an independent foreign policy.

SEE ALSO Cosgrave, W. T.; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

On behalf of Ireland, one of the oldest and yet one of the youngest nations, and speaking for the Irish government and the Irish delegation, I thank this assembly of the League of Nations for the unanimous courtesy and readiness with which our application to be admitted to membership of the League has been received and approved.

Ireland, in ancient times linked by bonds of culture and of friendly intercourse with every nation to which the ambit of travel could carry her far-venturing missionaries and men of learning has today formally, yet none the less practically, entered into a new bond of union with her sister nations, great and small, who are represented in this magnificent world-concourse.

With all the nations whose spokesmen form this assembly, Ireland joins today in a solemn covenant to exercise the powers of her sovereign status in promoting the peace, security and happiness, the economic, cultural, and moral well-being of the human race.

Lofty ideals have inspired the best minds who have faith in the power of good will and of joint international endeavour to operate for good through this Council of the Nations. It is our earnest desire to co-operate with our fellow-members in every effort calculated to give effect to those ideals—to mitigate, and whenever possible, to avert the ancient evils of warfare and oppression; to encourage wholesome and to discourage unwholesome relations between nation and nation; to enable even the weakest of nations to live their own lives and make their own proper contribution to the good of all, free even from the shadow and the fear of external violence, vicious penetration, or injurious pressure of any kind.

In the actual proceedings which we have witnessed, we have seen a keen appreciation of the fact that nations are interdependent in matters of economic and intellectual development. We hope that the means of closer intercourse provided or initiated through the League of Nations will be helpful to the economic and educational progress for which Ireland is looking forward and always striving.

We willingly testify that the advocacy of these ideals has strongly attracted us towards the League of Nations, and if as yet the means provided have not always proved fully effective to secure their worthy ends, we are mindful of our national proverb, “*Bíonn gach tosnú lag*” (“every beginning is weak”), and we trust that in time to come, adequate means and faithful use

of them will justify our common hopes. Our history and the instinct of our hearts forbid us to think that temporary or even recurrent failures can deprive a just and steadfast purpose of the assurance of success.

Ireland counts on having no enemy and on harbouring no enmity in the time to come. She counts also on bringing forth fruits worthy of liberty. *Si tollis libertatem, tollis dignitatem*. These are the words of a famous Irishman of the sixth and seventh century. Inscribed on his tomb at Bobbio in Italy, they met our eyes when, a few days ago, a happy conjuncture enabled the members of this Irish delegation to assist at the celebration of the thirteenth centenary of Saint Columbanus, pioneer of Ireland’s moral and intellectual mission among the nations of Western Europe.

We shall return to our own country to take part with our own patriotic people in the enormous work of national construction and consolidation. The kind welcome, the cordial words of understanding, that have greeted us here on the part of every nation whose representatives we have met, will not be forgotten. They will cheer and sustain us in that work, and they will remind us, too, that as the life of a man is bettered and fructified beyond measure in the harmonious society of men, so must the life of nations reach a much fuller liberty and a much fuller dignity in the harmonious society of nations.

Reprinted in DOCUMENTS ON IRISH FOREIGN POLICY, vol. 2, 1923–1926, edited by Ronan Fanning, Michael Kennedy, Dermot Keogh, and Eunan O’Halpin (2000), pp. 156–157.



LETTER ON THE COMMISSION ON THE GAELTACHT

4 March 1925

William T. Cosgrave

The Commission on the Gaeltacht (the term used to describe the Irish-speaking areas) was one of the first commissions established by the government of the Irish Free State—an indication of the high priority given to protecting and restoring the Irish language. The cultural and political importance of the Irish language was an issue on which supporters and opponents of the treaty were in agreement, and it was seen as a unifying force in a divided society; but the Irish-language policy served to alienate the Protestant minority. This letter is included in the Report of the Commission on the Gaeltacht, published in 1926.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Gaelic Revival; Gaelic Revivalism: The Gaelic League

General Mulcahy, T.D.,

Chairman, Commission of Inquiry into the Preservation of the Gaeltacht, 6 Harcourt Street, Dublin.

A CHARA DHÍL,—The commission of which you are chairman has been formed, and its terms of reference drawn up, in the hope that proper inquiry will lead to a clear and definite national policy in respect of those districts and local populations which have preserved the Irish language as the language of their homes.

By the constitution of Saorstát Éireann, Irish is expressly recognised as the national language. Its maintenance and cultivation have always been an important element of the national policy which has led up to the establishment of a sovereign state in Ireland. Of this policy the Oireachtas and the government of Saorstát Éireann are the appointed trustees. We believe that the Irish people as a body recognise it to be a national duty, incumbent on their representatives and their government as on themselves, to uphold and foster the Irish language, the central and most distinctive factor of the tradition which is Irish nationality; and that everything that can be rightly and effectively done to that end will be in accordance with the will of the Irish people.

We recognise the facts and the factors that have militated in the past and by force of continuity still militate in large part against the very existence of the Irish language: its exclusion from most of the activities of public life, from "court and bar and business"; its exclusion for generations from nearly all our schools; how it fell under a kind of social ban and became in the minds of many a badge of poverty and backwardness. The neglect and contempt, the ignominy and the abuse to which it has been subjected, are a part of our tragic history. These very things and their unfortunate effects, instead of infecting us with their spirit and making us also contemptuous and apathetic, ought rightly to enliven our purpose to undo the damage of the past—the more so, because the possession of a cultivated national language is known by every people who have it to be a secure guarantee of the national future. Our language has been waylaid, beaten and robbed, and left for dead by the wayside, and we have to ask ourselves if it is to be allowed to lie there, or if we are to heal its wounds, place it in safety and under proper care, and have it restored to health and vigour.

We recognise also that the future of the Irish language and its part in the future of the Irish nation de-

pend, more than on anything else, on its continuing in an unbroken tradition as the language of Irish homes. This tradition is the living root from which alone organic growth is possible. For this reason, the Irish people rightly value as a national asset their "Gaeltacht," the scattered range of districts in which Irish is the home language.

These districts are known to coincide more or less with areas of rural Ireland which present an economic problem of the greatest difficulty and complexity. The language problem and the economic problem are in close relation to each other, and your commission is asked to consider both together.

The public will look with eager interest to the course and outcome of your inquiries, and public opinion may be expected to support any practical measures that can be instituted to safeguard the future of Irish as the home language and the economic future of the people who use Irish as their ordinary and principal language of intercourse with each other.

Mise,
Le fíor-mheas ort,
(Signed) LIAM T. MAC COSGAIR.

COIMISIÚN NA GAELTACHTA REPORT (R. 23/27), Dublin, 1926.



"THE END"

1926

Tomás Ó Criomhthain

This is the final chapter of the autobiography of Tomás Ó Criomhthain (Tomás O'Crohan), written when he was close to seventy years old, published in Irish in 1929 and translated into English by Robin Flower in 1934. The first of the Blasket Island memoirs, the book reveals the harshness of island life, with near starvation at times when the crops failed or fish were scarce, yet plenty when a storm drove a wrecked cargo onto the shore. Ó Criomhthain reveals here his shrewd, yet humorous detachment, which allowed him faithfully to depict a vanishing way of life.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Blasket Island Writers

Well, I've slipped along thus far to the end of my story. I have set down nothing but the truth; I had no need of

invention, for I had plenty of time, and have still a good deal in my head. It’s amazing what a lot there is in an old man’s head when somebody else starts him talking and puts questions to him. All the same, what I’ve written down are the things that meant most to me. I considered the whole course of my life, and the things that had meant most to me were the first to come back to memory.

I have brought other people besides myself into my story, for, if I hadn’t, it would have been neither interesting nor complete. I never disliked any of them, and I’ve spent my life in their company till to-day without any trouble between us. I don’t know what colour the inside walls of the court in Dingle are, old though I am.

We are poor simple people, living from hand to mouth. I fancy we should have been no better off if we had been misers. We were apt and willing to live, without repining, the life the Blessed Master made for us, often and again ploughing the sea with only our hope in God to bring us through. We had characters of our own, each different from the other, and all different from the landmen; and we had our own little failings too. I have made no secret of our good traits or of our little failings either, but I haven’t told all the hardships and the agonies that befell us from time to time when our only resource was to go right on.

This is a crag in the midst of the great sea, and again and again the blown surf drives right over it before the violence of the wind, so that you daren’t put your head out any more than a rabbit that crouches in his burrow in Inishvickillane when the rain and the salt spume are flying. Often would we put to sea at the dawn of day when the weather was decent enough, and by the day’s end our people on land would be keening us, so much had the weather changed for the worse. It was our business to be out in the night, and the misery of that sort of fishing is beyond telling. I count it the worst of all trades. Often and again the sea would drive over us so that we could see the land no more—a long, long night of cold like this, struggling against the sea, with often little to get, only praying from moment to moment for the help of God. It was rare, indeed, for us to get a full catch, and then often we would have to cut away the nets and let it all go with the sea. On other nights, after all the labour of the fishing, the boats would be fairly full, and we couldn’t make the harbour or the land, but the swell would be rising to the green grass, the storm blowing out of the north-west, and the great waves breaking. We would have to flee then before the gale, some of us to Cuan Croumha, some to Ventry Harbour, some to Dingle.

You may understand from this that we are not to be put in comparison with the people of the great cities

of the soft and level lands. If we deserved blame a little at times, it would be when a drop of drink was going round among us. The drink went to our heads the easier because we were always worn and weary, as I have described, like a tired horse, with never any rest or intermission.

It was a good life in those days. Shilling came on shilling’s heels; food was plentiful, and things were cheap. Drink was cheap, too. It wasn’t thirst for the drink that made us want to go where it was, but only the need to have a merry night instead of the misery that we knew only too well before. What the drop of drink did to us was to lift up the hearts in us, and we would spend a day and a night ever and again in company together when we got the chance. That’s all gone by now, and the high heart and the fun are passing from the world. Then we’d take the homeward way together easy and friendly after all our revelry, like the children of one mother, none doing hurt or harm to his fellow.

I have written minutely of much that we did, for it was my wish that somewhere there should be a memorial of it all, and I have done my best to set down the character of the people about me so that some record of us might live after us, for the like of us will never be again.

I am old now. Many a thing has happened to me in the running of my days until now. People have come into the world around me and have gone again. There are only five older than me alive in the Island. They have the pension. I have only two months to go till that date—a date I have no fancy for. In my eyes it is a warning that death is coming, though there are many people who would rather be old with the pension than young without it.

I can remember being at my mother’s breast. She would carry me up to the hill in a creel she had for bringing home the turf. When the creel was full of turf, she would come back with me under her arm. I remember being a boy; I remember being a young man; I remember the bloom of my vigour and my strength. I have known famine and plenty, fortune and ill-fortune, in my life days till today. They are great teachers for one that marks them well.

One day there will be none left in the Blasket of all I have mentioned in this book—and none to remember them. I am thankful to God, who has given me the chance to preserve from forgetfulness those days that I have seen with my own eyes and have borne their burden, and that when I am gone men will know what life was like in my time and the neighbours that lived with me.

Since the first fire was kindled in this Island none has written of his life and his world. I am proud to set down my story and the story of my neighbours. This writing will tell how the Islanders lived in the old days. My mother used to go carrying turf when I was eighteen years of age. She did it that I might go to school, for rarely did we get a chance of schooling. I hope in God that she and my father will inherit the Blessed Kingdom; and that I and every reader of this book after me will meet them in the Island of Paradise.

*Tomás O'Crohan, THE ISLANDMAN (1934), pp. 320–324.
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"AIMS OF FIANNA FÁIL IN OFFICE"

17 March 1932

Eamon de Valera

Eamon de Valera took advantage of this St. Patrick's Day radio broadcast, nine days after Fianna Fáil took office for the first time, to outline his party's political aims. The peaceful transfer of power after the 1932 general election, from the winning to the losing side in the Irish Civil War, consolidated the democratic tradition in the new Irish state.

SEE ALSO de Valera, Eamon; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

This is the first occasion that I have had the opportunity of speaking at the same moment to the Irish people at home and in the United States of America.

The fifteenth centenary anniversary of the coming of St. Patrick, the year of the Eucharistic Congress, the recent election by the people of this state of the first Fianna Fáil government, all combine to make this year's celebration of the national festival one of unique interest our history.

For us here in Ireland the National Feast Day is now drawing to a close. For you who are listening to me beyond the ocean, over the plains of the United States, stretching to San Francisco, the day is still young. The changes in the hour indicate at once the vastness of the country in which so many of the children of our race have found a home and the magnitude of the dispersion of our people—a dispersion almost without parallel in the story of mankind.

Nowhere, however, is the hour too late or too early to send you all, wherever you be, my most fervent greetings and my most earnest wishes for your welfare and happiness.

The aims of the new government are simple. I know no words in which I can express them better than those of Fintan Lalor:

Ireland her own, and all therein, from the sod to the sky. The soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland, to have and hold from God alone who gave it—to have and to hold to them and their heirs forever, without suit or service, faith or fealty, rent or render, to any power under heaven.

We desire to pursue these aims without ill-feeling towards any Irishman, without injury to any Irishman, without injury to any nation.

I believe that the people of Great Britain wish to be on peaceful and friendly relations with us just as we do with them. And I believe that they desire that no obstacles should be allowed to stand which would hinder the establishment of such relations. The will of our own people must prevail in all matters concerning their sovereign rights, and as our people do not desire in any way to impose burdens or tests on the people of Great Britain, they justly feel that no burdens or tests should be imposed on them. Friendship between neighbouring countries is largely dependent on the degree to which they respect each other's freedom, and it is hardly to be supposed that a different principle can operate between ourselves and Great Britain.

In the Irish Free State, as in America, there is an economic crisis. Whatever be the causes of such a crisis in this state, it is going to call forth all the energies of both the government and the people to provide adequate remedies. Our most urgent problem is that of unemployment, and my colleagues and I intend to work without ceasing until that gravest of evils has been eliminated. The slums of our cities are still a disgrace to us. The problem of their complete elimination will be studied at once, and I hope to be able to propose definite plans at an early date.

In the interests of economy considerable sacrifices will have to be made by state servants and other sections of the population. The ministers have already decided on a considerable decrease in emoluments. I have no doubt whatever that the people who are called upon will be ready and willing to make whatever sacrifices may be required of them for the betterment of the people as a whole.

Our problems are grave and numerous, but at the moment I shall only touch on two other matters which

I think may be of special interest to you, my friends in America.

In our external relations, we intend to maintain our existing legations and to give attention to all those countries in which are large populations of Irish origin. Whenever the opportunity presents itself, we intend to uphold the principle of the equality of states and to advocate the reduction and eventual abolition of armaments and the establishment of a system of inter-state relationship in which the rule of law shall hold between nations as between individuals. As you are aware, we are in diplomatic relations with the Vatican, the United States, France and Germany. I am an earnest believer in close friendship and frequent contact between the nations—for by no other means can war be more effectively abolished than by mutual understanding. We can all learn much from each other and profit by each other's experience. This small state has to be satisfied with small beginnings in external affairs, and our machinery is now almost adequate for our present needs.

In America you are deeply interested in education, and for us here it is, in more than one sense, the most important question of all. Besides the progressively increasing use of the Irish language in our schools, we intend to develop a system of primary education more in accord with our economic life than at present exists in the Saorstát.

The system of adapting part of the curriculum to regional needs will probably be selected as one means of encouraging the young men and women to stay in the country. Our whole system of technical education must be linked up with the primary and art schools. This will lead to the rural development of small industries such as exist in Italy, and will also help toward the problem of providing employment for the children of the small farmer during the slack months of the year.

I cannot now speak to you in detail of our plans for the development of our rural industries, but I cannot let the occasion pass without urging our people at home to regard it as a matter of duty to support our existing industries.

I urge upon our people abroad to give a preference to Irish over foreign produce.

I have read with admiration the appeals made by certain European statesmen for special sacrifice and hard work amongst their people, and I have watched with even greater admiration the ready response given by whole peoples vastly greater than the population of this island. I have the utmost confidence that my appeal to the people of the Free State to make a special effort on behalf of their own industries will meet with a response no less ready.

My time is running out, but before concluding I wish to extend in advance to all our American friends who intend to come to the Eucharistic Congress a right hearty welcome. We earnestly hope that great numbers of our exiles will return for that great festival which will bring blessings and glory to our country. You may feel assured that you will find peace and harmony amongst us, and you will return to your adopted country with new and joyful hopes for the future of the motherland.

The Tailteann games are also being held this year and have our wholehearted approval. The games are of very great national value, unifying our people in sentiment and endeavour and giving them, no matter in what land they live, a just sense of pride in the spiritual ideals, the physical prowess and the intellectual achievements of the Gael.

In conclusion I wish to seize this opportunity to thank all our friends in America who helped us in our work for Ireland, whether in the more remote or the recent past. Your common desire has always been to bring about the unity and independence of this nation.

I ask all the friends of Ireland in America to regard the advent of the government in the Free State as a sign from our people that they wish to put an end to all bitterness and disunion. As my last word on our National Feast Day, I most earnestly appeal to all Irishmen at home and abroad to close their ranks and to march forward with us. Let our desire to work for our country be our common bond, and let us be content to vie with each other for the honour of serving Ireland.

SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS BY EAMON DE VALERA, 1917-73,
edited by Maurice Moynihan (1980), pp. 193-196.
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 Gill & Macmillan, Dublin.*



PIERCE'S CAVE

1933

Maurice O'Sullivan

In this passage of his autobiography, the young Maurice O'Sullivan, accompanied by his grandfather, discovers the great Irish Renaissance poet Pierce Ferriter and learns about the history of resistance to English rule in Ireland.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Blasket Island Writers

My grandfather and I were lying on the Castle Summit. It was a fine sunny day in July. The sun was splitting the stones with its heat and the grass burnt to the roots. I could see, far away to the south, Iveragh painted in many colours by the sun. South-west were the Skelligs glistening white and the sea around them dotted with fishing-boats from England.

"Isn't it a fine healthy life those fishermen have, daddo?" said I.

I got no answer. Turning round I saw that the old man was asleep. I looked at him, thinking. You were one day in the flower of youth, said I in my own mind, but, my sorrow, the skin of your brow is wrinkled now and the hair on your head is grey. You are without suppleness in your limbs and without pleasure in the grand view to be seen from this hill. But, alas, if I live, some day I will be as you are now.

The heat was very great, and so I thought of waking him for fear the sun would kill him. I caught him by his grey beard and gave it a pull. He opened his eyes and looked round.

"Oh, Mirrisheen," said he, "I fell asleep. Am I long in it?"

"Not long," said I, "but I thought I had better wake you on account of the sun. Do you see those trawlers out in the horizon? I was just saying that it's a fine healthy life they have."

"Musha, my heart," said my grandfather, "a man of the sea never had a good life and never will, as I know well, having spent my days on it, and I have gone through as many perils on it as there are grey hairs in my head, and I am telling you now, wherever God may guide you, keep away from the sea."

"Musha, it seems to me there is no man on earth so contented as a seaman."

I looked south-east to the Macgillicuddy Reeks. They looked as if they were touching the sky.

"Musha, aren't those high mountains?"

"They are indeed, if you were down at their foot."

At that moment a big bee came around murmuring to itself. My grandfather started to drive it away with his hat. "There is no place under the sun is finer than that," said he, stretching his finger south towards the harbour of Iveragh. "When you would be entering that harbour you would have the Isle of Oaks on your right hand and Beg-Inish out before your face."

"I dare say the water is very still there."

"A dead calm. The creek runs three miles up through the land of Cahirciveen. And do you see, on the east of the creek, there is another harbour? That is Coonan Una. And east again is Coos Cromha, and east again the place they call the Rodana."

"It seems you know those places well, daddo."

"Ah, my sorrow, it is many a day I spent in them."

He put his hand in his pocket and drew out his pipe. When he had it lighted, he got up. "Come now and I will take you into Pierce Ferriter's Cave."

We moved down through the Furrows of the Garden, up to our ears in fern and dry heather.

"Look now," said he, pointing down, "do you see that ledge of rock? That's the Cave."

"Isn't it a great wonder he went down so far?"

"Sure that's the place he wanted, my boy, where he could cut down the soldiers of England."

"How?"

"Don't you see the ledge? The entrance is under the overhanging cliff. He used to be inside with a big stick. Then the first soldier would come down to the mouth of the cave, Pierce would just give him a thrust with the stick and send him over the cliff."

"Wasn't he a wonderful man?"

"Oh, he did great destruction on the English at that time."

We were down at the Cave now. My grandfather crept in on all-fours and I behind him, for the entrance was not more than two feet high. Once inside, there was room to stand up for it was above seven feet. I looked around. "Musha, isn't it a comfortable place he had, but I dare say he used never to leave it."

"Indeed he did, whenever the soldiers left the Island."

"And how would he know that?"

"The people here used to be coming to attend upon him whenever they got the chance. Look at that stone. That's where he used to lay his head."

"It was hard pillow."

"No doubt. Did you ever hear the verse he composed here when he was tired of the place, on a wild and stormy night? It is only a couple of words."

He sat down on the stone and, taking off his hat, he recited:

"O God above, dost Thou pity the way I am,
Living alone where it is little I see of the day;
The drop above in the top of the stone on high
Falling in my ears and the roar of the sea at my heels."

As he spoke the last words, the tears fell from the old man.

"Musha, daddo, isn't it a nice lonesome verse? And another thing, it is many the fine learned man the English laid low at that time."

"Ah, Mary, it is true. I tell you, Maurice, Pierce suffered here if ever a man did. Have you the verse now?" said he.

"I think I have, for it went to my heart." And I repeated it to him.

"You have every word of it."

"Isn't it wonderful the way you would keep in your head anything you would take an interest in?"

"That is very true, for when I was young like yourself there is not a word I would hear my father saying, dear God bless his soul, but it would stay in my memory. It is time for us to be making for the house now in the name of God."

I looked up at the cliff and then down where the waves were breaking angrily. "There's no doubt, daddo," said I, "but he had the roar of the waves at his heels."

The sun was fading in the west, yellow as gold, the birds singing in the heather, hundreds of rabbits out on the clumps of thrift, some of them, when they saw us, running off with their white tails cocked in the air, other with their ears up looking hard at us.

"Wait now, till you see them scatter in a moment," said my grandfather, picking up a stone. He threw it but they did not stir. "Upon my word but they are bold," said he and gave a shout, and it seemed five voices answered him with the echo in the coves below. Then I saw the rabbits running, tails up and ears back, and in a moment there was not one to be seen save an old one as grey as a badger.

"Isn't it strange the grey one didn't stir?"

"Ah, my boy, that's an old soldier at the end of his life and he is well used to that shouting."

"I wonder what length of life is appointed for them?"

"Only three years, and I assure you they work those three years for a livelihood as hard as any sinner. But here we are home again," said he as we came in sight of the village.

"You are very good at shortening the road."

"Upon my word, Mirrisheen, I would be better still if I were seated up on a horse-cart for it is hard for an old man to be talking and walking together."

Maurice O'Sullivan, TWENTY YEARS A-GROWING, translated by Moya Llewelyn Davies and George Thomson (1933), pp. 76-80.

ON "A PROTESTANT PARLIAMENT AND A PROTESTANT STATE"

24 April 1934

Sir James Craig

This phrase is often cited as "a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people." Northern Ireland prime minister Sir James Craig justified his position by asserting that the South (Irish Free State) was a Catholic state. The proportion of Catholics employed in public-service posts in Northern Ireland fell steadily throughout the 1920s and the 1930s. Craig and other Northern politicians justified excluding Catholics from both public and private employment by suggesting that they were a threat to state security.

SEE ALSO Craig, James, First Viscount Craigavon; Northern Ireland: Discrimination and the Campaign for Civil Rights; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Ulster Unionist Party in Office

I have never yet known a country to prosper where appointments to the judiciary were made on religious grounds. (HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.) I think it would be a fatal mistake if whoever had an opportunity of recommending to his majesty the names for the high position of judges in this land had to take into consideration a man's religion. As long as I have anything to do with it, I say here quite frankly and openly, that that aspect will never enter into my mind. Only the best man who can be had for the position will be recommended. These matters are all readily answered, I think, to the satisfaction of any fair minded man.

I will refer next to the speech of the hon. member for West Tyrone (Mr. Donnelly). I am very glad he has admitted something along the lines of the amendment which the government has seen fit to put down to this vote of want of confidence, for that is really what it amounts to. When my colleagues have passed the resolution it will read like this:—

That in the opinion of this house the employment of disloyalists entering Northern Ireland is prejudicial, not only to the interests of law and order and the safety of the state, but also to the prior claims of loyal Ulster-born citizens seeking employment.

All through this debate the charges made by hon. members opposite have been grossly exaggerated. Since

we took up office we have tried to be absolutely fair towards all the citizens of Northern Ireland. Actually, on an Orange platform, I, myself, laid down the principle, to which I still adhere, that I was prime minister not of one section of the community but of all, and that as far as I possibly could I was going to see that fair play was not meted out to all classes and creeds without any favour whatever on my part.

MR LEEKE: What about your Protestant parliament?

THE PRIME MINISTER: The hon. member must remember that in the South they boasted of a Catholic state. They still boast of Southern Ireland being a Catholic state. All I boast of is that we are a Protestant parliament and Protestant state. It would be rather interesting for historians of the future to compare a Catholic state launched in the South with a Protestant state launched in the North and to see which gets on the better and prospers the more. It is more interesting for me at the moment to watch how they are progressing. I am doing my best always to top the bill and be ahead of the South.

As I have said, there is a great deal of exaggeration in the statements made today. Are memories so short that hon. members opposite have forgotten that those who came into this Northern area at a certain period of our career came for the purpose of preventing the Ulster government from being established. We will never forget the death of our old colleague, Mr. Twaddell, and there are two hon. members of this house who bear the marks of bullets because of their loyalty in helping the government to maintain law and order. Those people, I always believe, came from outside. Is it any wonder that we should take precautions and advise our own people in this area to beware of persons of that type coming into Ulster in order to recreate all the turmoil, murder, bloodshed, and trouble from which we formerly suffered? . . .

NORTHERN IRELAND PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, HOUSE OF COMMONS, *vol. 16, pp. 1094-1096.*



“FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS”

18 June 1936

Eamon de Valera

Eamon de Valera gave this speech in Dáil Éireann, shortly before he traveled to Geneva to attend the reconvened 16th Assembly of the League of Nations. Ireland had supported the league in its efforts to maintain international security,

but de Valera had been very disillusioned at the league's failure to protect Abyssinia (a member) against Italian aggression. With the increasing threat of war in Europe, de Valera had become convinced that Ireland must rely on its own resources for national security.

SEE ALSO de Valera, Eamon; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

With regard to the League of Nations and to our policy in it, I do not know if the chair would agree if it would be appropriate at this stage to discuss the question as to whether or not we should withdraw from the League. At any rate, as far as I am concerned and as far as the government is concerned, our attitude in regard to this particular dispute is very clear. We are satisfied that this aggression occurred, and we see today that Italy has been successful in getting military supremacy in Ethiopia. I think it is equally clear that the sanctions policy of the League of Nations has failed to do what was expected of it by the founders of the League.

What we are to do in regard to the future, then, becomes a question of very great importance. As far as we are concerned, we are satisfied that the League, as it was, cannot any longer command the confidence of the ordinary people in the world. It does not command our confidence. Therefore the League of Nations, unless it is reformed, is not of advantage to us, and I do not think it would be, in its present form, of advantage to humanity in general. There were very serious obligations involved in membership of the League of Nations. If there was no doubt whatever that we would be put in positions of risk without the feeling that what we hoped to gain from the League would be secured, then I think it would be madness to continue to remain a member of it. But the probability is that the League will be changed. I think what I am saying is the feeling of most people, would be the feeling of most governments, that the League of Nations must be fundamentally changed.

The League in the past set itself an objective which clearly is not attainable in present circumstances. In my view, and it is the view I would urge upon the government as minister for external affairs if the matter had to be immediately settled, the League in future will have to set itself a humbler task, and the question of compelling other states to maintain their obligations will have to be abandoned. It is quite clear that economic sanctions alone are not sufficient and that if we are to have effective action, we must go beyond the range of mere economic sanctions and consider whether military sanctions are necessary. Anybody looking at the course

of the conflict that has taken place in Ethiopia must be satisfied that, if the states really wanted to maintain the independence and integrity of Ethiopia, they should have been ready at certain stages to face the possibility of military action. It might not be military action in the first instance, but it would eventually involve military action.

Before I leave that point, perhaps I should say that I do not think nations are ready for that yet. War to prevent war is a peculiar position, and there is no doubt that, in order effectively to stop the last war, the states would have had to be ready to face even a more extended war than the war in question. You saw that there was hesitation with regard to the sanctions that would be most effective. You saw that, with regard to oil sanctions, for instance, the states were very chary about proceeding along these lines, because they were told that to do so would involve war. It is clear that if there were oil sanctions, it might have involved war, and if you are not going to meet a challenge of that sort, then you had better not make these threats or proceed along that line. It is obvious that, if the powers were really serious and were prepared to take definite measures, the closing of the Suez Canal would have been resorted to as one measure. Consequently it was obvious the League of Nations was taking half-measures which could not in the ultimate fail to be ineffective.

The question is: Are we prepared to say that the League should be reformed in the direction of imposing military sanctions if necessary? I do not think that our people would be prepared for that, and I do not think the people of any other country would be prepared either. Therefore the only practical line, it seems to me, to go upon, if the League is to be reformed, is the line of using the League in other directions, using it as a forum for the consideration of such questions as might otherwise lead to war, using it as a conciliatory machine, perhaps on occasion as an arbitration machine. But I certainly cannot see any government here that would come to the Dáil and say that we would, in our present circumstances, be prepared to enter into obligations which might necessitate our sending out expeditionary forces in order to prevent aggression somewhere else.

We are not in a position to do that, and I do not think the people in other countries are prepared to do it either. Certain countries with special interests abroad may be prepared for that because, in the main, their interests would best be served by it; but I do not think that the small nations are prepared for it or should be prepared for it; certainly our nation is not prepared for it. Consequently, if this manner comes up for consideration, our position will have to be made clear. If we are to remain members of the League, our position will

have to be considered in the light of whether we feel it would be in the interests of our country to belong to the League.

The question of the present position in regard to sanctions naturally comes up for consideration. In that matter, too, I think the position is clear enough. It would be foolish not to take cognisance of the facts of the situation. If there was any possibility of sanctions being able to perform the task that remains, if they are to be continued, then there is no doubt they should have been able to perform the easier task which was set them before, and if nations were not prepared to run the risk of war in the situation that existed up to the present, I do not think there is any likelihood of their being prepared to run the same risk in regard to the situation we have to face now. We have to remember that we cannot deal with this question without meeting the other states that have agreed to a co-ordinating committee, but our attitude in any meeting of the sort would be that the League of Nations policy up to the present has failed and that the League must be reformed. As regards sanctions, it is quite clear they have failed and that the continuance of them would serve no good purpose. These, I take it, are the principal matters on which deputies wished for an expression of opinion from the government.

With regard to the position in Europe in general, deputies know as well as I do that that position is more tense and that there are greater possibilities of war in it than at any time since the conclusion of the World War. Naturally, when you see all the smaller states spending large sums of money providing for their defences, looking to their defences, it provides food for thought. Some of them in the past relied, as events have now shown, altogether too much on the strength of the League of Nations. Turning back once more to the position of Ethiopia, I have no doubt Ethiopia suffered severely through the fact that it was a member of the League, that it expected certain results and did not get them. . . .

With regard to the position generally, the small states in Europe have begun to provide for their own defences. In the case of Ethiopia there is no doubt that its association with the League of Nations, instead of helping, hindered it. In the early stages, when it became apparent that Ethiopia was about to be attacked, she had scarcely any defences to rely on and there was dangled before the faces of those responsible the hope that the League of Nations would assist. If her will not been paralysed by the idea that if she took action early the case against Italy might not be so clear and they might not get such help as they expected, I think Ethiopia at any rate would not have waited until the last moment to try to defend herself properly. So it is with the small

states. The fate of Ethiopia has warned them of the danger in which they are, and most of them are doing their utmost to make good their defences.

That naturally brings us to the position at home. Any government at the present time would have seriously to consider the question of the defences of the country. Our position is particularly complicated. If we held the whole of our territory, there is no doubt whatever that our attitude would be that which is the attitude, I think of, practically every Irishman, and that is that we have no aggressive designs against any other people. We would strengthen ourselves so as to maintain our neutrality. We would strengthen ourselves so that we might resist any attempt to make use of our territory for attack upon any other nation. I think that the average person in this country wants to make war on nobody. We have no aggressive designs. We want to have our own country for ourselves, as I have said on more than one occasion, and that is the limit of our ambition. We have no imperial ambitions of any sort. But we are in this position, that some of our ports are occupied, and, although we cannot be actively committed in any way, the occupation of those ports will give, to any foreign country that may desire a pretext, an opportunity of ignoring our neutrality. Our population in the neighbourhood of those ports are in a position in which, through no fault of theirs and through no fault of the rest of the people, they may become sufferers through retaliation of this kind as a result of the occupation of those ports.

The first thing that any government here must try to secure is that no part of our territory will be occupied by any forces except the forces that are immediately responsible to the government here. I have tried to indicate on many occasions that that is our desire and that it would work out to the advantage of Britain as well as to our own advantage. I think Britain, or at any rate the average person in Britain, wants to feel that they are not going to be attacked through foreign states that might attempt to use this country as a base. We are prepared, and any government with which I have been associated has always been prepared, to give guarantees, so far as guarantees can be given, that that will not happen. We are prepared to meet the necessary expense and to make the necessary provision to see that the full strength of this nation will be used to resist any attempt by any foreign power to abuse our neutrality by using any portion of our territory as a base. If that situation were realised, then of course the government here would have a definite task. All the uncertain elements of the present situation would disappear. We would know what to expect; in the main, we would know what to provide against. But in the present uncertain position it is very

difficult to have any adequate scheme of defence or to take any adequate measures which would safeguard us against the risks which we have got to face now that our territory is within reaching distance of aeroplanes from the continent and that we are liable, on account of the occupation of certain parts of our territory, to attack by any enemy of Great Britain.

As I have said, the whole position in Europe is one of uncertainty and one of menace. We want to be neutral. We are prepared to play a reasonable part in the maintenance of peace. Unfortunately, as I said on previous occasions here, we are not a great power. We have a certain amount of moral influence, and we try to exert that in favour of peace, but when we think of the Kellogg Pact and all the other indications of goodwill, if I might put it that way, that have been given in the past, we see how hopeless and how useless all those things become when one state is satisfied that it is to its advantage that those obligations and the policy embodied in them should be set aside.

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“SCATTERING AND SORROW”

1936

Peig Sayers

Coming from Peig Sayers’s famous autobiography, first published in 1936 in Irish, this passage deals with the deaths or emigration to America of most of her remaining loved ones. Her son, Micheál Ó Guithín, leaves her a poem as a souvenir before departing for the United States. He eventually returned to Ireland, the last of the Blasket Island poets.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Blasket Island Writers; Literature: Twentieth-Century Women Writers

Tomás dies accidentally – Pádraig and Cáit go to
America – My husband dies – Muiris, Eibhlín
and Micheál leave me one after the
other – Micheál's poetry

When a person thinks his life is going smoothly then it changes as if he were a cat's-paw of fate; that's true saying for it's exactly what happened to me, alas, in the year 1920.

We had no turf on the Island that year; the fuel we used was heather from the hill, and that was the fuel I bought dearly! On the morning of Friday the 20th day of April, Tomás and myself were up early. We had the tea ready and no one else in the house had as yet risen. While we were eating I told Tomás that Pádraig intended going to America.

"Don't let it bother you!" he said. "Isn't it time he went?"

"It's a pity he won't stay with ye for another year," I said. "Ye're too young to handle a currach and as the proverb has it, 'One year matures a child greatly,'"

He looked at me across the table. A light shone in his grey eyes; then he stretched out his right hand.

"Afraid you'll be hungry, mother?" he asked. "Don't be a bit in dread that this hand won't be able to put a bite of food into your mouth!"

"I know that, but the hand is still soft and young," I said.

By the time we had the breakfast eaten the other members of the family were getting up. Tomás stood in the middle of the floor; he appeared to be pondering on some subject, for he examined every inch of the house carefully. Then he proceeded out the door. "I won't go to the hill today," he said as he stood between the two door-jambs.

"The heather is too wet and we have enough inside for today," I said. "Let it hold over till tomorrow."

He bounced out the door and that was the last time I saw him alive. When next I saw him he was calm and dead, laid out on a bier before me and the gentle bright hand he had stretched out so proudly to me in the morning was broken, bruised and lifeless.

It appears that when he left me that time in the morning he met other lads on their way to the hill to gather heather and he went off with them. The poor fellow was pulling a bush of heather when it gave way with him and he fell over the cliff top. He fell on his back pitching from rock to rock, each rock hundreds of feet above the sea until he crashed down at the bottom of the ravine. And may God save hearers!

I knew nothing whatsoever about his being on the hill that day; I thought he was rambling around the neighbourhood with the other lads—until news of his death reached me. God save us, my life was then completely shattered. Fear and awe seized the heart of everyone for this was something that had never before happened on the Island and this multiplied everyone's terror. As far as I was concerned, no pen can describe what I suffered and endured. My son was dead; for the previous year his father had been keeping to the bed and when he heard the news the terrifying scream of sorrow he uttered will remain branded in my hear forever. The poor man thought that if he could only leave the bed he would be all right but even that much was beyond him.

That was my difficulty—how could I go away and leave my husband there in the pains of death? Tomás was gone to God but my husband was still alive and I realized that it would be flying in the face of the Almighty to leave the house without having someone to look after him. God granted me that much sense, praise be to Him forever, that I remained behind to give him a helping hand.

Two currachs and eight men had to go out to bring back the body. When they came to the place where he was they were amazed to find that instead of his being hundreds of yards out in the broad ocean he was high up on a hollow smooth slippery detached stone barely the length and breadth of his body. There he was laid out as expertly and as calmly as if twelve women had tended him. No one knows how he landed on that table of stone with the blue sea all around him. No one except God alone.

When his body was brought back to the house the rest of the family was terrified except alone Muiris. He was more mature than the others. The neighbours had to take Cáit and Pádraig away from me because they were demented with shock. As for their unfortunate sick father, I didn't know the minute he'd drop dead. Remember, you who read this, that I was in a predicament if ever a poor woman was. The neighbours got such a fright that they were too terrified to approach me, all with the exception of two—Seán Eoghain and Máire Scanlan. Seán himself is dead now, God rest his soul and the souls of all the dead, but that same Seán—aye and God!—came to my relief on that sorrowful afternoon. There was hard work to be done and who would do it? That was the problem! I was only a mother and the job on hands was beyond me. I, who wouldn't like to see a simple cut had to set about the task; I had to wash and clean my fine young boy and lay him out in death. That task was before me and there was no way out of it. I hadn't a friend or relation beside me and I needed a heart of stone to be able to stand it.

I prayed to the Sacred Heart and to the Holy Mother to come and assist me! And indeed, dear reader, when I returned to the place where my son was, it could have been the body of a stranger, I felt my courage so strong and my heart so lightsome! But the task I had undertaken was too much for me; when I found my heart tightening I took the statue of the Virgin and placed it on the floor beside me and from that moment forward I confess that I was but an instrument in the hands of the Virgin and her only Son.

Muiris and his uncle, together with two others had gone off to get what was needed for the wake. When they returned, Muiris was uneasy asking if he could blot out the English inscription and the breastplate of the coffin. This he succeeded in doing for the schoolmaster helped him and wrote it out again in Irish. Muiris was completely satisfied when he had done this. He then said:

"It's a great relief to my mind to know that you're the first corpse for hundreds of years to go into Ventry churchyard under an inscription in Irish."

We found times upsetting and bothersome but God always opens a gap, for Tomás was barely six weeks buried when Father Seoirse Clune came to the Island on his holidays. I admit that it was God himself and Father Clune who gave the first shred of comfort. Father Clune was with me every day for I had fluent Irish to give him; something better than that, he had sound advice and prime teaching to give me in return and that was a great help in healing a wounded heart. Scarcely a day passed that he wasn't with me and however sad I'd be on his arrival it seemed as if a ray of light accompanied him and that all my troubles would vanish. I was sorry when he left the Island, for he certainly helped me in great measure to forget my worldly troubles. This day, I wish him a long life in the service of God!

Six months after this my son Pádraig hoisted his sails and went off to America. There's no need for me to say that I was lonely after him but my hope in God was that I'd see him again some day. "Better hope from a locked door than from a grave." As soon as he had earned the passage-money Pádraig sent for his sister Cáit.

All these events were raining powerful blows on my heart, and barely five months after Cáit had gone, her father died—Lord have mercy on his soul. His heart was broken with sorrow and ill-health. His death was the worst blow I suffered and it left me poor and without anyone near me to offer me much assistance.

But while Muiris remained, I still had a man on my floor. He was an excellent son and one on whom I could

depend completely. He was deeply attached to his country and to his native language and he never had any desire to leave Ireland. But that's not the way events turned out for he too had to take to the road like the others, his heart laden with sorrow.

As soon as he had turned the last sod of his father's grave he made ready to go. The day he went will remain forever in my memory because beyond all I had endured, nothing ever dealt me as crushing a blow as that day's parting with Muiris. The morning he left he was standing with his luggage and his papers on the table beside him. I was seated in the corner doing my best to be pleasant, but unknown to him I was watching him because he stood there as stiff as a poker with his two lips clamped together as if he were thinking. He rounded on me.

"Here!" he said handing me something wrapped in paper. I took it and opened it; it was the Irish flag.

"Yes," he said again with a tremor in his voice, "Put that away to keep in a place where neither moths nor flies can harm it! I have no business of it from this out." Then he got a catch of emotion in his voice.

"Son, dear," I said, "this will do me more harm than good for it will only make me lonely."

"No!" he said, and the words that jerked out of his mouth were all mixed up because of his emotion. "You'll have it to welcome the Royal Prince of the Feast yet!"

However badly I felt, I had to laugh at him but this was, as they say, "laughter from the teeth out."

"You poor silly awkward gom," I said. "You'll have to put these ideas out of your head!"

"Before God," he said, "it's true for you. And isn't this a sad day for me!"

"God is mighty and He has a good Mother," I told him. "Gather your gear and have courage for there was never a tide flowed west but flowed east again."

"Maybe in God it could happen," he said and he held my hand in a grip of steel.

I followed him down to the slip; what with all the people making their way to the haven it was like a great funeral that day.

He promised me that if things went well with him I'd never want either by day or by night and that he'd return to me as soon as he had a fair amount of money put together. True, that talk gave me courage but I knew well that in the words of the proverb: "The city has a broad entrance but a narrow exit."

"My dear son," I said "'Twould be a bad place that wouldn't be better for you than this dreadful rock.

Whatever way things go you'll be among your own equals. All around me here I see nothing on which a man can earn a living for here there's neither land nor property. I wouldn't like to make a cormorant of you, my son, and already too many are suffering misfortune. My own blessing and the blessing of God go with you. Follow your own road but heed me now, let nothing cross your path that'll lessen the love of God in your heart. Cherish your faith, avoid evil and always do good. A blessing go with you now and may God take you with him in safety."

I was very uneasy in my mind until I got a letter from him.

Micheál and Eibhlín were the last pair to leave me. Eibhlín was the youngest of all and I thought I'd never allow her to go to America. At this time she was in Dublin in Seán O'Shea's house in Dundrum and I was completely content with that. She had nothing but love and respect for Seán, but alas, her brother Pádraig paid a visit home and nothing would satisfy him but to go up to Dublin and bring her back. He took her away with him when he was returning to America.

Then Micheál was watching out for the chance to be off; he had no great mind to leave home but nevertheless, life was hard and he had nothing better to do. He too thought that if God left him his health he could put a fair share of money together and then come back home to me. A few days before he left the house he said:

"I wouldn't be a bit loath to leave, mother, if you'd promise me not be lonely."

"If I promised you that, son." I told him, "I'd promise you a lie; but I give you my word that I'll do my best not to be troubled."

He was fairly satisfied then, although he was sad and heartbroken. The second day after that, he bade me goodbye, asked God to bless me and said:

"I hope, mother, that we'll be together again."

"Maybe we will, boy," I said, "with God's help."

Then he went out the door and faced down for the landing-slip. I was absolutely desolate when he was gone.

A few days later I was tidying the little odds and ends he had left behind when I came across a scrap of paper on which he had written the following verses:

*Mother dear, don't weep for me,
Nor for the lost one intercede;
Lament in the Virgin's shining Son
Your help in time of direst need.*

*Lament his beauteous royal brow,
His lime-white limbs that once were free;*

*Lament the pearl was shattered sore
On Calvary's hideous tree.*

*Herdsmen Who gave us clerics fair,
To you we cry, dear Master,
Place hatred in our hearts for sin
The source of your disaster.*

*Bless thou myself and all my kin
At home or o'er the sea
And by the Holy Spirit's grace
Let me not one stray from Thee.*

*For mother, Judgement Day shall come
When mocking lie dare not intrude—
You'll view our shining Saviour then,
King of the multitude.*

*By God's assistance, saint's and choirs',
I'll cross the raging tide,
And pleasant, sheltered, two as one
Together we'll abide.*

Peig Sayers, PEIG: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF PEIG SAYERS OF THE GREAT BLASKET ISLAND (1974), pp. 180–187. Copyright © 1973 by Bryan MacMahon. Copyright © 1974 by Syracuse University Press. Reproduced by permission.



FROM THE 1937 CONSTITUTION

Eamon de Valera was the principal author of the 1937 constitution, designed to remove the restrictive features of the 1922 constitution. Ronan Fanning has described it as "the ultimate vindication of de Valera's brand of Irish republicanism." It was approved by referendum on 1 July 1937 by a margin 685,000 to 527,000 votes. Since then it has been subject to more than twenty amendments, including the removal of the ban on divorce and of Article 44, which recognized the special position of the Catholic Church. Articles 2 and 3 were amended in 1998 to conform to the Belfast Agreement.

SEE ALSO Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act; de Valera, Eamon; Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Overseas Investment; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Politics: Impact of the Northern Ireland Crisis on Southern Politics; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

In the name of the most holy trinity, from whom is all authority and to whom, as our final end, all actions both of men and states must be referred,

We, the people of Éire,

Humbly acknowledging all our obligations to our divine lord, Jesus Christ, who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial,

Gratefully remembering their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the rightful independence of our nation,

And seeking to promote the common good, with due observance of prudence, justice and charity, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual may be assured, true social order attained, the unity of our country restored, and concord established with other nations,

Do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this constitution.

The Nation

Article 1 The Irish nation hereby affirms its inalienable, indefeasible, and sovereign right to choose its own form of government, to determine its relations with other nations, and to develop its life, political, economic and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions.

Article 2 The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas.

Article 3 Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the parliament and government established by this constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that parliament shall have the like area and extent of applications as the laws of Saorstát Éireann and the like extra-territorial effect.

The State

Article 4 The name of the state is Éire, or in the English language, Ireland.

Article 5 Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic state.

Article 6 1. All powers of government, legislative, executive and judicial, derive, under God, from the people, whose right it is to designate the rulers of the state and, in final appeal, to decide all questions of national policy, according to the requirements of the common good.

2. These powers of government are exercisable only by or on the authority of the organs of state established by this constitution.

Article 7 The national flag is the tricolour of green, white and orange.

Article 8 1. The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.

2. The English language is recognised as a second official language.

3. Provision may, however, be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the state or in any part thereof.

Article 9 1. 1° On the coming into operation of this constitution any person who was a citizen of Saorstát Éireann immediately before the coming into operation of this constitution shall become and be a citizen of Ireland.

2° The future acquisition and loss of Irish nationality and citizenship shall be determined in accordance with law.

3° No person may be excluded from Irish nationality and citizenship by reason of the sex of such person.

2. Fidelity to the nation and loyalty to the state are fundamental political duties of all citizens.

Article 10 1. All natural resources, including the air and all forms of potential energy, within the jurisdiction of the parliament and government established by this constitution and all royalties and franchises within that jurisdiction belong to the state subject to all estates and interests therein for the time being lawfully vested in any person or body.

2. All land all mines, minerals and waters which belonged to Saorstát Éireann immediately before the coming into operation of this constitution belong to the state to the same extent as they then belonged to Saorstát Éireann. . . .

Article 41 3. 1° The State pledges itself to guard with special care the institution of marriage, on which the family is founded, and to protect it against attack.

2° No law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage.

3° No person whose marriage has been dissolved under the civil law of any other state but is a subsisting valid marriage under the law for the time being in force within the jurisdiction of the government and parliament established by this constitution shall be capable of contracting a valid marriage within the jurisdiction during the lifetime of the other party to the marriage so dissolved. . . .

Article 44 1. 1° The state acknowledges that the homage of public worship is due to Almighty God. It shall hold his name in reverence, and shall respect and honour religion.

2° The state recognises the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the faith professed by the great majority of its citizens.

3° The state also recognises the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the Methodist Church in Ireland, the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, as well as the Jewish congregations and the other religious denominations existing in Ireland at the date of the coming into operation of this constitution.

BUNREACTH NA HÉIREANN (1937), pp. 2, 4–8, 138, 144.



“GERMAN ATTACK ON NEUTRAL STATES”

12 May 1940

Eamon de Valera

By 12 May 1940 German forces were sweeping across continental Europe and there were growing fears that Germany might mount an invasion of Britain and perhaps Ireland. In this speech Eamon de Valera emphasized that Ireland would resist an attack “from any quarter”; he also spoke about his efforts to bring about good relations with Britain—an important message at a time when a German victory appeared inevitable.

SEE ALSO de Valera, Eamon; Neutrality; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

We have been in danger from the moment this war began, and we will be in danger until it is over. Our duty is that every one of us in his own way should try to save himself and his neighbour, and the whole community, as best as he can from its consequences.

I was at Geneva on many occasions. When I was there, I used to particularly seek out the representatives of small nations because their problems, I thought, were in many respects like our problems. Just as I was coming in here I was going over in my mind the number of small independent nations that were represented there and the number of them that have, for the moment at any rate, disappeared. Go over in your own minds the list of small nations, and ask yourselves how many of them are now with their old independence or free from the horrors of war.

The representatives of Belgium and the representatives of The Netherlands were people that I met frequently, because we co-operated not a little with the northern group of nations. Today these two small nations are fighting for their lives, and I think I would be unworthy of this small nation if, on an occasion like this, I did not utter our protest against the cruel wrong which has been done them.

We have to see to it that, if there should be any attack of any kind upon us from any quarter, they will find us a united people ready to resist it. There is alive, thanks be to God, in this country a generation that has passed through war and that has done its part to secure the freedom that we have at the moment. I know that that generation, if it were called upon, is prepared to defend that freedom, and I know the younger people who are coming along will be not less ready to defend it if they are called upon. . . .

I have preached the national policy for many years. It is a policy which was commonly accepted—that we wanted our independence because it was our right. We proclaimed to the world that we did not want that independence to use it in any way hurtful to any other country, and particularly we did not desire it to be hurtful to Britain. We were prepared to let bygones be bygones as far as Britain was concerned, once we had our independence.

In so far as the portion of the country where we have that independence is concerned, we have pursued that policy and, as a result, as far as it was possible, established good relations between the two countries. My one regret in a time like the present is that there is still a cause of difference between the two countries. I believe, trying to look into the future, that the destiny of the peoples of these two islands off the coast of Europe will be similar in many respects. I believe that we will have many interests in common in the future as in the past. I believe these common interests would beget good relations. During the whole time I have been in public life I have sought to lay the foundation for these good relations by removing the causes of differences. Down here we have removed these causes of differences one by one, and as each one was removed, better relations ensued.

I strove to get that other cause removed, and I hoped all the time that it would be appreciated that it was necessary, in the interests of both these islands, for that cause to be removed. I will strive, and it will be the national policy to strive, in the future as in the past to secure the ending of these causes of difference between us.

SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS BY EAMON DE VALERA, 1917–73,
edited by Maurice Moynihan (1980), pp. 434–436.

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“NATIONAL THANKSGIVING”

16 May 1945

Eamon de Valera

Eamon de Valera made very effective use of radio as a means of communicating with Irish people at home and abroad. As the war in Europe was coming to an end, de Valera paid a highly controversial visit to the German minister in Ireland to express his condolences on the death of Hitler. In his victory broadcast, which would have been heard by many Irish people, the British prime minister Sir Winston Churchill referred to the Dublin government being left “to frolic with the German and later with the Japanese representatives to their hearts’ content.” De Valera’s restrained response to Churchill in this speech was much admired. Joseph Lee, in his Ireland, 1912–1985: Politics and Society, described this speech as “a magisterial performance, exquisitely tuned to the emotional needs of his flock.”

SEE ALSO de Valera, Eamon; Neutrality

Go mbeannaí Dia dhíbh, a chairde Gael. Is libhse, a Ghaelgeoirí, is ceart dom an chéad fhocal a rá. Tá an cogadh san Eoraip caite. Ba é deonú Dé, as méid A mhórtócaire, sinn a shábháil ar an troid agus ar an doirteadh fola agus sinn a chaomhnadh ar an bhfulang atá ag céasadh furmhór tiortha na hEorpa le cúig bhliain anuas.

Níor thángamar slán ó gach cruatan ar ndóigh—is fada fairsing a théann drochiarsmaí cogaidh. Ach, nuair a chuimhnímíd ar na tíortha agus na daoine go léir mór-thimpeall orainn, is ceart dúinn ár mbuíochas croí a ghabháil go dílis dúthrachtach le Dia na Glóire as ucht sinn a chaomhnadh in am an ghábha.

An uair ba mhó a bhí an chontúirt ag bagairt orainn, d’iarras oraibhse, a Ghaela, seasamh sa mbearna bhaoil chun an náisiún a chaomhnadh. Bhí a fhios agam go mbeadh fonn ar na Gaeilgeoirí, na daoine is fearr a thuigeann céard is brí agus beatha don náisiúntacht, bheith ar tosach imeasc na bhfear a bheadh ina sciath cosanta ar thír na hÉireann.

Níor chlis sibh orm, a Ghaela. Rinne sibh bhur gcion féin den obair—an obair a rinne, faoi dheonú Dé, sinn a thabhairt slán le cúig bhliain anuas.

Caithfidh mé anois ionntó ar an mBéarla. Tá rudaí áirithe ba mhian liom a rá agus a caithfear a rá sa teanga sin.

Day of Thanksgiving

The long and fearful war which has devastated Europe has at last, mercifully, come to an end. And my first object in speaking to you tonight must be to try to express in words the gratitude to Almighty God with which all our hearts are full. I am assured that we shall be able to arrange for a day of national thanksgiving on which we may publicly express due gratitude to God for His immense mercy in our regard.

To the people of all the nations which have been directly involved in the war our thoughts go out in sympathy on their deliverance from the daily terrors in which they lived, and in sorrow that they must still endure the inevitable suffering of the aftermath. We have been spared what so many nations have had to undergo, and there lies upon us, accordingly, a duty, within our limited power, to assist in succouring those who have been less fortunate than we have been.

I have here before me the pencilled notes from which I broadcast to you on September 3, 1939. I had so many other things to do on that day that I could not find time to piece them together into a connected statement. From these notes I see that I said that, noting the march of events, your government had decided its policy the previous spring and had announced its decision to the world.

The aim of our policy, I said, would be to keep our people out of the war. I reminded you of what I had said in the Dáil, that in our circumstances, with our history and our experience after the last war and with a part of our country still unjustly severed from us, no other policy was possible.

I did not have to go into any details then as to what precisely were the circumstances to which I referred, nor had I to go into detail as to what were our experiences after the last war, nor had I to point out what a vital factor in our situation was the partition of our country. I had merely to refer to them and I felt sure you would understand. Similarly, I do not think it necessary to dwell upon them tonight.

I pointed out then that the policy adopted had the backing of practically the entire Dáil and the entire community, irrespective of any personal views which citizens held on the merits of the cause which occasioned the conflict.

The national policy then announced was thus supported by a unity rare to find amongst democratic peoples, a unity tested through two free general elections in 1943 and 1944, a unity which happily survived with us to the end. All political parties and all sections are entitled to their share of credit for what that unity has achieved. It has been a triumph of national understanding and good sense.

There were times when we stood in the gravest danger. But we have been preserved from the calamity of invasion, and such privations as we have suffered in our economic life have been by comparison very slight indeed.

The dire economic consequences which might have been anticipated were prevented by the united efforts of our people, by the co-operation of the public representatives of all parties, by hard word, by careful organisation, and by being enabled to obtain supplies from other countries, particularly Britain, the United States and Canada.

Army, Services, Thanked

I know you all feel with me the deep debt of gratitude we owe to all those who, at heavy personal sacrifice, joined the army, including the marine service, and the various auxiliary defence organisations, and helped to guard us against the most serious of all the dangers that threatened.

The officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the regular army already in service at the beginning of the war formed, with the reserve, and the volunteer force, a well-trained nucleus round which it was possible, in an incredibly short time, to build up an efficient fighting force.

Many tens of thousands of young men responded to the appeals of the government, and of the leaders of all the political parties in the Defence Conference, to join the army. Without regard to their own personal interests, these young men left their employment of the studies which they had been pursuing in preparation for professional careers.

Many thousands of others joined the local defence force and the maritime inscription and made it possible for the army to feel confident that our best-equipped striking force would be capably assisted by large bodies of well-trained men throughout the country.

The local security force, the different branches of the Air Raid Precautions Services, the Irish Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Brigade, the Knights of Malta, also made themselves available to provide services without which it would not have been possible for us to face, with any degree of confidence, the dangers of the military situation outside.

To all of these, to the many other voluntary bodies who helped in the national effort and to the men of our merchant marine, who faced all the perils of the ocean to bring us essential supplies, the nation is profoundly thankful.

Trials Still Ahead

We have survived the ordeal, but I am sure you all realise that the end of the war in Europe does not mean an immediate, or even an early, ending of the period of emergency.

The world is still in a most unsettled state and what may still happen no one can prophesy. Many difficulties concerning supplies of essential goods which the war created will still continue, and there can be no relaxation of the regulations relating to the distribution or use of the commodities that have had to be kept under control.

It is indeed probable that, for a time, supplies of some important goods will be scarcer than ever. A great war is still in progress in the Far East, the requirements of which will be a first demand on the productive resources and the shipping of the countries from which, in times of peace, we were accustomed to import great quantities of goods. There is, moreover, a grave shortage of food in many European countries and a danger of famine in many parts of the continent next winter.

We cannot, therefore, safely look to other countries to make good the deficiency in our own production. Not merely will international transport difficulties remain acute, but other peoples will have prior call on such supplies as may be available.

Rationing and other forms of control of the distribution and use of goods will have to be maintained so long as the scarcity continues, and can be terminated only when normal supplies are again freely available.

Must Produce All Food Possible

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that there should be no relaxation whatever in the effort to produce all the food possible from our own soil. There is every indication that the world food situation will be very serious, not merely this year but for a considerable time to come, and that within the next few years we will have to rely on our own efforts to produce the bulk of the food required to maintain the life and the health of our people.

We must, indeed, not only reduce to a minimum our dependence on imported foodstuffs but, by increasing production, endeavor to make substantial quantities available also for peoples who have been less fortunate than ourselves.

So far as this year is concerned, the intention to provide food from our own resources to help in warding

off starvation in European countries can be put into effect only by reducing the supplies available for our own consumption. This may, in fact, involve not merely the reduction for a time of the present rations of some commodities, but the extension of rationing to other commodities not now subject to control.

As to the future, there is no likelihood of any material change in the requirements in regard to compulsory tillage for the year 1946 as compared with those operations in 1945.

The difficulties which we have experienced during the past years in regard to fuel will also remain. There are no prospects whatever of any early resumption of coal imports on anything approaching a normal scale, and our domestic fuel needs and the requirements of industry must, in this coming winter, be met by turf.

The government desire to restore normal trading conditions as early as possible, and no control or regulations will be kept in force for one day longer than is strictly necessary.

The controls established by the government to prevent inflation must also be maintained for the time being. It will be remembered that it was after the end of hostilities in 1918, and because of the too early removal of the war-time checks on expenditure, that inflationary forces got out of control.

The economic disorganisation which caused so much hardship and distress in later years had its origin at that time. I know that these restrictions are irksome, but in the national interest it is for me to ask you to accept and bear them patiently until the danger is past. Again you may be certain that the government will remove them as soon as it is found safe to do so.

Reply to Mr. Churchill

Certain newspapers have been very persistent in looking for my answer to Mr. Churchill's recent broadcast. I know the kind of answer I am expected to make. I know the answer that first springs to the lips of every man of Irish blood who heard or read that speech, no matter in what circumstances or in what part of the world he found himself.

I know the reply I would have given a quarter of a century ago. But I have deliberately decided that this is not the reply I shall make tonight. I shall strive not to be guilty of adding any fuel to the flames of hatred and passion which, if continued to be fed, promise to burn up whatever is left by the war of decent human feeling in Europe.

Allowances can be made for Mr. Churchill's statement, however unworthy, in the first flush of his victo-

ry. No such excuse could be found for me in this quieter atmosphere. There are, however, some things which it is my duty to say, some things which it is essential to say. I shall try to say them as dispassionately as I can.

Mr. Churchill makes it clear that, in certain circumstances, he would have violated our neutrality and that he would justify his action by Britain's necessity. It seems strange to me that Mr. Churchill does not see that this, if accepted, would mean that Britain's necessity would become a moral code and that when this necessity became sufficiently great, other people's rights were not to count.

It is quite true that other great powers believe in this same code—in their own regard—and have behaved in accordance with it. That is precisely why we have the disastrous succession of wars—World War No. 1 and World War No. 2—and shall it be World War No. 3?

Surely Mr. Churchill must see that, if his contention be admitted in our regard, a like justification can be framed for similar acts of aggression elsewhere and no small nation adjoining a great power could ever hope to be permitted go its own way in peace.

It is, indeed, fortunate that Britain's necessity did not reach the point when Mr. Churchill would have acted. All credit to him that he successfully resisted the temptation which, I have no doubt, many times assailed him in his difficulties and to which I freely admit many leaders might have easily succumbed. It is, indeed, hard for the strong to be just to the weak, but acting justly always has its rewards.

By resisting his temptation in this instance, Mr. Churchill, instead of adding another horrid chapter to the already bloodstained record of the relations between England and this country, has advanced the cause of international morality an important step—one of the most important, indeed, that can be taken on the road to the establishment of any sure basis for peace.

As far as the peoples of these two islands are concerned, it may, perhaps, mark a fresh beginning towards the realisation of that mutual comprehension to which Mr. Churchill has referred and for which he has prayed and for which, I hope, he will not merely pray but work, also, as did his predecessor [Neville Chamberlain] who will yet, I believe, find the honoured place in British history which is due to him, as certainly he will find it in any fair record of the relations between Britain and ourselves.

If England Lost Six Counties—

That Mr. Churchill should be irritated when our neutrality stood in the way of what he thought he vitally

needed, I understand, but that he or any thinking person in Britain or elsewhere should fail to see the reason for our neutrality, I find it hard to conceive.

I would like to put a hypothetical question—it is a question I have to put to many Englishmen since the last war. Suppose Germany had won the war, had invaded and occupied England, and that after a long lapse of time and many bitter struggles she was finally brought to acquiesce in admitting England’s right to freedom, and let England go, but not the whole of England, all but, let us say, the six southern counties.

These six southern counties, those, let us suppose, commanding the entrance to the narrow seas, Germany had singled out and insisted on holding herself with a view to weakening England as a whole and maintaining the security of her own communications through the Straits of Dover.

Let us suppose, further, that after all this had happened Germany was engaged in a great war in which she could show that she was on the side of the freedom of a number of small nations. Would Mr. Churchill as an Englishman who believed that his own nation had as good a right to freedom as any other—not freedom for a part merely, but freedom for the whole—would he, whilst Germany still maintained the partition of his country and occupied six counties of it, would he lead this partitioned England to join with Germany in a crusade? I do not think Mr. Churchill would.

Would he think the people of partitioned England an object of shame if they stood neutral in such circumstances? I do not think Mr. Churchill would.

Ireland’s Lone, Long Stand

Mr. Churchill is proud of Britain’s stand alone, after France had fallen and before America entered the war.

Could he not find in his heart the generosity to acknowledge that there is a small nation that stood alone, not for one year or two, but for several hundred years against aggression; that endured spoliations, famines, massacres in endless succession; that was clubbed many times into insensibility, but that each time, on returning consciousness, took up the fight anew; a small nation that could never be got to accept defeat and has never surrendered her soul?

Mr. Churchill is justly proud of his nation’s perseverance against heavy odds. But we in this island are still prouder of our people’s perseverance for freedom through all the centuries. We of our time have played our part in that perseverance, and we have pledged ourselves to the dead generations who have preserved intact for us this glorious heritage, that we too will strive to

be faithful to the end, and pass on this tradition unblemished.

Many a time in the past there appeared little hope except that hope to which Mr. Churchill referred, that by standing fast a time would come when, to quote his own words, “the tyrant would make some ghastly mistake which would alter the whole balance of the struggle.”

I sincerely trust, however, that it is not thus our ultimate unity and freedom will be achieved, though as a younger man I confess I prayed even for that, and indeed at times saw no other.

In latter years I have had a vision of a nobler and better ending, better for both our peoples and for the future of mankind. For that I have now been long working. I regret that it is not to this nobler purpose that Mr. Churchill is lending his hand rather than, by the abuse of a people who have done him no wrong, trying to find in a crisis like the present excuse for continuing the injustice of the mutilation of our country.

I sincerely hope that Mr. Churchill has not deliberately chosen the latter course but, if he has, however regretfully we may say it, we can only say, be it so.

Meanwhile, even as a partitioned small nation, we shall go on and strive to play our part in the world, continuing unswervingly to work for the cause of true freedom and for peace and understanding between all nations.

As a community which has been mercifully spared from all the major sufferings, as well as from the blinding hates and rancours engendered by the present war, we shall endeavor to render thanks to God by playing a Christian part in helping, so far as a small nation can, to bind up some of the gaping wounds of suffering humanity.

Agus anois, caithfidh mé slán a fhágáil agaibh. Nuair a bhíos ag caint libh i dtús an chogaidh, chuireas an tír agus a muintir faoi choimirce Dé agus A Mháthar Muire, agus is é mo ghuí anocht: Go raibh an choimrí chumhachtach chéanna oraibh san aimsir atá romhainn!

Radio broadcast, 16 May 1945. IRISH PRESS, 17 May 1945. Reprinted in SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS BY EAMON DE VALERA, 1917–73, edited by Maurice Moyrhan (1980), pp. 471–477. Reproduced by permission of St. Martin’s Press, LLC, and Gill & Macmillan, Dublin.

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ON THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND BILL

24 November 1948

John A. Costello

The Republic of Ireland Act marked the final stage in the undoing of the 1921 treaty insofar as that treaty restricted the independence of the Irish state. The 1937 constitution and the 1936 External Relations Act had left the British monarch with only one function—to sign the credentials of Irish diplomats. Ireland became a republic and left the Commonwealth on 18 April 1949—Easter Monday, a date chosen to signify continuity with the proclamation of a republic on Easter Monday, 1916. In his speech Costello expressed the hope that the bill would help to bring a solution to partition, but Britain responded by enacting the 1949 Ireland Act, which ensured that the status of Northern Ireland could be changed only by a majority vote of the Northern Ireland parliament.

SEE ALSO Commonwealth; Declaration of a Republic and the 1949 Ireland Act; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

The bill is a simple bill but it has tremendous and, I believe and hope, very beneficial results. The first section repeals the External Relations Act. I have dealt fully with that. Section Two provides: "It is hereby declared that the description of the state shall be the Republic of Ireland." That section is so obviously necessary that it requires no advocacy on my part to commend it to the Dáil. Deputies will recall that under the constitution the name of the state is Éire or, in the English language, Ireland. Now, this section does not purport, as it could not, to repeal the constitution. There is the name of the state and there is the description of the state. The name of the state is Ireland and the description of the state is the Republic of Ireland. That is the description of its constitutional and international status. Deputies are probably aware of the fact that tremendous confusion has been caused by the use of that word "Éire" in Article 4. By a misuse by malicious people of that word, "Éire," they have identified it with the twenty-six counties and not with the state that was set up under this constitution of 1937.

In documents of a legal character, such as, for instance, policies of insurance, there is always difficulty in putting in what word one wants to describe the state referred to. Section 2 provides a solution for these diffi-

culties, and those malicious newspapers who want to refer in derogatory tones to this country as "Éire" and who have coined these contemptuous adjectives about it, such as "Eireannish" and "Eirish," and all the rest of it, will have to conform to the legal direction here in this bill.

Section 2 does these subsidiary things but it does more than that. It does something fundamental. It declares to the world that when this bill is passed this state is unequivocally a republic. It states that as something that cannot be controverted or argued about and we can rely, I think and I hope, on international courtesy to prevent in future this contemptuous reference to us and the name of our state being used for contemptuous purposes, as it has been, by some people and by some organs in the last few years.

Section 3 merely provides that the president, on the authority and on the advice of the government, may exercise the executive power or any executive function of the state in or in connection with its external relations. We now, and we will under this clause and under this bill, have clarified our international position. No longer will there be letters of credence sent furtively across to Buckingham Palace. Diplomatic representatives will be received by the president of Ireland, the head of the state. We now have the unambiguous position that the president is head of the state and, if there are heads of state treaties to be entered into, if he goes abroad, he will go abroad as the head of this state, the head of the Republic of Ireland.

Section 4 says:

"This Act shall come into operation on such day as the government may by Order appoint."

When this bill is enacted there will be no reason for those fears, those apprehensions which have been so assiduously set abroad by the poisonous sections of the press, but there will be certain difficulties though not of a major character. I can hardly call them difficulties because they are not difficulties but merely legal matters that have to be cleared up and which may necessitate legislation here perhaps or perhaps in Canada, Australia, or Great Britain and we must provide a time limit, a breathing space within which these matters of detail can be carried out in concord and agreement. There are no very important matters; they are matters of detail, legal technicalities, not matters of difficulty or controversy. They will take some little time. I cannot say how long it will take to have these details brought into operation and accordingly, however much we would like to see this bill come into immediate operation, we will have to have a breathing space for the various parliaments to settle up the details which require to be settled up. They are not matters of difficulty.

As I said before and now repeat, I recommend this bill to the Dáil and ask for its unanimous acceptance by the Dáil. It will, I believe, if it is passed in a spirit of goodwill, if it is passed unanimously, do and achieve what its primary purpose hopes for: to bring peace here in this part of our country and by bringing this country well on to the international stage, by lifting this problem of partition from the domestic arena and putting it on the international scene, give us not a faint hope but a clear prospect of bringing about the unity of Ireland.

I should like to say one more thing in conclusion. There have been sometimes smug, sometimes fearsome declarations by British ministers or British governments that the problem of partition is an Irish problem, that must be settled between Irishmen. That Pilate-like attitude can no longer be held by statesmen with the courage and decency to look facts in the face. This problem was created by an act of the British parliament, the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. It may be insisting on the obvious, but I have had occasion to insist very strongly on the obvious in recent months. That Act of 1920 was passed before the Treaty of 1921 and it is surprising how many people think that the partition of our country was effected by the Treaty of 1921. The problem was created by the British government and the British parliament and it is for them to solve the problem. They cannot wash their hands of it and clear themselves of responsibility for it. The Act of 1920 is a very poor title for a claim which is not based upon morality and justice. The government of the six north-eastern counties claim[s] that and assert it by virtue of a majority, a statutorily created majority, a majority created deliberately under the Act of 1920 to coerce and keep within the bounds of their so-called state masses of our Catholic people and fellow Irishmen who do not want to be there. The Act of 1920 was put on the Statute Book and brought into operation without a single vote cast in its favour by any Irish representative in the British parliament or without anybody North or South wanting it. Therefore the problem of undoing that wrong devolves upon the British government. We are doing our part down here. We are doing our part by this bill.

The whole basis of the case I make for this bill is founded on goodwill, is founded on the end of bitterness. It is founded on a sincere desire to have greater goodwill with Great Britain. We hope through the creation of that goodwill, through fostering further goodwill, that that will help materially to induce the British government and Great Britain to take a hand in the undoing of the wrong for which the predecessors were responsible in 1920. We believe that this bill, by creating conditions on which that goodwill can increase, will help towards the solution of the problem of partition.

We hold out, as I said here earlier today, the hand of friendship to the descent people of Northern Ireland and they can be assured if they come in here, end this great wrong and come into a unified Ireland, they will be doing good work for themselves, for the whole of Ireland and for that country to which they proclaim their intense loyalty, Great Britain, and the Commonwealth of Nations and be giving a lasting contribution to the peace of the world.

DÁIL DEBATES, vol. 113, cols. 394–398, available at www.oireachtas-debates.gov.ie.



LETTER TO JOHN A. COSTELLO, THE TAOISEACH

5 April 1951

Archbishop John Charles McQuaid

The dispute between Noël Browne, minister for health in the first interparty government from 1948 to 1951, and the Catholic hierarchy over a government medical scheme for mothers and children is one of the landmark events in the history of church-state relations in independent Ireland. Browne resigned from the cabinet, having failed to secure the support of his fellow ministers, and he released copies of the correspondence with the Catholic hierarchy to the Dublin newspapers. The episode led to the fall of the government. A reduced mother and child scheme was introduced by the Fianna Fáil government in 1953.

SEE ALSO Gaelic Catholic State, Making of; Health and Welfare since 1950, Provisions for; Language and Literacy: Irish Language since 1922; McQuaid, John Charles; Mother and Child Crisis; Political Parties in Independent Ireland; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922; Religion: Since 1690; Roman Catholic Church: Since 1891

Dear Taoiseach,

The archbishops and bishops have considered very carefully your letter of 27th March, 1951, and the memorandum submitted by the minister for health in reply to their letter to you of 10th October, 1950.

The archbishops and bishops wish first to point out that, on 7th October, 1947, they sent to the head of

government a letter in which they expressed grave disapproval of certain parts of the then recently enacted Health Act, 1947, especially those dealing with mother and child services. In sections 21–28 the public authority was given the right and duty to provide for the health of all children, to treat their ailments, to educate them in regard to health, to educate women in regard to motherhood, and to provide all women with gynaecological care. They pointed out that to claim such powers for the public authority, without qualification, is entirely and directly contrary to Catholic teaching on the rights of the family, the rights of the church in education, the rights of the medical profession and of voluntary institutions. The then taoiseach replied, deferring a fuller answer to our comments on the ground that the constitutionality of the act was being called into question.

The archbishops and bishops desire to express once again approval of a sane and legitimate health service, which will properly safeguard the health of mothers and children.

The hierarchy cannot approve of any scheme which, in its general tendency, must foster undue control by the state in a sphere so delicate and so intimately concerned with morals as that which deals with gynaecology or obstetrics and with the relations between doctor and patient.

Neither can the bishops approve of any scheme which must have for practical result the undue lessening of the proper initiative of individuals and associations and the undermining of self-reliance.

The bishops do not consider it their duty to enter into an examination of the detailed considerations put forward by the minister for health in his memorandum, save in so far as they wish to point out the fallacy of treating the proposed mother and child health scheme on a basis of parity with the provision by the state of minimum primary education, or the prevention of infectious diseases or a scheme of children's allowances.

It is to be noted that the proposed scheme fails to give clear evidence of the details of implementation. The scheme, as set forth in vague, general terms, has the appearance of conferring a benefit on the mothers and children of the whole nation.

The hierarchy must regard the scheme proposed by the minister for health as opposed to Catholic social teaching:

Firstly—In this particular scheme the state arrogates to itself a function and control, on a nationwide basis, in respect of education, more especially in the very intimate matters of chastity, individual and conjugal.

The bishops have noted with satisfaction the statement of the minister for health that he is willing to amend the scheme in this particular. It is the principle which must be amended, and it is the principle which must be set forth correctly, in a legally binding manner and in an enactment of the Oireachtas. The bishops believe that this result cannot be achieved except by the amendment of the relevant sections of the Health Act, 1947.

Secondly—In this particular scheme, the state arrogates to itself a function and control, on a nationwide basis, in respect of health services, which properly ought to be and actually can be, efficiently secured, for the vast majority of the citizens, by individual initiative and by lawful associations.

Thirdly—In this particular scheme, the state must enter unduly and very intimately into the life of patients, both parents and children, and of doctors.

Fourthly—To implement this particular scheme, the state must levy a heavy tax on the whole community, by direct or indirect methods, independently of the necessity or desire of the citizens to use the facilities provided.

Fifthly—In implementing this particular scheme by taxation, direct or indirect, the state will, in practice, morally compel the citizens to avail of the services provided.

Sixthly—This particular scheme, when enacted on a nationwide basis, must succeed in damaging gravely the self-reliance of parents, whose family-wage or income would allow them duly to provide of themselves medical treatment for their dependents.

Seventhly—In implementing this particular scheme, the state must have recourse, in great part, to ministerial regulations, as distinct from legislative enactments of the Oireachtas.

Finally, the bishops are pleased to note that no evidence has been supplied in the letter of the taoiseach that the proposed mother and child health scheme advocated by the minister for health enjoys the support of the government. Accordingly, the hierarchy have firm confidence that it will yet be possible, with reflection and calm consultation, for the government to provide a scheme which, while it affords due facilities for those whom the state, as guardian of the common good, is rightly called upon to assist, will nonetheless respect, in its principles and implementation, the traditional life and spirit of our Christian people.

We have the honour to remain, dear taoiseach,

*Yours respectfully and sincerely,
(Signed on behalf of the Hierarchy of Ireland)*

*John C. McQuaid,
Archbishop of Dublin,
Primate of Ireland.*

IRISH TIMES, 12 April 1951.



FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON EMIGRATION AND OTHER POPULATION PROBLEMS, 1948–1954

1955

The Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems was appointed in 1948 to examine various aspects of Ireland's population, but in practice it concentrated almost exclusively on emigration. Although most of its work was completed by 1950, it did not report until 1954 because the members were unable to agree on a report. The eventual report is more valuable as a historical record than as a blueprint for ending emigration; few of its recommendations were implemented.

SEE ALSO Family: Marriage Patterns and Family Life from 1690 to 1921; Migration: Emigration from 1850 to 1960; Migration: Emigration and Immigration since 1950

While the fundamental cause of emigration is economic, in most cases the decision to emigrate cannot be ascribed to any single motive but to the interplay of a number of motives. As between one person and another these motives undoubtedly differ in importance and intensity, depending on outlook, temperament, family background, education, age, sex and conjugal condition, as well as on economic, social, domestic and other circumstances. It is not possible, therefore, to attribute emigration to a single cause that would account satisfactorily for the decision to emigrate in all cases. The causes put before us in evidence were very many—principally economic, but also social, political, cultural and psychological. . . .

There has been a great demand for labour in the United States of America and more recently in Great

Britain, countries which, in general, presented the Irish emigrant with no difficulties of language or barriers due to race, thus causing him a minimum of personal and social adjustment in his new environment. The existence of employment opportunities more attractive than those at home became increasingly well known—in the case of America from the family connections which have continued since the original heavy post-Famine emigration to that continent, and in the case of Great Britain because of its proximity and easy accessibility. . . .

Generally throughout the country there is a lack of opportunities for employment to absorb the natural increase of the population. . . .

The other principal reason for emigration is the desire for improved material standards together with a dissatisfaction with life on the land, whether in its economic or its social aspects. Migration from rural to urban areas is a feature common in most countries, but it does not always bring about a progressive decline in the numbers remaining on the land as in this country . . . nowadays, fewer people are satisfied with a subsistence standard of living and they find an easy alternative in emigration. Very small holdings of poor or marginal land are tending to become amalgamated. Modern technology can provide rising material standards of life more easily in urban than in rural areas and hence, the world over, life in agricultural districts is proving less attractive. In the eyes of many, particularly of those who do not own a farm, agriculture has serious disadvantages; it does not appear to provide a sufficient income, it makes great demands on time, and it involves much physical effort in return for relatively small remuneration. . . .

While the fundamental causes of emigration are economic, social amenities are also an important factor. There are differences between rural and urban areas in the standards and availability of housing as well as in services such as electricity, water supplies and transport. . . . Again, modern urban life has developed high standards of organised entertainment and a wide range of recreational facilities. By contrast, and particularly to the young mind, rural areas appear dull, drab, monotonous, backward and lonely—a view, however, many would regard as superficial. . . .

Tradition and example have also been very powerful influences. Emigration of some members of the family has almost become part of the established custom of the people in certain areas—a part of the generally accepted pattern of life. For very many emigrants there was a traditional path “from the known to the known,” that is to say, from areas where they lived to places where their friends and relations awaited them. This

path they followed as a matter of course without even looking for suitable employment in this country . . .

Apart from tradition and example, there is a widespread awareness of the existence of opportunities abroad and a realisation of differences between conditions at home and in other countries. This is confirmed and encouraged by the reports of emigrants who return well-dressed and with an air of prosperity, by glowing accounts in letters of high incomes and easy conditions and by practical demonstration in the remittances which are sent home. These accounts, which rarely paint any other side of the picture—and there is another side to it—are frequently exaggerated, and make a strong impression on the minds of young people. . . .

Although female emigration, like male, is the result of a variety of causes, the purely economic cause is not always dominant. For the female emigrant improvement in personal status is of no less importance than the higher wages and better conditions of employment abroad and some of the evidence submitted to us would suggest that the prospect of better marriage opportunities is also an influence of some significance. Large numbers of girls emigrate to domestic service in Great Britain because they consider that the wages, conditions of work and also the status of domestic service in this country are unsatisfactory. Many others emigrate because the opportunities of obtaining factory or office work are better than here, and in the nursing profession numbers leave the country because the remuneration, facilities for training, pension schemes and hours of work in this country are considered to be unattractive. . . .

While some emigrants have deliberately weighed the pros and cons, and have come to the conclusion that on balance they will be better off elsewhere, others emigrate for different reasons. A natural desire for adventure of change, and eagerness to travel, to see the world and share the enjoyments of modern city life, to secure financial independence by having pocket money and by being free to spend it in one's own way, to obtain freedom from parental control and a privacy not obtainable in one's home environment, to be free to choose one's own way of life—such matters affect a proportion of young people everywhere and they appeal strongly in a country where there has been, for so many years, an established tradition of emigration.

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FROM ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1958

Economic Development was the personal initiative of T. K. Whitaker, the secretary of the Department of Finance, as a response to the economic crisis facing Ireland in the 1950s, a crisis that led to a record level of emigration and a loss of morale. His report prompted the Irish government to draw up a program for economic expansion, which set modest targets for economic growth and outlined measures designed to transform the Irish economy from protectionism toward free trade and attracting foreign investment.

SEE ALSO *Economic Development*, 1958; Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; Economies of Ireland, North and South, since 1920

1. . . . It is well to reiterate here that the aim is not to draw up a detailed five or ten-year plan of national development. For a small country so exposed to the perpetual flux of world economic forces there would be little sense in trying to establish a rigid pattern of development. The aim is rather (a) to highlight the main deficiencies and potentialities of the economy and (b) to suggest the principles to be followed to correct the deficiencies and realise the opportunities, indicating a number of specific forms of productive development which appear to offer good long-term prospects. One must be prepared at all times to fluctuations and upsets. A readiness to adapt to changing conditions is a *sine qua non* of material progress. Nevertheless, one may reasonably hope to find some guiding principles which it would be advantageous to follow through thick and thin.

2. While planning in rigid sense is not useful in our circumstances, there can be no doubt about the wisdom of looking ahead and trying to direct national policy along the most productive lines. A year is too restricted a frame of reference for policy decisions. Their effects overflow such arbitrary boundaries. It is, of course, necessary to see parliamentary approval year by year for financial policy as indicated in the annual budget. But this yearly process, if it is to be fully effective in contributing to national development, must be set in a much broader framework. An attempt should be made to secure a more general coordination of financial and economic policy with a view to the maximum progress being made in the years

immediately ahead. Otherwise, unintended but damaging inconsistencies and conflicts can only too easily arise. . . .

4. Apart from its obvious value in making policy more long-term and logical, forward thinking is particularly urgent and necessary for other reasons. It is apparent that we have come to a critical and decisive point in our economic affairs. The policies hitherto followed, though given a fair trial, have not resulted in a viable economy. We have power, transport facilities, public services, houses, hospitals and a general "infrastructure" on a scale which is reasonable by western European standards, yet large-scale emigration and unemployment still persist. The population is falling, the national income rising more slowly than in the rest of Europe. A great and sustained effort to increase production, employment and living standards is necessary to avert economic decadence.

5. The possibility of freer trade in Europe carries disquieting implications for some Irish industries and raises special problems of adaptation and adjustment. It necessitates also a re-appraisal of future industrial and agricultural prospects. It seems clear that, sooner or later, protection will have to go and the challenge of free trade be accepted. There is really no other choice for a country wishing to keep pace materially with the rest of Europe. It would be a policy of despair to accept that our costs of production must permanently be higher than those of other European countries, either in industry or in agriculture. Our level of real incomes depends on our competitive efficiency. If that must be lower than in the rest of Europe we should have to be content with relatively low living standards. With the alternative of emigration available we are unlikely, either as a community or as individuals, to accept such a situation for long unless it is seen as an essential part of a programme of national regeneration. The effect of any policy entailing relatively low living standards here for all time would be to sustain and stimulate the outflow of emigrants and in the end jeopardise our economic independence. Any little benefit obtained in terms of employment in protected non-competitive industries would be outweighed by losses through emigration and general economic impoverishment. If we do not expand production on a competitive basis, we shall fail to provide the basis necessary for the economic independence and material progress of the community. Even a spectacular increase in efficiency and output will still leave us for a long time at a relative disadvantage to Britain and many other countries in respect of real income per head of the population. Indeed, if we are to catch up at all, our annual rate of improvement must exceed theirs.

6. Our economic progress requires that more resources be devoted to productive purposes. But there is as yet no agreement on a systematic programme of development. There is need for urgent determination of the productive purposes to which resources should be applied and of the unproductive, or relatively unproductive, activities which can, with the minimum social disadvantage, be curtailed to set free resources for productive development.

7. It is well to state that by "productive investment" in this study is meant investment yielding an adequate return to the national economy as a whole. Private investment is not normally undertaken unless there appears to be a fair prospect of financial success, that is, of the investment producing commodities saleable at competitive prices. In the case of public investment, the term "productive" cannot be limited to investments yielding an adequate direct return to the exchequer. It extends also to investment which enlarges the national income by creating a flow of goods and services which are saleable without the aid of subsidies; for this will result indirectly in revenue to pay debt charges. Whether the first test is satisfied is easy to establish, but the second is often a matter of doubt. It is clear that, where neither test is satisfied and part, if not all, of the cost of servicing the capital must be met by a levy on the taxpayer, the investment results in a redistribution rather an increase in national income. Progress in the building up of real national income depends on capital and labour being devoted to industrial and agricultural development, particularly for export, rather than to the provision of welfare services for home consumption. In an expanding economy, where real incomes are rising and the demand for goods and services is growing, opportunities for useful and continuing employment will arise automatically and, as has been shown in Germany since the war, a progressive improvement in social amenities will be possible without undue strain on the economy.

8. It should be added that there is no conflict between what are termed "socially desirable" and "economic" objectives. "Socially desirable" objectives will not be permanently realised merely by increasing "social" investment. The erection of houses, schools and hospitals—socially desirable in themselves—will, of course, provide employment but the employment ceases once the period of construction is over and the unemployed man is then left with an amenity which, if he remains unemployed, will contribute but little to his standard of living. Investment which is not productive may provide employment but it does so only for a time and at the cost of weakening the capacity of the economy as a whole to provide lasting and self-

sustaining employment. For these reasons the emphasis must be on productive investment, though not, of course, to the exclusion of all social investment. The permanent increase in employment associated with an expansion of real national output is to be preferred to the purely temporary increase which is all that non-productive investment, entailing a mere redistribution of existing incomes, can bring about.

9. Without positive action by the government, a slowing down in housing and certain other forms of social investment will occur from now on because needs are virtually satisfied over wide areas of the state. This decline in building will cause a reduction in employment. The continuance of large-scale investment in housing or other forms of social building would not, however, be justified merely to create artificial employment opportunities. If the objective of an expanding economy is not to be jeopardised, the right course is to replace social investment by productive investment which will provide self-sustaining and permanent employment. This means that no time can be lost in devising a realistic long-term programme of productive investment.

10. In the context of a programme of economic development extending over five years or longer, it would be easier not only to avoid inconsistencies between individual decisions but also to secure acceptance of decisions which, presented in isolation, might arouse strong opposition. It would be more apparent to all sections of the community that certain adjustments of present policy were necessary and it would be less difficult to have efforts made and sacrifices borne if they were seen to be a necessary contribution to national welfare and were not in danger of being nullified by neglect or extravagance elsewhere.

11. A further reason for careful mapping of future economic policy is that we have no longer the surplus resources with which to meet deficits in external payments. Our wartime accumulation of sterling reserves has been run down. Our postwar dollar borrowings have been spent. But our balance of payments remains unstable. The present state of balance is exceptional—the year 1957 being the first year since 1946 in which a deficit was not recorded—and it is insecure. The equilibrium attained is at a depressed level of domestic economic activity and is due in part to the using up of stocks. A reduction in supplies of cattle, a fall in their export price, and rising money incomes and expenditures, due to wage and salary increases, are only some of the factors capable of disturbing this precarious balance and causing renewed loss of national capital. In fact, the import excess has been tending to increase since August 1957. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that

policy be concentrated henceforth on the development of productive capacity, so as to sustain and strengthen our economic position and external purchasing power. To allow social services or non-productive forms of expenditure priority over productive projects would cause a misdirection of resources and increase the difficulties of development by raising our production costs, artificially stimulating our imports and putting us in deficit again with the rest of the world.

12. There is also a sound *psychological* reason for having an integrated development programme. The absence of such a programme tends to deepen the all-too-prevalent mood of despondency about the country's future. A sense of anxiety is, indeed, justified. But it can too easily degenerate into feelings of frustration and despair. After 35 years of native government people are asking whether we can achieve an acceptable degree of economic progress. The common talk amongst parents in the towns, as in rural Ireland, is of their children having to emigrate as soon as their education is completed in order to be sure of a reasonable livelihood. To the children themselves and to many already in employment the jobs available at home look unattractive by comparison with those obtainable in such variety and so readily elsewhere. All this seems to be setting up a vicious circle—of increasing emigration, resulting in a smaller domestic market depleted of initiative and skill, and a reduced incentive, whether for Irishmen or foreigners, to undertake and organise the productive enterprises which alone can provide increased employment opportunities and higher living standards. There is, therefore, a real need at present to buttress confidence in the country's future and to stimulate the interest and enthusiasm of the young in particular. A general resurgence of will may be helped by setting up targets of national endeavour which appear to be reasonably attainable and mutually consistent. This is an aspect of good leadership. But there is nothing to be gained by setting up fanciful targets. Failure to reach such targets would merely produce disillusionment and renew the mood of national despondency. Realism also demands an awareness that, at present, and for a long time ahead, the material reward for work here may be less than that obtainable elsewhere but that there are many countervailing advantages in living in Ireland. No programme of development can be effective unless it generates increased effort, enterprise and saving on the part of a multitude of individuals. Its eventual success or failure will depend primarily on the individual reactions of the Irish people. If they have not the will to develop, even the best possible programme is useless.

13. A concerted and comprehensive programme aimed at a steady progress in material welfare, even

though supported by the churches and other leaders of opinion, could only be successful if the individual members of the community were realistic and patriotic enough to accept the standard of living produced by their own exertions here, even if it should continue for some time to be lower than the standard available abroad. Otherwise the possibility of economic progress scarcely exists.

14. For all these reasons the importance of the next five to ten years for the economic and political future of Ireland cannot be overstressed. Policies should be re-examined without regard to past views or commitments. It is desirable to remind ourselves that at all times in a nation's history decisions have to be taken; that there is no guarantee when they are taken that they will prove right; and that the greatest fault lies in pursuing a policy after it has proved to be unsuitable or ineffective. What matters above all is to understand the present position and find the best and quickest ways of improving it.

15. This study is intended to help in the preparation of a programme of economic development. Information which may be useful in this connection is assembled for ease of reference. . . . No programme of development can be regarded as realistic which is not founded on a reasonable assessment of the resources likely to be available to finance it. The closer analysis of agriculture, fisheries, industry and tourism is intended to indicate the general lines of development which can most effectively be followed over the next five years or so. . . .

16. It may, perhaps, be said here that problems of economic development are exercising the minds of statesmen, economists, scientists, and administrators all over the world. It is clear that development can be accelerated by government policy but how this can best be done is by no means obvious. It is reasonable to suppose that the solution must vary according to the circumstances of individual countries. Economists have not so far developed any general theory of economic development. . . .

18. . . . A *dynamic* has to be found and released and it is not necessarily increased capital investment, though this may be called for to support a higher rate of development once it is set in motion. It would, indeed, be a mistake to think that a faster rate of increase in output is a matter simply of stepping up the volume of home investment. It is true that there is a close relationship between output per head and the amount of capital per head but there are other conditions of economic progress no less important than increased capitalisation. The first of these is the development of a better appreciation of the dependence of material progress on in-

dividual output. Others are a raising of the general level of education, health and skill, the loosening of restrictive practices, whether of employers or employees, the practical encouragement of initiative and enterprise, the adoption of improved methods, techniques and principles of organisation and management both in agriculture and industry, and a greater readiness to apply scientific advances. Attention to matters such as these may yield even greater increases in production than direct capitalisation in the form of new plant and machinery though this does not, of course, imply that increased capitalisation is not also required. It is essential for sustained and balanced progress that an increase in productive capital should be supported not only by advances in education and technical training but also—though these are not short in Ireland—by the provision of basic utilities and amenities, including power supplies, good housing and transport services. Harmonious development calls also for suitable fiscal and monetary policies designed to increase the supply of savings and the incentive to invest in productive enterprises. As between countries, differences in climate, political institutions, educational and technical facilities, individual attitudes to work, trade union outlook and policy can be as important as differences in natural resources or in the volume of investment in causing divergent rates of development. Economic growth is, in fact, a complex process depending on social, psychological and political as well as economic and technical factors. In Ireland, the trend of population is an important factor inasmuch as dynamism and flexibility are rarely associated with a declining home population, whereas even a stable population would have good prospects of economic advance if its exports were competitive.

19. This study suggests that, given favourable public policies and private dispositions, a dynamic of progress awaits release in agriculture, fisheries, industry and tourism. It is hoped that it will be possible to set this force to work simultaneously in these major branches of the Irish economy. The opportunities of development may not be great enough to give all who are born in Ireland a standard of living they would accept—though there are advantages of living here not to be reckoned in money terms—but such as they are they should be exploited. It is not unreasonable to hope that sufficient advance can be made in the next decade not merely to consolidate our economic independence but to enable us to provide higher material standards for a rising population. . . .

21. In pressing on with this study, despite the claims of ordinary office work, it has been an inspiration to turn to the following words of the Bishop of Clonfert, Most Rev. Dr. Philbin:—

Our version of history has tended to make us think of freedom as an end in itself and of independent government—like marriage in a fairy story—as the solution of all ills. Freedom is useful in proportion to the use we make of it. We seem to have relaxed our patriotic energies just at the time when there was most need to mobilise them. Although our enterprise in purely spiritual fields has never been greater, we have shown little initiative or organisational ability in agriculture and industry and commerce. There is here the widest and most varied field for the play of the vital force that our religion contains.

This study is a contribution, in the spirit advocated by the Bishop of Clonfert, towards the working out of the national good in the economic sphere. It is hoped that, supplemented by productive ideas from other sources, it will help to dispel despondency about the country's future. We can afford our present standard living, which is so much higher than most of the inhabitants of this world enjoy. Possibilities of improvement are there, if we wish to realise them. It would be well to shut the door on the past and to move forward, energetically, intelligently and with the will to succeed, but without expecting miracles of progress in a short time.

Department of Finance, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, November 1958, pp. 1, 2-6, 7-8, 9.



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SPEECH TO MINISTERS OF THE
GOVERNMENTS OF THE MEMBER
STATES OF THE EUROPEAN
ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

18 January 1962

Seán Lemass

The decision to apply for membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) was an important step in Ireland's transition from isolation to closer involvement in international economic and political organizations. When French president Charles de Gaulle vetoed Britain's application for membership in January 1963, Ireland's application effectively lapsed and was not renewed until the late 1960s. Ireland eventually became a member of the EEC on 1 January 1973. Ireland was the first country to join the EEC that was not a member of NATO.

SEE ALSO Agriculture: After World War I; Economic Relations between Independent Ireland and Britain; European Union; Lemass, Seán; Neutrality; Overseas Investment; Politics: Independent Ireland since 1922

Mr. Chairman:

1. I would like, at the outset, on behalf of the government of Ireland, to thank you for your kindness in arranging this meeting. We appreciate very much the opportunity you have thus provided for an exchange of views on Ireland's application for membership of the European Economic Community with the representatives of the governments of the member states. I hope that what I shall say will be of help to you in considering our application. I am also pleased that the commission is represented at this meeting.

2. Ireland belongs to Europe by history, tradition and sentiment no less than by geography. Our destiny is bound up with that of Europe and our outlook and our way of life have for fifteen centuries been moulded by the Christian ideals and the intellectual and cultural values on which European civilisation rests. Our people have always tended to look to Europe for inspiration, guidance and encouragement.

3. It is thus natural that we in Ireland should regard with keen and sympathetic interest every genuine effort to bring the peoples of Europe closer together, so as to strengthen the foundations of our common civilisation.

We were happy at the development in the years following the last war of a strong movement towards closer European union; and we have participated actively from the outset in the two organisations established to promote cooperation between European states, the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation and the Council of Europe. While Ireland did not accede to the North Atlantic Treaty, we have always agreed with the general aim of that Treaty. The fact that we did not accede to it was due to special circumstances and does not qualify in any way our acceptance of the ideal of European unity and of the conception, embodied in the Treaty of Rome and the Bonn Declaration of 18 July last, of the duties, obligations and responsibilities which European unity would impose.

4. The Treaty of Rome, as an expression of the ideal of European unity, brought into being a more closely integrated organisation than either the Council of Europe or the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation. Political considerations, we know, played a considerable part in the motivation and the successful outcome of the negotiations for the Treaty and the aims of the European Economic Community go much beyond purely economic matters. The contracting parties in the preamble to the Treaty affirmed their determination to lay the foundations of an ever closer union between European peoples and their resolve to strengthen, by combining their resources, the safeguards of peace and freedom. Their call to other peoples of Europe to join in their effort was addressed to those "who share their ideal." In the Bonn Declaration, they reaffirmed their resolve to develop their political cooperation with a view to the union of their peoples and set in motion procedures designed to give statutory form to this union.

5. It was in full awareness of these facts and, in particular, of the importance attached by the member states to political objectives, that my government, in the letter of 31 July 1961, applying for admission to the Community under Article 237 of the Treaty, declared that we share the ideals which inspired the parties to the Treaty and accept the aims of the Community as set out therein, as well as the action proposed to achieve those aims.

6. I desire to emphasise that the political aims of the Community are aims to which the Irish government and people are ready to subscribe and in the realisation of which they wish to play an active part. As I have already said, the Irish nation has always had a strong sense of belonging to Europe. We are also very conscious of the great advantages which can accrue to all the countries concerned and to world peace from a strong and united Europe. These considerations were an important factor in the decision taken by my govern-

ment in July. That decision was discussed at the time in our national parliament and, I am happy to say, met with almost unanimous approval. But long before the formal decision was taken the European Economic Community and our position in relation to it were matters of wide public interest and debate. I can, therefore, say that our application not only represents a deliberate decision on the part of the government but also corresponds to the sentiments of our people generally.

7. My government are in full agreement with the purposes of the Community as defined in Article 2 and will most readily work with the member states in the accomplishment of these purposes by the methods prescribed in Article 3. We also agree that the achievement of the tasks entrusted to the Community be assured by the institutions set up under Article 4.

8. As regards the economic aspects of membership of the Community, I propose to deal first with agriculture, which has a particularly important place in our economy. It generates about one-quarter of the national income, employs over one-third of the gainfully-occupied population, and is responsible, directly or indirectly, for three-quarters of our exports. With the development of industry these proportions will decline, but for Ireland agriculture will always be of major importance. We are, naturally, anxious that, through membership of the European Economic Community, Ireland should be able to look forward to a balanced development of agriculture and industry.

9. We have studied with interest and attention the agricultural provisions of the Treaty of Rome and the proposals of the commission for a common agricultural policy. We agree with the aims and principles set out in the Treaty and are in sympathy with the basic features of the commission's proposals. We note that the common agricultural policy is intended, when fully implemented, to provide rational and orderly conditions of trading in a unified market, so that efficient farmers in member countries would have equal marketing opportunities under a uniform price structure. The sociological concepts which underlie the agricultural policy of the Community, and in particular the emphasis placed on the maintenance of viable family farms, also appeal to us as our rural society is based on the family farm and on ownership of the land by the occupier. The governments of the member states may, therefore, be assured that we would play a constructive and cooperative part in the evolution and implementation of the Community's agricultural policy.

10. We do not, of course, assert that we have no agricultural problems. While the average size of agricultural holding in Ireland is somewhat higher than in most continental countries and there is relatively little

fragmentation of holdings, there are, as in other countries, variations in soil fertility and site of holding in different regions. In some districts where structural reorganisation has been in progress for many years it may be desirable to accelerate this activity and widen its scope in accordance with the commission's proposals. Our horticultural industry is of rather recent growth and may not find it easy to adapt itself rapidly to common market conditions. It is not our intention, however, to seek any arrangements in relation to such matters which would be inconsistent with the common agricultural policy.

11. Our principal concern in the agricultural sphere relates to the manner in which British agricultural and food import policy will be harmonised with that of the Community. As you know, a high proportion of our agricultural exports goes to the United Kingdom, and we have long-standing trade agreements which reflect our economic relations with that country. We realise that, when a common agricultural policy is in full operation in an enlarged Community including—as we hope it will—the United Kingdom and Ireland, our economic arrangements with the United Kingdom would become merged in a greater whole, but we expect that in the normal course of things the United Kingdom market will continue to provide an outlet for a considerable proportion of our agricultural exports. The nature of the arrangements which have yet to be settled in relation to the agricultural and food import policy of the United Kingdom in the context of her membership of the common market will be of vital concern to us.

12. We also export agricultural and fishery products to the present members of the European Economic Community, and in some cases this trade is the subject of bilateral agreements between Ireland and member states. We note that Article 45 of the Rome Treaty envisages the conclusion of long-term agreements or contracts between exporting and importing countries as a means of expanding trade during the transitional period, but that such arrangements must be concluded during the first stage. We recognise, however, that in general, bilateral policies are not consonant with the basic ideas and aims of the Rome Treaty. It is not, therefore, our intention, if we are admitted to the Community, to seek to extend or add to existing bilateral agreements with the other members, since we assume that the development of agricultural trade within the Community will proceed henceforth on a multilateral basis as envisaged in the Treaty of Rome and in the proposals of the commission. Should it be decided, however, in relation to the admission of any other country to membership of the Community that bilateral agricultural agreements between members should be allowed as a transi-

tional measure, then we would, of course, assume that such arrangements would be open to Ireland as well.

13. This concludes what I have to say on the subject of agriculture. In this important if difficult field, as in all others, we look forward to active and constructive collaboration with the other members in their efforts to overcome the problems arising in putting into effect a common agricultural policy in accordance with the objectives of the Treaty.

14. Turning now to the position of Irish industry, I shall begin with a few general remarks. For historical reasons, the industrial development of Ireland was retarded until well on in the present century. To hasten progress in industrialisation under our own governments it was necessary to rely on a policy of protection. Industrial capacity, though it has been steadily increasing, still makes a smaller contribution to national output and employs a smaller proportion of the working population than in the Community generally. In recent years special efforts have been made to achieve a higher degree of economic activity and better balance in the economy as between industry and agriculture. A Programme for Economic Expansion initiated in 1958, the objectives of which are entirely consistent with those of the Community, has had encouraging results. The volume increase in gross national product, which averaged only 1 percent per annum in the preceding decade, amounted to 4.5 percent in 1959, 5 percent in 1960 and not less than 5 percent, it is estimated, in 1961. The greater part of this expansion is attributable to the industrial sector. For manufacturing industry rates of growth of 6 percent and 7 percent were achieved in 1959 and 1960, respectively, and the estimate for 1961 is almost 9 percent, a rate of expansion amongst the highest in Western Europe. The economic growth of recent years has been achieved in conditions of equilibrium in Ireland's international payments.

15. These results confirm not only the considerable scope for economic development in Ireland but the capacity of Irish initiative and effort, augmented by Western European enterprise, to exploit the existing potentialities. We have an economic and social infrastructure capable of supporting a much greater degree of industrial development. We also enjoy conditions of political and social stability conducive to maintenance of the higher rate of economic growth achieved in recent years. There is, therefore, good ground for the belief that a total increase in production of 50 percent by 1970 is within the capacity of the Irish economy; in other words, that Ireland can reach the collective target recently set by the members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

16. The lower income per head than in highly industrialised countries, the smallness of the home market, and the hitherto downward trend in population made it all the more necessary to achieve export outlets as a condition of the continued growth of industry and of the economy generally. Government policy has been directed towards helping exporters over their initial difficulties. Domestic exports of industrial raw materials and manufactured goods have risen from £25 million in 1958 to almost £50 million in 1961. This I believe, demonstrates the growing competitive capacity of Irish industry.

17. It is, however, important that the industries thus already advancing, despite various handicaps, be enabled to consolidate their position and that those not yet fully competitive be helped to make the changes necessary to ensure progress in an increasingly competitive environment. The Irish government intend to promote energetically the adaptation of Irish industry to common market conditions. A comprehensive series of industrial surveys has been initiated to analyse the situation of particular industries and devise positive measures of adjustment and adaptation. Furthermore, the review now proceeding of our Programme for Economic Expansion will take account of the obligations which Ireland will have to assume as a member of the Community and will ensure that in the new conditions progress towards the objectives of the programme will be maintained.

18. External trade, particularly trade with Western Europe, is of great importance to Ireland's economy. Exports represent almost one-quarter of gross national product, while imports exceed one-third. In relation to gross national product, Ireland's external trade is the second highest in Europe. Four-fifths of our exports go to, and almost two-thirds of our imports come from, the United Kingdom and the present member states of the Community. As far as industrial exports are concerned, we have enjoyed for many years in the British market conditions of free entry similar to those which the Rome Treaty will have established between the member states when the common market is finally in being. These advantages we shall henceforth be sharing progressively with many continental countries. We are, therefore, disposed to look to continental Europe for new scope and opportunity for the expansion of industrial exports. As yet, our export trade in industrial products to the Continent is small. Indeed, there is at present a significant lack of balance in our general trade relations with the Community; we import from the existing members over three times as much as we export to them.

19. Having thus described the general position of the Irish economy and the present state of Ireland's industrial development, I now propose to give some general indications of our capacity to accept the obligations of the Treaty in the industrial field.

20. Approximately two-thirds of our imports from the Community enter Ireland free of any protective duty or quantitative restriction. As a general rule, we impose no duties or import restrictions on industrial raw materials or on capital goods such as plant and machinery. In respect of fiscal duties, we anticipate that we shall be able to match the reductions already made by the member states and to keep pace with them in the future. It is intended to replace industrial quantitative restrictions, as soon as possible, by tariffs of no greater, and probably less, restrictive effect. In respect of protective tariffs, the Irish government would hope that the member states would find it possible to agree to an appropriate general rhythm of tariff reductions to operate from the date of Ireland's accession to the end of the transitional period. It is only reasonable, however, to envisage that, despite their own best endeavours and state aids, some basically sound industries might find it too difficult to comply fully with this rhythm. The Irish government would hope that a solution could be found for cases of this kind either under Article 226 of the Treaty or under the provisions of a protocol dealing generally with the subject of tariff reductions. . . .

29. . . . As a country small in extent, population and production, Ireland would not represent, in terms of statistics, any considerable addition to the Community. We do feel, however, that we have a contribution to make to the accomplishment of the Community's design for a new European society. . . .

National Archives of Ireland, Government Information Services, GIS 1/216.



ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

28 April 1967

Terence O'Neill

This article by Northern Ireland prime minister Terence O'Neill was addressed to a British audience and can be read as an attempt to gain British support for his policies. By 1967, O'Neill was coming under attack from nationalists, who were dissatisfied with the slow pace of change,

whereas an increasing number of unionists were becoming uneasy about O'Neill's overtures to Dublin and to the nationalist community in Northern Ireland.

SEE ALSO Irish Republican Army (IRA); Lemass, Seán; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Northern Ireland: Policy of the Dublin Government from 1922 to 1969; O'Neill, Terence; Politics: Nationalist Politics in Northern Ireland; Ulster Unionist Party in Office

It is a truism that Northern Ireland has long had a divided community. The reasons for this division are rooted in the long sequence of historical events connecting the destinies of Ireland and Great Britain. However those events may be interpreted, they do demonstrate with absolute clarity the fact that Irish problems are deep-seated and not amenable to facile external solutions, however well intentioned. When, by an irony of history, the one area of Ireland which had consistently resisted home rule was the only part left to operate a home rule parliament, it was unfortunate but perhaps inevitable that opinion polarized on a religious basis. This polarisation tended to push both sides into extreme attitudes.

The majority, loyal by tradition and sentiment to its British heritage, regarded the minority as a disloyal "Trojan Horse" in its midst, intent only upon subverting the constitution and merging Ulster in an independent All-Ireland Republic. The minority, seeing in the new government merely a perpetuation of the historic Protestant ascendancy, withdrew into attitudes ranging from detachment to outright hostility. Northern Ireland simply cannot be understood unless it is appreciated that regularly over the years actual physical violence has been used as a political weapon: that as recently as 1956–62 a campaign of IRA terrorism caused six deaths, thirty-four injuries and over £1 million worth of damage to property: and that for much of the period of the state's existence a substantial minority of its people have failed clearly to dissociate themselves from such activities.

At this point the reader may well comment that all too often in any discussion of Irish affairs one becomes lost in a lengthy historical preamble, long before reaching the present day. That is not my intention. I mention this background merely to put current events in their proper setting and perspective.

What was the position when I took office in 1963? The largest opposition party attending the Northern Ireland House of Commons, the Nationalist Party, had declined the role to which its numbers clearly entitled it,

leaving a four-man Northern Ireland Labour Party to discharge the role of official opposition. Throughout society the hostility and suspicion of more than three decades still persisted very widely, although beginning to break down in more educated circles. This divide within society was paralleled by another in external politics, because not since partition had a prime minister of Northern Ireland met his opposite number in Dublin.

It was clearly time for a change, and the whole basis of my political effort of the last four years—with the help and support of my colleagues in the government—has been to demonstrate that the historic divisions cannot be allowed forever to stand in the way of that community spirit without which we will never realize our full economic or social potential.

That is why I regretted so much in *The Times'* article, to cite one example, the reference to Lord Craigavon's remark about "a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people." This had some relevance in its historic setting of the troubled twenties, but it is no more representative of the present spirit of Ulster Unionist politics than the declarations of Stanley Baldwin are of conservatism in the sixties. What are the facts? By inviting the prime minister of the Irish Republic, Mr. Seán Lemass, to Stormont I ended an absurd mini cold war and made possible a whole series of useful exchanges between ministers on both sides of the border. This did not mean any weakening whatever of Ulster's determination to remain within the United Kingdom, but it was intended on my part to create a more friendly and relaxed spirit both between the two countries, and within our own community. In our domestic policies over these recent years, we have consistently tried to emphasize those aims to which all our people can make a contribution, and from which no one will be excluded. I defy anyone to detect in our last election manifesto, or in any of the speeches in which my colleagues and I sought a further mandate, even a suggestion of a sectarian approach.

Little by little one had the impression that old barriers were in fact breaking down. Sensitive observers were able to detect a new and heartening aggiornamento in our affairs. Why, then, has the current critical attitude gained momentum? Unfortunately 1966 was not an easy year for us in Northern Ireland. There were widespread celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Dublin Easter Rising, undoubtedly encouraged and exploited by people of extreme Republican views who would see in any permanent easing of inter-community relations a real threat to their ultimate aims. These celebrations in Belfast and elsewhere in their turn produced a backlash from the most extreme elements of ultra-Protestant opinion which had to be met by extremely

firm action on the part of the government of Northern Ireland.

These events made many people realize that harmony in a previously divided community cannot be achieved overnight, but demands a long and patient process of social and political education. *The Times* news team commented on Monday, as though I had said something rather whimsical, that I had told them that "Reform takes a long time." Perhaps this illustrates the difference between the idealism of the journalist, who can propound his theories and leave for pastures new, and the realism of the politician, who has to cope with problems on the spot.

There are two points which must be made. First, that although reform does indeed take a long time—and is in fact a process which is never at an end in any community—no one should assume that reforms in Northern Ireland are not in progress. As an example, university representation and plural voting in elections to the Northern Ireland parliament are being abolished, and we will be setting up a permanent impartial boundary commission to keep electoral boundaries under review. Ulster members at Westminster have, of course, all along been returned for constituencies fixed by the UK boundary commission and on a franchise identical with that in Great Britain. Again, a most exhaustive re-examination of the functions, areas and financing of local government is now under way, and this is likely to lead to far-reaching reforms in that area.

The second point to make is that many of the criticisms now being directed at us are demonstrably ill-founded. We have been accused, for instance, of "discrimination" in the siting of Ulster's new city and second university; yet in both these instances we were guided by the most objective expert advice—in the one case Sir Robert Matthew, and in the other a committee chaired by Sir John Lockwood, neither of whom had any connection with Northern Ireland or was influenced in any way by the Northern Ireland government.

Of course there are still some unhealthy tensions in Northern Ireland affairs, although comments equating the lot of the Ulster Catholic with that of American Negro are absurd hyperbole. But there really is no acceptable or truly democratic alternative to letting us find the solution for our own problems. Stormont is, after all, a democratically elected parliament, and no solution which is imposed upon the majority of the population could fail to provoke greater evils than it would solve.

I would like to conclude by quoting some words I used at Easter last year, when, at a time of considerable strain, I spoke to a joint conference of Protestants and Roman Catholics. I said:

It is easy to be impatient with the pace of change in 1966, but it is no answer to return to the mentality of 1926. We may not have achieved perfection in our affairs, but in the words of the song we are “forty years on,” and have built up material and other assets which this generation must not squander. If we cannot be united in all things, let us at least be united in working—in a Christian spirit—to create better opportunities for our children, whether they come from the Falls Road or from Finaghy [a Roman Catholic and a Protestant area, respectively]. In the enlightenment of education, in the dignity of work, in the security of home and family there are ends which all of us can pursue. As we advance to meet the promise of the future, let us shed the burden of traditional grievances and ancient resentments. There is much we can do together. It must and—God willing—it will be done.

It is my hope that, in spite of the current clamour, my colleagues and I may be allowed to pursue the course inherent in these words. Certainly this is not the moment for an ill-judged intervention in our affairs. As I said at the beginning, the long history of Anglo-Irish relationships warns that such an intervention may produce effects which no one can foresee. What we want to do is not become involved in a profitless exchange of charge and counter-charge but to emphasize more and more those things which unite Protestant and Catholic in our community. For, in the last resort, a truly happy and stable society must depend not upon legislation by Stormont or by Westminster but upon mutual trust.

THE TIMES, 28 April 1967. Reprinted in Terence O’Neill, *ULSTER AT THE CROSSROADS* (1969), pp. 123–128. Reproduced by permission of Faber & Faber Ltd.



“ULSTER AT THE CROSSROADS”

9 December 1968

Terence O’Neill

Following an escalation of the civil-rights campaign in the autumn of 1968, the British government put pressure on the Northern Ireland government to introduce reforms in local government in Derry and the allocation of public housing. These concessions failed to halt the civil-rights marches, and a growing number of Ulster unionists were expressing

opposition to British intervention in Northern Ireland affairs. O’Neill’s speech was aimed at the silent majority and the Unionist Party. Although the televised speech attracted 125,000 letters of support, in May 1969 he resigned as prime minister, having failed to reconcile demands for further concessions from the civil-rights movement and the growing intransigence among Ulster unionists.

SEE ALSO Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; O’Neill, Terence; Ulster Unionist Party in Office

Ulster stands at the crossroads. I believe you know me well enough by now to appreciate that I am not a man given to extravagant language. But I must say to you this evening that our conduct over the coming days and weeks will decide our future. And as we face this situation, I would be failing in my duty to you as your prime minister if I did not put the issues, calmly and clearly, before you all. These issues are far too serious to be determined behind closed doors, or left to noisy minorities. The time has come for the people as a whole to speak in a clear voice.

For more than five years now I have tried to heal some of the deep divisions in our community. I did so because I could not see how an Ulster divided against itself could hope to stand. I made it clear that a Northern Ireland based upon the interests of any one section rather than upon the interests of all could have no long-term future.

Throughout the community many people have responded warmly to my words. But if Ulster is to become the happy and united place it could be there must be the will throughout our province and particularly in parliament to translate these words into deeds.

In Londonderry and other places recently, a minority of agitators determined to subvert lawful authority played a part in setting light to highly inflammable material. But the tinder for that fire, in the form of grievances real or imaginary, had been piling up for years.

And so I saw it as our duty to do two things. First, to be firm in the maintenance of law and order, and in resisting those elements which seek to profit from any disturbances. Secondly, to ally firmness with fairness, and to look at any underlying causes of dissension which were troubling decent and moderate people. As I saw it, if we were not prepared to face up to our problems, we would have to meet mounting pressure both *internally*, from those who were seeking change, and *externally* from British public and parliamentary opinion,

which had been deeply disturbed by the events in Londonderry.

That is why it has been my view from the beginning that we should decide—of our own free will and as a responsible government in command of events—to press on with a continuing programme of change to secure a united and harmonious community. This, indeed, has been my aim for over five years.

Moreover, I knew full well that Britain’s financial and other support for Ulster, so laboriously built up, could no longer be guaranteed if we failed to press on with such a programme.

I am aware, of course, that some foolish people have been saying: “Why should we bow the knee to a Labour prime minister? Let’s hold out until a conservative government returns to power, and then we need do nothing.” My friends, that is a delusion. This letter is from Mr. Edward Heath, and it tells me—with the full authority of the Shadow Cabinet and the expressed support of my old friend Sir Alec Douglas-Home—that a reversal of the policies which I have tried to pursue would be every bit as unacceptable to the Conservative Party. If we adopt an attitude of stubborn defiance we will not have a friend left at Westminster.

I make no apology for the financial and economic support we have received from Britain. As a part of the United Kingdom, we have always considered this to be our right. But we cannot be a part of the United Kingdom merely when it suits us. And those who talk so glibly about acts of impoverished defiance do not know or care what is at stake. Your job, if you are a worker at Short’s or Harland & Wolff; your subsidies if you are a farmer; your pension, if you are retired—all these aspects of our life, and many others, depend on support from Britain. Is a freedom to pursue the un-Christian path of communal strife and sectarian bitterness really more important to you than all the benefits of the British welfare state?

But this is not all. Let me read to you some words from the Government of Ireland Act, 1920—the Act of the British parliament on which Ulster’s constitution is founded.

Notwithstanding the establishment of the Parliament of Northern Ireland . . . the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things in [Northern] Ireland and every part thereof.

Because Westminster has trusted us over the years to use the powers of Stormont for the good of all people of Ulster, a sound custom has grown up that Westmin-

ster does not use its supreme authority in fields where we are normally responsible. But Mr. Wilson made it absolutely clear to us that if we did not face up to our problems the Westminster parliament might well decide to act over our heads. Where would our constitution be then? What shred of self-respect would be left to us? If we allowed others to solve our problems because we had not the guts—let me use a plain word—the guts to face up to them, we would be utterly shamed.

There are, I know, today some so-called loyalists who talk of independence from Britain—who seem to want a kind of Protestant Sinn Féin. These people will not listen when they are told that Ulster’s income is £200 million a year but that we can spend £300 million—only because Britain pays the balance.

Rhodesia, in defying Britain from thousands of miles away, at least has an Air Force and an Army of her own. Where are the Ulster armoured divisions or the Ulster jet planes? They do not exist and we could not afford to buy them. These people are not merely extremists. They are lunatics who would set a course along a road which could only lead at the end into an all-Ireland Republic. They are not loyalists but *disloyalists*: disloyal to Britain, disloyal to the constitution, disloyal to the Crown, disloyal—if they are in public life—to the solemn oaths they have sworn to her majesty the queen.

But these considerations, important though they are, not my main concern. What I seek—and I ask for the help and understanding of you all—is a swift end to the growing civil disorder throughout Ulster. For as matters stand today, we are on the brink of chaos, where neighbour could be set against neighbour. It is simple-minded to imagine that problems such as these can be solved by repression. I for one am not willing to expose our police force to indefinite insult and injury. Nor am I prepared to see the shopkeepers and traders of Ulster wrecked and looted for the benefit of the rabble. We must tackle root causes if this agitation is to be contained. We must be able to say to the moderate on both sides: come with us into a new era of co-operation, and leave the extremists to the law. But this I also say to all, Protestant or Roman Catholic, Unionist or Nationalist: disorder must now cease. We are taking the necessary measures to strengthen our police forces. Determined as we are to act with absolute fairness, we will also be resolute in restoring respect for the laws of the land.

Some people have suggested that I should call a general election. It would, in my view, be utterly reprehensible to hold an election against a background of bitterness and strife. I have spoke to you in the past about the groundswell of moderate opinion. Its presence was seen three years ago when we fought an election on a

manifesto which would stand inspection in any Western democracy and we swept the country on a non-sectarian platform. Those who would sow the wind by having a bitter election now would surely reap the whirlwind.

And now I want to say a word directly to those who have been demonstrating for civil rights. The changes which we have announced are genuine and far-reaching changes and the government as a whole is totally committed to them. I would not continue to preside over an administration which would water them down or make them meaningless. You will see when the members of the Londonderry commission are appointed that we intend to live up to our words that this will be a body to command confidence and respect. You will see that in housing allocations we mean business. You will see that legislation to appoint an Ombudsman will be swiftly introduced. Perhaps you are not entirely satisfied; but this is a democracy, and I ask you now with all sincerity to call your people off the streets and allow an atmosphere favourable to change develop. You are Ulstermen yourselves. You know we are all of us stubborn people, who will not be pushed too far. I believe that most of you want change, not revolution. Your voice has been heard, and clearly heard. Your duty now is to play your part in taking the heat out of the situation before blood is shed.

But I have a word too for all those others who see in change a threat to our position in the United Kingdom. I say to them, Unionism armed with justice will be a stronger cause than Unionism armed merely with strength. The bully-boy tactics we saw in Armagh are no answer to these grave problems: but they incur for us the contempt of Britain and the world, and such contempt is the greatest threat to Ulster. Let the government govern and the police take care of law and order.

What in any case are these changes which we have decided must come? They all amount to this: that in every aspect of our life, justice must not only be done but be *seen* to be done to all sections of the community. There must be evident fairness as between one man and another.

The adoption of such reforms will not, I believe, lose a single seat at Stormont for those who support the Unionist cause and indeed some may be gained. And remember that it is with Stormont that the power of decision rests for maintaining our constitution.

And now a further word to you all. What kind of Ulster do you want? A happy and respected Province, in good standing with the rest of the United Kingdom? Or a place continually torn apart by riots and demonstrations, and regarded by the rest of Britain as a politi-

cal outcast? As always in a democracy, the choice is yours. I will accept whatever your verdict may be. If it is your decision that we should live up to the words "Ulster is British" which is part of our creed, then my services will be at your disposal to do what I can. But if you should want a separate, inward-looking, selfish and divided Ulster then you must seek for others to lead you along that road, for I cannot and will not do it. Please weigh well all that is at stake, and make your voice heard in whatever way you think best, so that we may know the views *not* of the few *but* of the many. For this is truly a time of decision, and in your silence *all* that we have built up could be lost. I pray that you will reflect carefully and decide wisely. And I ask all our Christian people, whatever their denomination, to attend their places of worship on Sunday next to pray for the peace and harmony of our country.

Television broadcast on BBC and ITA networks, 9 December 1968. Reprinted in Terence O'Neill, ULSTER AT THE CROSSROADS (1969), pp. 140-146. Reproduced by permission of Faber & Faber Ltd.



STATEMENT BY THE TAOISEACH

13 August 1969

Jack Lynch

The 12th and 13th of August 1969 are generally accepted as the beginning of the Northern Ireland "Troubles." On 12 August the annual Apprentice Boys' march in Derry resulted in violence, which spread to Belfast. At least seven people were killed and many others wounded, houses were set on fire, and many Catholic families were driven from their homes. Emotions were running high in Northern Ireland and the Republic. This speech on Irish television by the Irish prime minister Jack Lynch was a response to demands for the Irish government or the Irish army to intervene to protect Northern Catholics. Lynch's statement that "the Irish government can no longer stand by," often misreported as "can no longer stand idly by," was interpreted by many people in Northern Ireland and the Republic as a commitment to intervene; in reality it was designed to mask the impotence of the Irish government.

SEE ALSO Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Northern Ireland: Policy of the Dublin Government from 1922 to 1969; Politics: Impact of the Northern Ireland Crisis on Southern Politics

It is with deep sadness that you, Irishmen and women of goodwill and I have learned of the tragic events which have been taking place in Derry and elsewhere in the North in recent days. Irishmen in every part of this island have made known their concern at these events. This concern is heightened by the realisation that the spirit of reform and intercommunal co-operation has given way to the forces of sectarianism and prejudice. All people of goodwill must feel saddened and disappointed at this backward turn in events and must be apprehensive for the future.

The government fully share these feelings and I wish to repeat that we deplore sectarianism and intolerance in all their forms wherever they occur. The government have been very patient and have acted with great restraint over several months past. While we made our views known to the British government on a number of occasions both by direct contact and through our diplomatic representatives in London, we were careful to do nothing that would exacerbate the situation. But it is clear now that the present situation cannot be allowed to continue.

It is evident, also, that the Stormont government is no longer in control of the situation. Indeed the present situation is the inevitable outcome of the policies pursued for decades by successive Stormont governments. It is clear, also, that the Irish government can no longer stand by and see innocent people injured and perhaps worse.

It is obvious that the R.U.C. is no longer accepted as an impartial police force. Neither would the employment of British troops be acceptable nor would they be likely to restore peaceful conditions—certainly not in the long term. The Irish government have, therefore, requested the British government to apply immediately to the United Nations for the urgent despatch of a peace-keeping force to the 6 counties of Northern Ireland and have instructed the Irish permanent representative to the United Nations to inform the secretary-general of this request. We have also asked the British government to see to it that police attacks on the people of Derry should cease immediately.

Very many people have been injured and some of them seriously. We know that many of these do not wish to be treated in 6 county hospitals. We have, therefore, directed the Irish army authorities to have field hospitals established in County Donegal adjacent to Derry and at other points along the border where they may be necessary.

Recognising, however, that the re-unification of the national territory can provide the only permanent solution for the problem, it is our intention to request the

British government to enter into early negotiations with the Irish government to review the present constitutional position of the 6 counties of Northern Ireland.

These measures which I have outlined to you seem to the government to be those most immediately and urgently necessary.

All men and women of goodwill will hope and pray that the present deplorable and distressing situation will not further deteriorate but that it will soon be ended firstly by the granting of full equality of citizenship to every man and woman in the 6-county area regardless of class, creed or political persuasion and, eventually, by the restoration of the historic unity of our country.



FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

1972

The Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1970 by the Irish government in response to a directive issued by the United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women, with a mandate to "examine and report on the status of women in Irish society and to make recommendations on the steps necessary to ensure the participation of women on equal terms and conditions with men in the political, social, cultural, and economic life of the country." An interim report (1971) recommended the implementation of equal pay and the removal of the prohibition on married women in public-service employment; the final report appeared in 1972. The commission reinvigorated the Irish women's movement, and its recommendations provided a focus for later campaigns.

SEE ALSO Education: Women's Education; Equal Economic Rights for Women in Independent Ireland; Women in Irish Society since 1800; Women's Parliamentary Representation since 1922

In general . . . the picture presented of women's involvement in politics is one of relatively small participation at local level, with a progressive decline of involvement at the higher levels. This, of course, is true of women's participation in many other areas where the promotion of women comes up against serious obstacles and traditional attitudes. It is true also of practically all countries abroad. . . . There is a strong indication that women are

themselves in a certain measure to blame for this situation by displaying a considerable degree of apathy. It has also been suggested that women's educational background is at fault and that even with equality of access to education the present large degree of segregated education operates to preserve a traditional division of interests between the sexes. In politics, this manifests itself in the orientation of women to believe that political power and activity is primarily for men. There is clearly a great need for really impressing on girls that they have a part to play in political life and that the general failure of women to participate more fully in political activity can only operate to their disadvantage. The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women has drawn attention to the part that education must play in this matter and has referred to the necessity for an intensive programme of civic and political training to ensure that women realise the full extent of their rights, obligations and abilities, that young people be encouraged to participate in political activity and that civic education be available at all educational levels, including adult educational institutes. . . .

In addition, the political parties themselves should make greater efforts to attract women members and to let it be seen that they welcome them. Once they become members, they should be treated equally with men and should be given posts of responsibility in the organisation on merit. Progress of women within the parties will be clearly related to their willingness to work hard and to perform uncongenial tasks where necessary. The women's organisations, also, have a part to play in providing training in public speaking and civics and encouraging a greater political and social awareness among their members even if the organisations themselves are non party-political.

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"TOWARDS CHANGES IN THE REPUBLIC"

1973

Garret FitzGerald

This document illustrates the views of one thoughtful moderate nationalist on Northern Ireland and reunification in 1972, a time when the constitutional future of Northern Ireland was uncertain following the suspension of the Northern Ireland parliament and the introduction of direct

rule from London. Garret FitzGerald was very conscious of the need for legislative change in the Republic of Ireland in order to accommodate the views of Ulster Protestants. In March 1973 FitzGerald became minister for external affairs, a portfolio that included Northern Ireland.

SEE ALSO Northern Ireland: Policy of the Dublin Government from 1922 to 1969; Politics: Impact of the Northern Ireland Crisis on Southern Politics

Throughout most of the past half-century the issue of Irish reunification was debated in somewhat simplistic terms. Because to both sides it appeared at first a temporary arrangement (although of course this was not publicly admitted by leaders of the majority in the North), relatively little thought was given to how it could be brought to an end, or even as to how the divergence between the two parts of Ireland could be prevented from widening. Northern Unionists were content with a "no surrender" attitude, which some of them in their hearts did not take too seriously, and the Northern minority and the bulk of the people in the rest of the country were equally content to assert a claim to unity without pursuing very far the question of how this ambition might be realised. As the years passed the attitude of many supporters of Irish reunification imperceptibly and unconsciously changed from a presumption that partition was temporary and would be brought to an early end, to an equally unconscious acceptance of it as an indefinitely continuing feature on the Irish landscape, but this underlying change of private attitudes brought no change in public policies. From time to time politicians in the Republic were moved to public statements of abhorrence of the political division of the island and at certain periods this sporadic competition in oratory developed into a campaign against partition; most notably, perhaps, in the period 1948–1949, when Mr. de Valera took advantage of a spell in opposition after sixteen years of government to launch a worldwide campaign on the subject. This campaign continued into the early 1950s, aided by a fund collected, rather tactlessly from the point of view of Northern Unionist sentiment, at the gates of Catholic churches, and punctuated by the declaration of the Republic in 1949, and by the British guarantee in the consequential Ireland Act, 1949, of the Northern Ireland parliament's right to decide the reunification issue.

The IRA border raid campaign of the years from 1956 onwards introduced a new element into the controversy, which, however, had no lasting effects, except on Northern Unionist attitudes. By the early 1960s the whole question seemed to be back where it had started,

except that opinion had become accustomed to the fact of partition, and pessimistic about prospects for its disappearance in the foreseeable future.

Within Northern Ireland these decades saw many fluctuations in the attitude of the minority, ranging from abstentionism to limited participation in the governmental system, and even, at certain periods, an abdication by the constitutional Nationalist Party of its role in the face of Republican determination to contest seats at elections. (Fearing that to put forward candidates as it had done for decades previously would “split the vote” and let the seats concerned go to the Unionists, the Nationalists temporarily ceded the ground to abstentionist Republicans, possibly believing that this threat to their political control of the minority would go away if left to blow itself out, as in fact eventually happened.)

The 1960s saw the emergence of a new attitude amongst the Northern minority, however. In the aftermath of the border raids and the temporary takeover of parliamentary representation by abstentionist Republicans, the mood of the minority switched back towards acceptance of a measure of involvement with the system; a willingness to try co-operation. One of the earliest protagonists of this policy was Mr. G. B. Newe, later, towards the end of 1971, to be appointed a member of the Northern Ireland Cabinet in a belated effort by Mr. Brian Faulkner to lend credibility to his government. But it received a measure of support as time went on from Nationalist politicians also, amongst them Mr. Paddy Gormley, MP, brother of Mr. Tom Gormely, who in early 1972, with two Unionist MPs, joined the Alliance Party.

It is against this background that one must see the analysis of minority attitudes in the Rose Survey, carried out in 1968. . . . This survey was undertaken just at the end of this “honeymoon” period, which had also been marked by the exchange of visits at prime minister level initiated by Mr. Seán Lemass in 1965.

But it is also against this background that one must see the emergence of the civil rights movement. The tactical approach of this movement reflected the shift in minority attitudes during the 1960s towards an attempt to work the system by concentrating on a political evolution within Northern Ireland as a preliminary to, and indeed a condition precedent of, any move towards seeking reunification by consent. Of course the civil rights movement did not accept the rather formless drift towards co-operation that had marked the years before 1968; it adopted a positive policy of non-violent demonstration in pursuit of its aims, conscious, no doubt, of the strong possibility that such a show of independence and self-confidence by those who had suffered from the system of government in Northern Ire-

land since 1920 would be likely to arouse opposition and even physical resistance by supporters of the regime.

But although its tactics were aggressive rather than passive, its strategy was similar to that which had emerged more or less haphazardly amongst the minority during the immediately preceding years: tackle the internal problems of Northern Ireland in the first instance, and leave the issue of reunification on one side for the time being, to be settled later by agreement in the light of the new and, hopefully, saner situation that would emerge following the battle for reforms.

Despite the fact that the conservatism of most Northern Protestants, and their suspicion of Republican influences in the civil rights movement, prevented that movement from mobilising significant support from the Protestant community (although many Protestants did, of course, support the reforms when they were introduced), this development nevertheless changed the character of the Northern problem. Because the civil rights movement was content to leave the partition issue to be decided at a later stage, in a, hopefully, different atmosphere created by reforms, its reform programme was much more difficult to resist than any previous opposition movement to the Northern government. The Northern government might convince a high proportion of its own supporters that the civil rights movement was, despite its new policies, only anti-partitionism under another guise; it could not so easily persuade opinion outside Northern Ireland of this thesis. Moreover because civil rights had become a fashionable issue in other countries during the 1960s, and because the campaign—and any attempt to repress it—was transmitted with all the instantaneity and impact of television, the effect of the civil rights movement on opinion outside Northern Ireland was greater than, perhaps, even its organisers had ever conceived possible. Had it been merely another stage in a long-drawn out campaign against partition, it is doubtful whether, even with the aid of television, it could have had the same effect on opinion in Britain and elsewhere. The reaction to this campaign culminated in the violence of August 1969, the intervention of the British army to prevent a pogrom, and the granting of the reforms—subject to a certain amount of subsequent delay and whittling down, referred to earlier. In retrospect one is forced to wonder whether the civil rights movement, and the politicians associated with it who later formed the Social Democratic and Labour Party, were prepared for the measure of success they achieved, and for the speed with which it was secured. The logical corollary of the anti-discrimination reform programme would have been a demand for a right on the part of the minority

to participate in government, yet this demand was not made until much later, long after the minority in Belfast and Derry had come into conflict with the British army.

The extent to which the new approach—concentrating on internal changes within Northern Ireland and leaving the partition issue for later settlement—had taken deep root amongst the minority became evident during the period from August 1969 until August 1971, when internment was introduced. Throughout this period the partition issue remained in the background, despite the increasing polarisation between Protestants and Catholics. It was only after the introduction of internment that the emphasis of minority attitudes began to switch back from internal charges within North to national reunification as an immediate aim. This reversal of emphasis in the autumn of 1971 was encouraged by the Wilson proposals, which envisaged an agreement on ultimate reunification, followed by a fifteen-year transitional period. It was given further impetus by the radio and newspaper interviews with Rev. Ian Paisley towards the end of 1971, when his proposals for constitutional change in the Republic, and deliberate side-stepping of questions about his attitude to reunification if these changes were effected, hinted at a possible change of attitude on this issue.

By the beginning of 1972 there was, moreover, evidence of similar stirrings in non-Paisleyite Northern Protestant opinion. The sense of insecurity of the Northern majority, and their fear that even if this crisis were overcome, the whole cycle of violence could start again in the future, seemed to be beginning to lead some more thoughtful members of the Protestant community to ask themselves whether there might not be something to be gained by examining the question of the kind of Ireland that might emerge if the two parts of the country were eventually to be reunited. Speeches by Richard Ferguson, a former Unionist MP, from December 1971 onwards in which he addressed himself to the need to consider the possibility of a new non-sectarian united Ireland, underlined this new mood.

Thus, the failure to find a solution within the context of Northern Ireland based on the willingness of the minority in the late 1960s to leave the reunification issue on one side for the time being and to concentrate rather on internal reforms, had created by the start of 1972 a situation in which the whole question of a united Ireland had again become a live issue. Now, however, reunification seemed to have rather more prospect of realisation within a reasonable period that had seemed to exist at any time during the first forty years of the existence of Northern Ireland, when a sporadic campaign was being waged against partition. Historians will, no doubt, debate the relative contributions to this new sit-

uation of a multiplicity of factors at work during the period from 1969 onwards, and especially in the closing months of 1971. These factors will probably include the following:

1. The policy vacuum on the side of the minority after the concession of the reform programme in August and October, 1969, which, in retrospect, can be seen to have inhibited change in the political structure of the North during this period.
2. The intransigence of the Unionist government and party when the proposals for minority participation in government in Northern Ireland emerged during the course of 1971.
3. The British government's internment decision and that government's failure, influenced, no doubt, by repeated army promises of imminent victory over the IRA, to take any initiative in the closing months of 1971 to recover the ground thus lost.
4. The brutality associated with internment, and the failure of the British army authorities to prevent some of its units from behaving in a manner that alienated the goodwill of even the most moderate members of the minority.
5. The disturbing effect on Northern Protestant opinion of the IRA campaign in the period after internment, and the growing belief amongst Protestants in Northern Ireland that the British government, politicians and people neither understood their situation nor cared enough about it to sustain a prolonged campaign.
6. The reintroduction of the reunification issue into the sphere of practical politics by the Harold Wilson initiative of late 1971.
7. The emergence in the Republic of a movement favouring a more liberal and pluralist society, which for the first time offered Protestants some hope that a united Ireland would not necessarily be simply an enlarged version of what they had always seen as a Republic dominated by Roman Catholic teaching and influence.

All of these factors, and perhaps others besides that may not be evident to an observer writing early in 1972, myopically close to the events in question, no doubt played their part, for nothing less than a complex combination of many causes could account for the emergence of a willingness on the part even of a thinking minority of Northern Protestants to start giving serious consideration to a solution involving eventual reunification in some form.

The ultimate significance of this shift in opinion is unknowable in early 1972; but enough has happened

to make it worth considering seriously ways in which it might prove possible to overcome the obstacles to reunification that have been strengthened in the past half-century, reinforcing the basic inter-community hostility that initially led to partition. The shape of an eventual solution, rather than the practical path towards its negotiation, will be the theme of the concluding pages of this book. How and whether it might be possible to secure the consent, or at any rate, acquiescence, of the Northern majority to a peaceful evolution towards national unity remains an uncertain question—and reunification achieved other than peacefully would ensure lasting discord affecting the whole of Ireland, rather than anything that could properly be called national unity. All that can be said is that the prospect of reunification without violence had by the start of 1972 emerged as a possibility strong enough to warrant practical consideration and to call for serious study.

First of all, some “non-starter” solutions should, perhaps, be ruled out. Thus the proposal sometimes canvassed in Britain, and occasionally even in Ireland, for a re-partitioning of Northern Ireland should be excluded. The politico-religious geography of Northern Ireland is much too complex to make any such solution worth considering. While there is a rather higher proportion of Catholics in the West and South of Northern Ireland, than in the North and East of the area, there are, nevertheless, about 200,000 Catholics in the North-East corner of Northern Ireland—Antrim, North Down, Belfast and North Armagh. Thus even if the boundary were re-drawn to include only these parts of Northern Ireland in which there is an overwhelming Protestant majority, less than 10% of the land area of Ireland, there would remain within this enclave 200,000 Catholic hostages—well over half of them in Belfast itself. This problem could no doubt be overcome by a transfer of populations, but the hardship this would entail would be immense and the resultant all-Protestant enclave would by the standards of modern European civilisation be a political monstrosity. This kind of solution assumes that the differences between Protestants and Catholics are of a permanently irreconcilable character; that these two communities of Ulster people are so inherently different and mutually hostile that it is hopeless to conceive of their *ever* living together in peace. Even the events of the years from 1969 to 1972 do not warrant such a deeply pessimistic conclusion.

Another proposal for a boundary change—the inclusion within Northern Ireland of the three Ulster counties now in the Republic—has been put forward by the provisional Sinn Féin organisation as a means of persuading Unionists to accept reunification. This solution would, however, be highly unlikely to prove ac-

ceptable to the majority of people in the three Ulster counties in the Republic, and it is, of course, specifically designed to threaten the position of the Protestant community within the area of Northern Ireland. Protestants who might accept participation in a United Ireland if they retained their own provincial autonomy within the present territory of Northern Ireland, where they have a clear domestic majority, would not be attracted by a proposal which with the faster growth of the Catholic population of these areas, would threaten at a fairly early date their submergence as a minority in an overwhelmingly Catholic Ireland. Moreover, as the provisional Sinn Féin proposal envisages four provincial parliaments within a federal Ireland, the Ulster province, within which the Protestants would have a tenuous and impermanent majority, would at the level of the federal institutions find itself in a minority of one-in-four—whereas if the existing Northern Ireland state federated with the Republic, the balance in population terms would be only two-to-one against Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland might reasonably hope within such a twin-state system to be accorded equal representation at, say, the level of the Upper House, as is accorded in certain other federations (e.g., the United States of America) where the lower house of parliament is constituted on the one-man-one-vote principle.

Thus there seems to be nothing to be gained by playing around with the existing boundary; for good or ill, it exists, and if a federal system is to be created, it is more likely that agreement can be reached on the basis that this boundary would be let stand, than on a basis that involved a radical change in it.

The concept of a federation of the two existing Irish political entities has its difficulties, of course. There appears to be a general sentiment in the Republic in favour of such a solution, however—at any rate, no voices have been raised to protest that a united Ireland must be a unitary state, and most discussion has either explicitly or implicitly been based on the concept of an autonomous Northern Ireland region within a unified but not unitary 32-county Irish state.

This general acceptance of the concept of an autonomous Northern Ireland region depends, however, upon agreement on a reconstitution of the system of government within that region along lines that would be acceptable to the minority and would guarantee human rights, viz. on the pattern suggested in the immediately preceding chapter. This would leave the following questions to be settled:

1. The nature of the special relationship, if any, that would exist between a united Ireland and Great Britain.

2. The guarantees that the Northern Protestant community would have for their rights within a united Ireland.
3. The kind of constitution required for a United Ireland.
4. The steps to be taken to ensure that the ending of Northern Ireland’s present relationship with the United Kingdom, and its participation in a United Ireland, would not adversely affect agricultural incomes, employment in industries such as ship-building, social welfare benefits, or living standards generally.
5. The changes that would, in the meantime, be required within the Republic to persuade Northern Protestants that an association with the Republic within an Irish federal state could be acceptable.

The last of these points will be considered first, in the concluding pages of this chapter, leaving the other matters over to a final chapter, for the creation of sufficient goodwill within the Northern Ireland Protestant community to enable a constructive debate to start on participation by the North in a federal Irish state will certainly require concrete evidence on the part of the Republic of a willingness to establish conditions within its own territory that Northern Protestant opinion would find broadly acceptable.

A clear distinction must be made here between more immediate changes required within the Republic to create a favourable atmosphere for future discussions, and the eventual changes in the present constitution of the Republic that would be required to make it acceptable as the constitution of a federal Irish state. While some matters will come up for consideration under both headings, this distinction is an important one, which emerged clearly towards the end of 1971, in the limited public debate that surrounded the decision to establish an all-party committee in the Republic to discuss Northern Ireland policy and possible relevant constitutional changes.

The sensitivities of Northern Protestant opinion with respect to laws and practices in the Republic have been outlined earlier. At this stage the only issue is what changes are necessary to prepare the way for constructive discussions on eventual reunification. The central problem here is the influence of the Catholic Church in the Republic on social and legal issues within the political forum. This is only minimally a matter of constitutional and legal provisions: much more important to the Northern Protestant is the evidence of indirect influence wielded by the authorities of the Catholic Church, either in preventing laws being enacted, or in securing the administration of laws in a manner favourable to

what its authorities regard as the interests of the Catholic religion.

The formal constitutional and legal changes called for are, indeed, relatively few. The provisions of Articles 44.1.2—“The State recognises the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the faith professed by the great majority of the citizens”—would clearly have to be repealed, but as Cardinal Conway has said that he would not shed a tear at its deletion from the constitution, and as only one member of the Dáil—a rural Labour Deputy—has criticized its proposed repeal, this creates no problem.

Secondly, it would be desirable as an indication of goodwill towards the Northern Ireland legal position on divorce, to delete also the provision of Article 41.3.2 of the constitution—which forbids the enactment of any law granting a dissolution of marriage. The making of such a constitutional change *might* suffice to meet Northern Protestant opinions on this matter, without going beyond this to introduce actual divorce legislation in the Republic, for divorce is a matter of jurisdiction and, as is evident from the legal position with respect to divorce in England and Wales and in Scotland, different divorce laws can exist within a non-federal state, and all the more so within a federal state, as Ireland on the hypothesis might in time become.

There will be those who argue that divorce is a human right, and that failure by the Republic to make provision for this “right” would make more difficult reunification on a federal basis, even if Northern Ireland could retain its own divorce law, and power to modify this law in future. But the concept of divorce as an absolute human rights is an arguable one, if for no other reason than because the divorce laws of every state are different, allowing the dissolution of marriage for widely differing reasons, and with widely different conditions attached. A human right must surely be something more precise than a vague provision of this kind, differently interpreted from state to state. Moreover, although the question of divorce is frequently raised in connection with the question of reunification, divorce is in fact disapproved of in varying degrees by all the Protestant churches in Ireland, and is frowned on by a high proportion, possibly a substantial majority, of their members; although, of course, this does not mean that they would wish their view to have the force of law. The introduction of divorce in Northern Ireland is of relatively recent origin; apart from the traditional system of divorce by act of parliament, which applied to the whole of Ireland up to and after the division of the country and the establishment of the Irish Free State, it was only in 1939 that divorce through the courts was introduced in Northern Ireland. In these circumstances it is

possible that the genuine feelings of Northern Ireland people on this matter would be met if pending reunification a change in the Republic's constitution were effected that made it clear that reunion would not interfere with Northern Ireland's freedom of action in relation to divorce laws, although some will feel that Republic should go further in this matter.

Abortion, an issue sometimes raised by British commentators, and rather oddly included in Mr. Wilson's late 1971 proposals for a solution to the Irish problem, is not an issue with the bulk of Northern Protestant opinion, although there is some sensitivity about differences in obstetrical practice between Catholic and Protestant or public authority hospitals. Easier abortion has not hitherto been a significant issue within Northern Ireland, and accordingly should not create a serious problem in relation to proposals for reunification.

The Republic's laws on censorship and contraception are highly contentious issues with Northern Protestant opinion. Moreover, since unlike divorce, what is involved here is the movement of goods rather than legal jurisdiction, and as, presumably, in a united federal Ireland it would be proposed to eliminate customs controls between the two parts of the country, some solution must in any event be found to divergences in practice in these matters when a negotiated settlement is sought. It seems sensible, therefore, to initiate changes in the Republic in advance of such a settlement, as part of a programme designed to show Northern Protestant opinion that the will to reunification on an acceptable basis is genuine.

The scale of minority support in the Republic for changes in the law on contraception, demonstrated by a public opinion poll in April 1971, which posed the issue in the context of the Republic alone, without reference to the question of reunification, suggests that if the issue were re-posed as part of a “package” designed to create a favourable climate for reunification, it would have the assent of a majority; especially if safeguards and limitations on free sale, not adverted to in the poll, were spelt out.

In the case of obscene literature the contentious issue is the method of control rather than any disagreement on the need for some form of control. Perhaps because the censorship system of the Republic has applied not only to obscene printed matter but also to works “advocating” artificial methods of birth control, thus enforcing what Protestants regard as Catholic morality on this issue, it has got a bad name in Northern Ireland. It may also be that mere fact that the system of control in the Republic is different from that in the North, and is called “censorship,” has helped to make it a bone of contention.

The removal of the control over books advocating artificial forms of birth control would go some way to meet Northern objections, but it may be worth considering whether the Republic's pre-censorship system is worth maintaining, in view of its controversial character, now that it is in practice virtually limited in applications to books which, by reasonable standards—such as may be shared by many Protestants in Northern Ireland—could be regarded as pornographic and thus amenable to a normal legal process. Such a process could be implemented in accordance with regional norms, but subject to some overall supervision to prevent local outbursts of excessive illiberalism from interfering with the sale of works which by the general standards of the time in Ireland, or in the relevant part of Ireland, would not be regarded as obscene.

In other words the real issue is not now so much a divergence of view between North and South as to what kind of books should be banned—local divergences of this kind can and do exist within the legal systems of unitary states such as Great Britain—but rather the method of control. A national precensorship system is objectionable in principle to many Northern Protestants, for reasons that are not necessarily entirely logical, and raises issues as between North and South which a normal police-type control on a regional or local basis would not raise. As this latter type of control could well yield similar results in the Republic to those at present achieved through pre-censorship a reversion to this latter system, employed in the independent Irish state during its early years, could well provide a solution to this problem—if accompanied by provisions to eliminate the ban on books advocating certain methods of birth control. In considering such an arrangement it must be borne in mind that the attitudes of many Northern Protestants to pornography is as close to that of Irish Catholics as to that of British public opinion, so that the problem of divergence of standards in this matter is probably less acute than the controversy over the *method* of censorship might suggest.

It is in the educational sphere, however, that the influence of the Roman Catholic Church is seen by Northern Protestants as most pervasive. At the same time the educational systems of the two parts of Ireland, despite the differences that have grown up between them in the past half-century, retain basic similarities; both have post-primary public schools operating in parallel with denominational post-primary schools; and in both areas primary education is denominational. In Northern Ireland, however, the acceptance by the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the principle that one-third of the members of the management boards of Catholic post-primary schools in receipt of 80% capital grants should

be representatives of the relevant local educational authority to be nominated by the minister for education, has created a situation very different from that in the Republic.

But although Protestant fears of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical influence in education are real and run very deep, the concern of the Church of Ireland in particular, especially in the Republic, to retain its own denominational schools at both primary and post-primary level has meant that there has been relatively little pressure for a diminution of the denominational element in education. In these circumstances, it is not easy to see what precise changes in the educational system in the Republic could be initiated, or are required, in order to offer reassurance to Protestant opinion in Northern Ireland.

The other important area where a change in the present arrangements in the Republic would be regarded as an earnest of the sincerity of its people's wish for a reunited Ireland acceptable to the Protestants of Northern Ireland is that concerning the Irish language. To Protestants in Northern Ireland the refusal to grant school leaving certificates to those who do not pass in Irish, the Irish language requirement for entry to the Colleges of the National University of Ireland, and the Irish language requirements in relation to recruitment into and promotion within the public service of the Republic, appear discriminatory against people of their tradition, few of whom in past generations were Irish speaking. It can, of course, be argued (in this as in every other instance where changes are proposed in the Republic as an indication of willingness to meet the point of view of the majority in Northern Ireland) that the present arrangements in the Republic are without prejudice to quite different arrangements that might apply in the examination system or public service of a federal Irish state. But this will not appear convincing to Northern Protestants, even those with goodwill towards an eventual reunification of the country, for they see their co-religionists in the Republic as being adversely affected by these language requirements, and regard the provisions under which these requirements are imposed as penal in character vis-à-vis people who do not belong to the native Gaelic tradition, and as indicating an attitude of mind opposed to the kind of pluralist society that they would expect to find a united Ireland.

A change in policy in this matter, as in the others referred to above, seems desirable, therefore, if the Republic is to show itself to the Protestant people of Northern Ireland as liberal and open-minded, concerned to meet their reasonable requirements, and determined to treat the existing small Protestant minority in the Republic in a manner satisfactory to Protestants of the North. It is worth noting that the principal opposition

party in the Republic, Fine Gael, is in fact committed to these reforms affecting the Irish language.

Summing up the specific steps that might usefully be taken in the Republic at this stage as an earnest wish of its people to seek a reunification of the country in terms that could be acceptable to Northern Protestants, the changes that seem to be most needed are the repeal by referendum of the constitutional provisions on the special position of the Catholic Church and divorce; amendment of the law banning the import and sale of contraceptives; a modification of the system of dealing with obscene printed matter, substituting a new version of the older system of control by prosecution for the existing censorship system and the removal of Irish language requirements in examinations and in recruitment for, and promotion within the public service.

Consideration should also be given to implementing in the Republic reforms introduced in Northern Ireland since 1969. Some of these reforms may be less necessary in the Republic than in Northern Ireland, but they nevertheless could have a useful part to play, and Northern Catholics and Protestants alike would be reassured to know that the Republic was keeping in step with Northern Ireland in this respect. The matters concerned include the appointment of a commissioner for complaints and a parliamentary commissioner for administration; the appointment also of a police authority; and steps to extend the impartial systems of public appointments in the Republic to posts not now covered, e.g. rate collections, sub-postmasters, etc. In these and other reforms the guiding principle should be the provision of absolute guarantees of fair and equal treatment for all citizens regardless of religion, or politics.

Finally, in all legislation dealing with matters that may be at issue between the two religious communities, the guiding principle should be the general welfare of all, rather than the moral consensus of the majority community. If that principle is followed then the problems hitherto created both North and South as a result of legislation influenced by the views of the predominant group in the area concerned, will be avoided in future.

Such a programme, if implemented generously, and if accompanied by an evident willingness on the part of the Catholic Church authorities and the political parties in the Republic to offer concrete re-assurance to Northern Protestants that a united Ireland would not, as they fear, be dominated by the church authorities, or by the teaching and influence of the church, would create conditions favourable to an eventual serious discussion of a programme of reunification. Some kind of declaration of intent by churchmen and politicians could make a great contribution here.

Pressures favouring a development of this kind have been the impact in the Republic of the implication by Rev. Ian Paisley in his December 1971 radio and newspaper interviews that changes in the Republic might affect the attitude of Northern Protestants towards the North-South relationship, and the proposals by Richard Ferguson, the former Unionist MP who since his resignation has joined the Alliance Party, for a new, non-sectarian Ireland, which in the spring of 1972 began to make a significant impact in the Republic. The refusal of the Fianna Fáil Party conference early in 1972 to accept a proposal to postpone constitutional reform until negotiations started for a united Ireland reflected the growing willingness of public opinion in the Republic to seek a solution in the form of a new kind of society, rather than by an attempt to impose the Republic's cultural values and Catholic ethos on Northern Ireland. Up to May 1972, however, this approach was still being resisted by the Fianna Fáil government which appeared, however, to be swimming increasingly against the tide of public opinion on this issue. Even if the all-party committee of the Dáil announced in December 1971, but not set up until May 1972, was envisaged by the government as a body that should concern itself with changes to be made as a part of an eventual negotiation, it is quite possible that its work will lead to proposals for interim changes in the Republic along the lines suggested above. Fresh pressure in favour of such changes will come from the proposal in the British initiative of March 24, 1972, to have regular plebiscites in Northern Ireland on the reunification issue.

Garret FitzGerald, *TOWARDS A NEW IRELAND* (1973), pp. 142-157. *Reproduced by permission of the author.*



FROM THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME
COURT IN *MC GEE V. THE ATTORNEY
GENERAL AND THE REVENUE
COMMISSIONERS*

19 December 1973

Mrs. Mary McGee ordered contraceptive materials that were impounded by the Irish customs service. Her appeal against this action was supported by the Irish Family Planning Association. The appeal was dismissed by the president of the High Court, but this decision was overturned by the Supreme Court in a far-reaching decision that made it legal to import contraceptives for private use.

SEE ALSO Divorce, Contraception, and Abortion; Family: Fertility, Marriage, and the Family since 1950; Women in Irish Society since 1800

The Act of 1935, as its long title shows, is not aimed at population control but at the suppression of vice and the amendment of the law relating to sexual offences. Section 17 follows immediately on a section directed against the practice of prostitution in public and immediately precedes a section making criminal certain acts which offend modesty or cause scandal or injure the morals of the community. The section creates a criminal prohibition in an area in which the legislature has thought fit to intervene in the interests of public morality. What it seeks to do, by means of the sanction of the criminal law, is to put an end, as far as it was possible to do so by legislation, to the use of contraceptives in the state. It does not in terms make the use of contraceptives a crime, but the totality of the prohibition aims at nothing less. Presumably because contraceptives are of differing kinds and vary in the ways, internal and external, they can be used, and because of the difficulty of proving their use in the intimacy of the sexual act, the section strikes at their availability. Sub-section 1 of s. 17 of the Act of 1935 makes it an offence to sell, or expose, offer, advertise, or keep for sale or to import or attempt to import for sale any contraceptives. In effect, this makes it legally impossible to sell or buy a contraceptive in the state. Had the prohibition stopped there, it would have left the loophole that contraceptives could be imported otherwise than for sale. That loophole, however, is sealed by sub-s. 3 of s. 17 which makes contraceptives prohibited articles under the customs code so that their importation for any purpose, if effected with the intention of evading the prohibition, is an offence. . . .

Because contraceptives are not manufactured in this state, the effect of s. 17 of the Act of 1935 as a whole is that, except for contraceptives that have been imported without the intention of evading the prohibition on importation, it is not legally possible to obtain a contraceptive in this state. It is doubtful if the legislature could have taken more effective steps by means of the criminal law to put an end to their use in the state.

The dominant feature of the plaintiff's dilemma is that she is a young married woman who is living, with a slender income, in the cramped quarters of a mobile home with her husband and four infant children, and that she is faced with a considerable risk of death or crippling paralysis if she becomes pregnant. The net question is whether it is constitutionally permissible in the circumstances for the law to deny her access to the contraceptive method chosen for her by her doctor and

which she and her husband wish to adopt. In other words, is the prohibition effected by s. 17 of the Act of 1935 an interference with the rights which the state guarantees in its laws to respect, as stated in sub-s. 1 of s. 3 of Article 40?

The answer lies primarily in the fact that the plaintiff is a wife and a mother. It is the informed and conscientious wish of the plaintiff and her husband to maintain full marital relations without incurring the risk of a pregnancy that may well result in her death or a crippling paralysis. Section 17 of the Act of 1935 frustrates that wish. It goes further; it brings the implementation of the wish within the range of the criminal law. Its effect, therefore, is to condemn the plaintiff and her husband to a way of life which, at best, will be fraught with worry, tension and uncertainty that cannot but adversely affect their lives and, at worst, will result in an unwanted pregnancy causing death or serious illness with the obvious tragic consequences to the lives of her husband and young children. And this in the context of a constitution which in its preamble proclaims as one of its aims the dignity and freedom of the individual; which in sub-s. 2 of s. 3 of Article 40 casts on the state a duty to protect as best it may from unjust attack and, in the case of injustice done, to vindicate the life and person of every citizen; which in Article 41 after recognising the family as the natural primary and fundamental unit group of society, and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights antecedent and superior to all positive law guarantees to protect it in its constitution and authority as the necessary basis of social order and as indispensable to the welfare of the nation and the state; and which also in article 41, pledges the state to guard with special care the institution of marriage, on which the family is founded, and to protect it against attack.

Section 17, in my judgment, so far from respecting the plaintiff's personal rights, violates them. If she observes this prohibition (which in practice she can scarcely avoid doing and which in law she is bound under penalty of fine and imprisonment to do), she will endanger the security and happiness of her marriage, she will imperil her health to the point of hazarding her life, and she will subject her family to the risk of distress and disruption. These are intrusions which she is entitled to say are incompatible with the safety of her life, the preservation of her health, her responsibility to her conscience, and the security and well-being of her marriage and family. If she fails to obey the prohibition in s. 17, the law, by prosecuting her, will reach into the privacy of her marital life in seeking to prove her guilt. . . .

If the plaintiff were prosecuted for an offence arising under or by virtue of s. 17 of the Act of 1935 . . .

there would necessarily be a violation of intimate aspects of her marital life which, in deference to her standing as a wife and mother, ought not to be brought out and condemned as criminal under a glare of publicity in a courtroom. Furthermore, if she were found guilty of such an offence, in order to have the penalty mitigated to fit the circumstances of her case, she would have to disclose particulars of her marital dilemma which she ought not to have to reveal.

In my opinion, s. 17 of the Act of 1935 violates the guarantee in sub-s. 1 of s. 3 of article 40 by the state to protect the plaintiff's personal rights by its laws; it does so not only by violating her personal right to privacy in regard to her marital relations but, in a wider way, by frustrating and making criminal any efforts by her to effectuate the decision of her husband and herself, made responsibly, conscientiously and on medical advice, to avail themselves of a particular contraceptive method so as to ensure her life and health as well as the integrity, security and well-being of her marriage and her family. (Justice Henchy)

I shall deal first with the submission made in relation to the provisions of Article 41 of the constitution which deals with the family. On the particular facts of this case, I think this is the most important submission because the plaintiff's claim is based upon her status as a married woman and is made in relation to the conduct of her sexual life with her husband within that marriage. For the purpose of this article I am of the opinion that the state of the plaintiff's health is immaterial to the consideration of the rights she claims are infringed in relation to Article 41. In this article the state, while recognising the family as the natural primary and fundamental unit group of society and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights antecedent and superior to all positive law, guarantees to protect the family in its constitution and authority as the necessary basis of social order and as indispensable to the welfare of the nation and the state. The article recognises the special position of woman, meaning the wife, within that unit; the article also offers special protection for mothers in that they shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home. The article also recognises the institution of marriage as the foundation of the family and undertakes to protect it against attack. By this and the following article, the state recognises the parents as the natural guardians of the children of the family and as those in whom the authority of the family is vested and those who shall have the right to determine how the family life shall be conducted, having due regard to the

rights of the children not merely as members of that family but as individuals.

It is a matter exclusively for the husband and wife to decide how many children they wish to have; it would be quite outside the competence of the state to dictate or prescribe the number of children which they might have or should have. In my view, the husband and wife have a correlative right to agree to have no children. This is not to say that the state, when the common good requires it, may not actively encourage married couples either to have larger families or smaller families. If it is a question of having smaller families then, whether it be a decision of the husband and wife or the intervention of the state, the means employed to achieve this objective would have to be examined. What may be permissible to the husband and wife is not necessarily permissible to the state. For example, the husband and wife may mutually agree to practise either total or partial abstinence in their sexual relations. If the state were to attempt to intervene to compel such abstinence, it would be an intolerable and unjustifiable intrusion into the privacy of the matrimonial bedroom. On the other hand, any action on the part of either the husband and wife or of the state to limit family sizes by endangering or destroying human life must necessarily not only be an offence against the common good but also against the guaranteed personal rights of the human life in question.

The sexual life of a husband and wife is of necessity and by its nature an area of particular privacy. If the husband and wife decide to limit their family or to avoid having children by use of contraceptives it is a matter peculiarly within the joint decision of the husband and wife and one into which the state cannot intrude unless its intrusion can be justified by the exigencies of the common good. The question of whether the use of contraceptives by married couples within their marriage is or is not contrary to the moral code or codes to which they profess to subscribe, or is or is not regarded by them as being against their conscience, could not justify state intervention. Similarly the fact that the use of contraceptives may offend against the moral code of the majority of the citizens of the state would not per se justify an intervention by the state to prohibit their use within marriage. The private morality of its citizens does not justify intervention by the state into the activities of those citizens unless and until the common good requires it. Counsel for the attorney general did not seek to argue that the state would have any right to seek to prevent the use of contraceptives within marriage. He did argue, however, that it did not follow from this that the state was under any obligation to make contraceptives available to married couples. Counsel for the [Reve-

nue Commissioners] put the matter somewhat further by stating that, if she had a right to use contraceptives within the privacy of her marriage, it was a matter for the plaintiff to prove from whence the right sprang. In effect he was saying that, if she was appealing to a right anterior to positive law, the burden was on her to show the source of that right. At first sight this may appear to be a reasonable and logical proposition. However, it does appear to ignore a fundamental point, namely, that the rights of a married couple to decide how many children, if any, they will have are matters outside the reach of positive law where the means employed to implement such decisions do not impinge upon the common good or destroy or endanger human life. It is undoubtedly true that among those persons who are subject to a particular moral code no one has a right to be in breach of that moral code. But when this is a code governing private morality and where the breach of it is not one which injures the common good then it is not the state's business to intervene. It is outside the authority of the state to endeavour to intrude into the privacy of the husband and wife relationship for the sake of imposing a code of private morality upon that husband and wife which they do not desire.

In my view, Article 41 of the constitution guarantees the husband and wife against such invasion of their privacy by the state. It follows that the use of contraceptives by them within that marital privacy is equally guaranteed against such invasion and, as such, assumes the status of a right so guaranteed by the constitution. If this right cannot be directly invaded by the state it follows that it cannot be frustrated by the state taking measures to ensure that the exercise of that right is rendered impossible. I do not exclude the possibility of the state being justified where the public good requires it (as, for example, in the case of a dangerous fall in population threatening the life or the essential welfare of the state) in taking such steps to ensure that in general, even if married couples could not be compelled to have children, they could at least be hindered in their endeavours to avoid having them where the common good required the maintenance or increase of the population. That, however, is not the present case and there is no evidence whatever in the case to justify state intervention on that ground. Similarly it is not impossible to envisage a situation where the availability of contraceptives to married people for use within marriage could be demonstrated to have led or would probably lead to such an adverse effect on public morality so subversive of the common good as to justify state intervention by restricting or prohibiting the availability of contraceptives for use within marriage or at all. In such a case it would have to be demonstrated that all the other resources of the state had proved or were likely to prove incapable to

avoid this subversion of the common good while contraceptives remained available for use within marriage.

In my opinion, s. 17 of the Act of 1935, in so far as it unreasonably restricts the availability of contraceptives for use within marriage, is inconsistent with the provisions of Article 41 of the constitution for being an unjustified invasion of the privacy of husband and wife in their sexual relations with one another. The fundamental restriction is contained in the provisions of sub-s. 3 of s. 17 of the Act of 1935 which lists contraceptives among the prohibited articles which may not be imported for any purposes whatever. On the present state of facts, I am of the opinion that this provision is inconsistent with the constitution and is no longer in force. (Justice Walsh)

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ON THE FAMILY PLANNING BILL

20 February 1974

Mary Robinson

*Section 17 of the 1935 Criminal Law Amendment Act prohibited the sale and importation of contraceptives. By the late 1960s the restrictions on access to contraception were being challenged by the contraceptive pill, which was not covered by the 1935 act, and by the emergence of family planning clinics which supplied contraceptives in return for "voluntary" donations. In 1970 Mary Robinson, a senator elected by graduates of Trinity College Dublin, and a future president of Ireland, together with Senators Trevor West and John Horgan, elected by graduates of Trinity College and the National University of Ireland, attempted to introduce a bill to permit the import and sale of contraceptives, but it failed to get a first reading. They reintroduced this bill in the autumn of 1973, and on this occasion they secured a second reading, prompting a statement from the Catholic Church, which condemned contraception but rejected the suggestion that the state was obliged in its legislation to defend the moral teaching of the Catholic Church. Although this bill was defeated, it can be seen as the first attempt to provide a legislative framework for access to contraception; the matter was finally resolved in 1985. (See also excerpts from the decision of the Supreme Court in *McGee v. the Attorney General and the Revenue Commissioners*, 1973.)*

SEE ALSO Divorce, Contraception, and Abortion; Family: Fertility, Marriage, and the Family since 1950; Robinson, Mary; Women in Irish Society since 1800

This bill provides the first opportunity for a full debate in either house of the Oireachtas on the subject of family planning. It allows the Seanad to discuss the general principles involved in any changes in the law and it also allows the Seanad to consider the specific framework which Senators Horgan, West and I have put forward in this bill for such amendment. I should like to appeal to my fellow Senators: let us approach this subject with compassion rather than dogmatism and with open-minded concern rather than bigotry. Family planning involves the most intimate relationship between a man and a woman. It is a subject matter which has been discussed very broadly outside parliament in recent times. It is also a subject which was taboo for discussion for a very long time. It is now to be debated inside parliament.

It is worth noting that family planning is now supported positively by all the Christian churches. This includes the Catholic Church which is in favour of responsible parenthood, in favour of family planning. The difference between them relates only to choice of means. This bill would create the possibility of a wider choice of means of family planning and the possibility of getting full information on the subject. It is in other words an enabling bill. . . . It would not compel any person to use contraceptives, or any doctor to prescribe contraceptives, or any chemist to stock contraceptives. It would facilitate family planning by allowing choice to the individual citizens concerned.

When an attempt was made by Senators Horgan, West and me to introduce a similar bill in 1970, four years ago now, there was a significant resistance both in the Oireachtas and in the general public to any change in the law. In the intervening period no government bill was introduced either by the previous government or by this government. When we tabled this family planning bill there was a similar resistance to any change. Meanwhile however the Supreme Court has acted on one section of the law, that is subsection (3) of section 17 of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1935, and has deemed that section to be repugnant to the constitution. This was one section which we had repealed in the framework of our bill, which certain bigoted, unthinking people opposed, in a blanket form—opposed in many cases without having read the bill because they opposed any change in the law. . . .

Let us turn then to an examination of the present state of the law. As the law now stands, any person,

married, or unmarried, and with no age limit, can use contraceptives, manufacture contraceptives, distribute contraceptives, and, since the judgment of the Supreme Court in the McGee case, import contraceptives. Also the pill is regarded not as a contraceptive but as a cycle regulator and therefore does not come within the legislation prohibiting the sale of contraceptives. More than 38,000 Irish women, be they married or unmarried, use the pill under a prescription every month, however none of these people can inform herself fully on the subject. As the law now stands, they cannot acquire responsible literature describing the various forms of contraceptives, warning them of the potential danger of the contraceptives which they are importing from abroad, warning them of the conditions which make it unsafe for them to use the pill and generally advising them in a full manner of the whole question of family planning and of the choices open, if the person wishes to exercise choice, in the methods of family planning. . . .

The argument is very strong that the law in so far as it regulates or controls the whole subject of family planning is not satisfactory, is no longer a coherent structure and has very real dangers built into it. I would hope that the members of the Seanad in the course of this debate, and also members of the other house, in examining either this bill or a government bill, when that is forthcoming, will have the courage to face up to this situation, because they have the advantage over their constituents. The average Irish person is not faced in the same way with the opportunity to examine the present state of the law and to consider a proposal for change. The average person may very well be confused, is obviously concerned, and rightly so, and may in consequence be resisting change. This is a very good example of where there must be leadership from the representatives of the people, and not a rather cowardly fear of the grassroots opinion and fear of change, lest it might translate into a turning away either from a particular politician or from a party.

Therefore I would submit that we ought to take this subject matter out of the realm of party politics by agreeing to the consensus view that there is a need for a law to be regularised in the public interest. We can differ perhaps on the degree to which there might be liberalisation or the degree to which there might be restrictions and controls built in. But on the fundamental proposition of need for regularisation of the position through an act of this Oireachtas, I would submit that no senator or deputy examining the position can dissent from that in good faith. . . .

There is one possible way in which the law in relation to family planning in this country could continue to be changed. We could continue to have people bring-

ing individual cases before the High Court and Supreme Court and testing the constitutionality of the prohibition on sale of contraceptives and the constitutionality of the prohibition on being able to read about family planning in the relevant provisions of the censorship acts. We could have over a period of a number of years—because law suits take a length of time—a series of decisions which chipped away in a piecemeal fashion at our law, leaving an unregulated and unco-ordinated situation and one which gradually liberalised—probably more than many legislators would wish—the law relating to family planning.

I would submit that this would be a very sad state of the law if legislators abdicated their responsibility and left it to the courts; so that we would be dependent on individual plaintiffs bringing their single problems before the court, to gradually chip away at the existing law. We must face up to our responsibilities as members of this parliament. We must restore the balance by providing a properly planned and properly considered framework within which we regulate the whole subject matter of family planning.

Action by the Oireachtas is necessary for two reasons: first, because of the nature of the subject matter. If it becomes necessary for individuals to bring actions in the courts the results will be pragmatic, piecemeal, unco-ordinated and will result in a bad overall situation; secondly, because political scientists observe it as a weakness in the system if one leaves the legislating to the judges. It is not the function of the judiciary to legislate. It is the function of parliament. We must not abdicate to the judiciary the function of gradually finding our laws unconstitutional and, therefore, in effect legislating. We must take upon ourselves the primary responsibility. We must exercise the function of legislating without fear of the grassroots, without fear of misunderstanding and with a compassion and a concern for the human beings who are affected in their daily lives—in their intimate relationships—by the law which we pass.

This is the first task before the Oireachtas; to regularise the unacceptable nature of the existing law. The second task I believe goes further. It is to consider the objective of the proposers of this family planning bill. We seek to amend, for positive reasons, the law relating to family planning and to protect and sustain the right of individuals to use contraceptives and to plan their families and also to ensure that they have the proper access to information in this regard.

SEANAD DEBATES, *vol. 77, cols. 205–212, 20 February 1974, available at www.oireachtas-debates.gov.ie.*



ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

15 November 1985

This Anglo-Irish Agreement, often described as the Hillsborough Agreement, was signed by British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and Irish taoiseach Garret FitzGerald. The agreement included many elements that form part of the 1998 Belfast Agreement: a statement that the status of Northern Ireland could be changed only by a majority vote of the people of Northern Ireland; an inter-governmental conference dealing with politics, security, legal matters, and cross-border cooperation; and an acknowledgment that there were two traditions in Northern Ireland. Ulster unionists bitterly opposed the formal recognition of a role for the Irish government in Northern Ireland affairs. The agreement remained in force until it was superseded by the Belfast Agreement of 1998.

SEE ALSO Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Hillsborough Agreement); Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: The United States in Northern Ireland since 1970; Politics: Impact of the Northern Ireland Crisis on Southern Politics; Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

The government of Ireland and the government of the United Kingdom:

Wishing further to develop the unique relationship between their peoples and the close co-operation between their countries as friendly neighbors and as partners in the European community;

Recognising the major interest of both their countries and, above all, of the people of Northern Ireland in diminishing the divisions there and achieving lasting peace and stability;

Recognising the need for continuing efforts to reconcile and to acknowledge the rights of the two major traditions that exist in Ireland, represented on the one hand by those who wish for no change in the present status of Northern Ireland and on the other hand by those who aspire to a sovereign united Ireland achieved by peaceful means and through agreement;

Reaffirming their total rejection of any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence and their determination to work together to ensure that those who adopt or support such methods do not succeed;

Recognising that a condition of genuine reconciliation and dialogue between unionists and nationalists is mutual recognition and acceptance of each other's rights;

Recognising and respecting the identities of the two communities in Northern Ireland, and the right of each to pursue its aspirations by peaceful and constitutional means;

Reaffirming their commitment to a society in Northern Ireland in which all may live in peace, free from discrimination and intolerance, and with the opportunity for both communities to participate fully in the structures and processes of government;

Have accordingly agreed as follows:

A
STATUS OF NORTHERN IRELAND

Article 1

The two governments

- (a) affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people in Northern Ireland;
- (b) recognise that the present wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland is for no change in the status of Northern Ireland;
- (c) declare that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, they will introduce and support in the respective parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish.

B

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE

Article 2

- (a) There is hereby established, within the framework of the Anglo-Irish intergovernmental council set up after the meeting between the two heads of government on 6 November 1981, an intergovernmental conference (hereinafter referred to as "the Conference"), concerned with Northern Ireland and with relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland, to deal, as set out in this agreement, on a regular basis with
 - (i) political matters;
 - (ii) security and related matters;
 - (iii) legal matters, including the administration of justice;
 - (iv) the promotion of cross-border co-operation.
- (b) The United Kingdom government accept that the Irish government will put forward views and proposals on matters relating to Northern Ireland within the field of activity of the Conference in so far as those matters are not the responsibility of a devolved administration in Northern Ireland. In the interest of promoting peace and stability, determined efforts shall be made through the Conference to resolve any differences. The Conference will be mainly concerned with Northern Ireland; but some of the matters under consideration will involve co-operative action in both parts of the island of Ireland, and possibly also in Great Britain. Some of the proposals considered in respect of Northern Ireland may also be found to have application by the Irish government. There is no derogation from the sovereignty of either the Irish government or the United Kingdom government, and each retains responsibility for the decisions and administrations of government within its own jurisdiction.

Article 3

The Conference shall meet at ministerial or official level, as required. The business of the Conference will thus receive attention at the highest level. Regular and frequent ministerial meetings shall be held; and in particular special meetings shall be convened at the request of either side. Officials may meet in subordinate groups. Membership of the Conference and of sub-groups shall be small and flexible. When the Conference meets at ministerial level an Irish minister designated as the permanent Irish ministerial representative and the secretary of state for Northern Ireland shall be joint chairmen. Within the framework of the Conference other Irish and British ministers may hold or attend meetings as appropriate: when legal matters are under consideration the attorneys general may attend. Ministers may be accompanied by their officials and their professional advisers: for example, when questions of security policy or security co-operation are being discussed, they may be accompanied by the commissioner of the Garda Síochána and the chief constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary; or when questions of economic or social policy or cooperation are being discussed, they may be accompanied by officials of the relevant departments. A secretariat shall be established by the two governments to service the Conference on a continuing basis in the discharge of its functions as set out in this agreement.

Article 4

- (a) In relation to matters coming within its field of activity, the Conference shall be a framework within which the Irish government and the United Kingdom government work together
 - (i) for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions which exist in Northern Ireland; and
 - (ii) for peace, stability and prosperity throughout the island of Ireland by promoting reconciliation, respect for human rights, co-operation against terrorism and the development of economic, social and cultural co-operation.
- (b) It is the declared policy of the United Kingdom government that responsibility in respect of certain matters within the powers of the secretary of state for Northern Ireland should be devolved within Northern Ireland on a basis which would secure widespread acceptance throughout the community. The Irish government support that policy.
- (c) Both governments recognise that devolution can be achieved only with the co-operation of consti-

tutional representatives within Northern Ireland of both traditions there. The Conference shall be a framework within which the Irish government may put forward views and proposals on the modalities of bringing about devolution in Northern Ireland, in so far as they relate to the interests of the minority community.

C

POLITICAL MATTERS

Article 5

- (a) The Conference shall concern itself with measures to recognise and accommodate the rights and identities of the two traditions in Northern Ireland, to protect human rights and to prevent discrimination. Matters to be considered in this area include measures to foster the cultural heritage of both traditions, changes in electoral arrangements, the use of flags and emblems, the avoidance of economic and social discrimination and the advantages and disadvantages of a bill of rights in some form in Northern Ireland.
- (b) The discussion of these matters shall be mainly concerned with Northern Ireland, but the possible application of any measures pursuant to this article by the Irish government in their jurisdiction shall not be excluded.
- (c) If it should prove impossible to achieve and sustain devolution on a basis which secures widespread acceptance in Northern Ireland, the Conference shall be a framework within which the Irish government may, where the interests of the minority community are significantly or especially affected, put forward views on proposals for major legislation and on major policy issues, which are within the purview of the Northern Ireland departments and which remain the responsibility of the secretary of state for Northern Ireland.

Article 6

The Conference shall be a framework within which the Irish government may put forward views and proposals on the role and composition of bodies appointed by the secretary of state for Northern Ireland or by departments subject to his direction and control including the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights; the Fair Employment Agency; the Equal Opportunities Commission; the Police Authority for Northern Ireland; the Police Complaint Board.

D
SECURITY AND RELATED MATTERS

Article 7

- (a) The Conference shall consider
 - (i) security policy;
 - (ii) relations between the security forces and the community;
 - (iii) prisons policy.
- (b) The Conference shall consider the security situation at its regular meetings and thus provide an opportunity to address policy issues, serious incidents and forthcoming events.
- (c) The two governments agree that there is a need for a programme of special measures in Northern Ireland to improve relations between the security forces and the community, with the object in particular of making the security forces more readily accepted by the nationalist community. Such a programme shall be developed, for the Conference's consideration, and may include the establishment of local consultative machinery, training in community relations, crime prevention schemes involving the community, improvements in arrangements for handling complaints, and action to increase the proportion of members of the minority in the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Elements of the programme may be considered by the Irish government suitable for application within their jurisdiction.
- (d) The Conference may consider policy issues relating to prisons. Individual cases may be raised as appropriate, so that information can be provided or inquiries instituted.

E
LEGAL MATTERS, INCLUDING THE
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Article 8

- (a) The Conference shall deal with issues of concern to both countries relating to the enforcement of the criminal law. In particular it shall consider whether there are areas of the criminal law applying in the North and in the South respectively which might with benefit be harmonised. The two governments agree on the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice. The Conference shall seek, with the help of advice from experts as appropriate; measures which would give substantial expression to this aim,

considering inter alia the possibility of mixed courts in both jurisdictions for the trial of certain offences. The Conference shall also be concerned with policy aspects of extradition and extra-territorial jurisdiction as between North and South.

F
CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION ON SECURITY,
ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL MATTERS

Article 9

- (a) With a view to enhancing cross-border co-operation on security matters, the Conference shall set in hand a programme of work to be undertaken by the commissioner of the Garda Síochána and the chief constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and, where appropriate, groups of officials, in such areas as threat assessments, exchange of information, liaison structures, technical co-operation, training of personnel, and operational resources.
- (b) The Conference shall have no operational responsibilities; responsibility for policy operations shall remain with the heads of the respective police forces, the commissioner of the Garda Síochána maintaining his links with the minister for justice and the chief constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary his links with the secretary of state for Northern Ireland.

Article 10

- (a) The two governments shall co-operate to promote the economic and social development of those areas of both parts of Ireland which have suffered most severely from the consequences of the instability of recent years, and shall consider the possibility of securing international support for this work.
- (b) If it should prove impossible to achieve and sustain devolution on a basis which secures widespread acceptance in Northern Ireland, the Conference shall be a framework for the promotion of co-operation between the two parts of Ireland concerning cross-border aspects of economic, social and cultural matters in relation to which the secretary of state for Northern Ireland continues to exercise authority.
- (c) If responsibility is devolved in respect of certain matters in the economic, social or cultural areas currently within the responsibility of the secre-

tary of state for Northern Ireland, machinery will need to be established by the responsible authorities in the North and South for practical cooperation in respect of cross-border aspects of these issues.

G
ARRANGEMENTS FOR REVIEW

Article 11

At the end of three years from signature of this agreement, or earlier if requested by either government, the working of the Conference shall be reviewed by the two governments to see whether any changes in the scope and nature of its activities are desirable.

H
INTERPARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS

Article 12

If will be for parliamentary decision in Dublin and in Westminster whether to establish an Anglo-Irish parliamentary body of the kind adumbrated in the Anglo-Irish Studies Report of November 1981. The two governments agree that they would give support as appropriate to such a body, if it were to be established.

I
FINAL CLAUSES

Article 13

This agreement shall enter into force on the date on which the two governments exchange notifications of their acceptance of this agreement.

In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto by their respective governments, have signed this agreement.

Done in two originals at Hillsborough on the 15th day of November 1985.

For the government of Ireland—Gearóid Mac Gearailt

For the government of the United Kingdom—Margaret Thatcher

Reprinted in FIELD DAY ANTHOLOGY OF IRISH WRITING, edited by Seamus Deane (1991), vol. 3, pp. 803–807.

“INQUISITIO 1584”

c. 1985

Máire Mhac an tSaoi

Born in 1922 the daughter of Seán MacEntee, deputy prime minister in the de Valera and Lemass governments, Máire Mhac an tSaoi (the Gaelic form of her surname) studied in Paris after completing her B.A. and M.A. at University College Dublin and then returned to work in Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. She studied for the Irish bar, entered the foreign service, and later married the Irish diplomat and journalist Conor Cruise O'Brien. A well-known Gaelic poet and scholar, she has published seven collections of poetry and several critical and historical essays. This poem, an elegy on the hanging of Sean MacEdmund MacUllick by the English in Limerick c. 1584, published in An Cion go dtí Seo (The amount to now, 1987), reveals her extensive knowledge of Irish history and the Gaelic literary tradition.

SEE ALSO Arts: Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature and the Arts since 1800; Literature: Twentieth-Century Women Writers

In that year of the age of Our Lord
Fifteen hundred and eighty
Or some few short years after
Sean MacEdmund MacUllick
Hard by Shannon was hanged.

Hard by the shoals of Shannon
In Limerick, history's city,
Sean MacEdmund MacUllick
Come west from the parish of Marrhan
Who was chieftain of Balleneenig.

Treason his crime, his lands
Were given in hand of the stranger
And now around Mount Marrhan
His name is not even remembered
Nor is his kindred known there.

Undisturbed be your sleep
Sean MacEdmund MacUllick
On the banks of the mighty Shannon
When the wind blows in from the sea
From the west and from your own country.

Reprinted in IRISH LITERATURE: A READER, edited by Maureen O'Rourke Murphy and James Mackillop (1987). Reproduced by permission of the author.



IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA) CEASE-FIRE STATEMENT

31 August 1994

The IRA cease-fire opened the way for Sinn Féin to be included in talks on the future of Northern Ireland, but these negotiations stalled because of the refusal to decommission IRA arms and Sinn Féin's suspicion about the British government's motives. The cease-fire ended on 9 February 1996 when the IRA bombed Canary Wharf in London.

SEE ALSO Irish Republican Army (IRA); Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Politics: Nationalist Politics in Northern Ireland

Recognising the potential of the current situation and in order to enhance the democratic process and underlying our definitive commitment to its success, the leadership of the IRA have decided that as of midnight, August 31, there will be a complete cessation of military operations. All our units have been instructed accordingly.

At this crossroads the leadership of the IRA salutes and commends our volunteers, other activists, our supporters and the political prisoners who have sustained the struggle against all odds for the past 25 years. Your courage, determination and sacrifice have demonstrated that the freedom and the desire for peace based on a just and lasting settlement cannot be crushed. We remember all those who have died for Irish freedom and we reiterate our commitment to our republican objectives. Our struggle has seen many gains and advances made by nationalists and for the democratic position.

We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has been created. We are therefore entering into a new situation in a spirit of determination and confidence, determined that the injustices which created this conflict will be removed and confident in the strength and justice of our struggle to achieve this.

We note that the Downing Street Declaration is not a solution, nor was it presented as such by its authors. A solution will only be found as a result of inclusive negotiations. Others, not the least the British government have a duty to face up to their responsibilities. It is our desire to significantly contribute to the creation of a climate which will encourage this. We urge everyone to approach this new situation with energy, determination and patience.

Reprinted in A FAREWELL TO ARMS? FROM "LONG WAR" TO LONG PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, edited by Michael Cox, Adrian Guelke, and Fiona Stephens (2000), appendix 7, p. 336.



TEXT OF THE IRA CEASE-FIRE STATEMENT

19 July 1997

This second cease-fire statement by the IRA refers to "a permanent peace," a phrase that was missing from the first, although the British government had sought it. The second cease-fire opened the way for elections to the Northern Ireland forum on 30 May 1997 and the start of multi-party talks on 10 June 1997, which resulted in the 1998 Belfast Agreement.

SEE ALSO Irish Republican Army (IRA); Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Politics: Nationalist Politics in Northern Ireland

On August 31, 1994 the leadership of Óglaigh na hÉireann (IRA) announced their complete cessation of military operations as our contribution to the search for lasting peace.

After 17 months of cessation in which the British government and the unionists blocked any possibility of real or inclusive negotiations, we reluctantly abandoned the cessation.

The IRA is committed to ending British rule in Ireland. It is the root cause of divisions and conflict in our country. We want a permanent peace and therefore we are prepared to enhance the search for a democratic peace settlement through real and inclusive negotiations.

So having assessed the current political situation, the leadership of Óglaigh na hÉireann are announcing

a complete cessation of military operations from 12 midday on Sunday 20 July, 1997.

We have ordered the unequivocal restoration of the ceasefire of August 1994. All IRA units have been instructed accordingly.

Reprinted in A FAREWELL TO ARMS? FROM "LONG WAR" TO LONG PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, edited by Michael Cox, Adrian Guelke, and Fiona Stephens (2000), appendix 11, p. 343.



THE BELFAST/GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

10 April 1998

The Belfast Agreement (or Good Friday Agreement) was the outcome of marathon talks, chaired by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell, involving all the major political groups in Northern Ireland and representatives of the British and Irish governments. It was endorsed on 22 May by referenda held in both parts of Ireland, with a vote of 71 percent in favor in Northern Ireland, and over 94 percent in the Republic of Ireland. Unedited excerpts from the agreement follow.

SEE ALSO Adams, Gerry; Constitution; Decommissioning; Economic Relations between North and South since 1922; Economic Relations between Northern Ireland and Britain; Equal Rights in Northern Ireland; Northern Ireland: Constitutional Settlement from Sunningdale to Good Friday; Northern Ireland: History since 1920; Northern Ireland: The United States in Northern Ireland since 1970; Royal Ulster Constabulary (including Specials); Ulster Politics under Direct Rule

AGREEMENT REACHED IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS

Declaration of Support

1. We, the participants in the multi-party negotiations, believe that the agreement we have negotiated offers a truly historic opportunity for a new beginning.

2. The tragedies of the past have left a deep and profoundly regrettable legacy of suffering. We must never forget those who have died or been injured, and their

families. But we can best honour them through a fresh start, in which we firmly dedicate ourselves to the achievement of reconciliation, tolerance, and mutual trust, and to the protection and vindication of the human rights of all.

3. We are committed to partnership, equality and mutual respect as the basis of relationships within Northern Ireland, between North and South, and between these islands.

4. We reaffirm our total and absolute commitment to exclusively democratic and peaceful means of resolving differences on political issues, and our opposition to any use or threat of force by others for any political purpose, whether in regard to this agreement or otherwise.

5. We acknowledge the substantial differences between our continuing, and equally legitimate, political aspirations. However, we will endeavour to strive in every practical way towards reconciliation and rapprochement within the framework of democratic and agreed arrangements. We pledge that we will, in good faith, work to ensure the success of each and every one of the arrangements to be established under this agreement. It is accepted that all of the institutional and constitutional arrangements—an assembly in Northern Ireland, a North/South Ministerial Council, implementation bodies, a British-Irish Council and a British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference and any amendments to British acts of parliament and the constitution of Ireland—are interlocking and interdependent and that in particular the functioning of the assembly and the North/South Council are so closely inter-related that the success of each depends on that of the other.

6. Accordingly, in a spirit of concord, we strongly commend this agreement to the people, North and South, for their approval.

Constitutional Issues

1. The participants endorse the commitment made by the British and Irish governments that, in a new British-Irish Agreement replacing the Anglo-Irish Agreement, they will:

- (i) recognise the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union with Great Britain or a sovereign united Ireland;
- (ii) recognise that it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively and without external impediment, to exercise their right of self-determination

on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish, accepting that this right must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland;

- (iii) acknowledge that while a substantial section of the people in Northern Ireland share the legitimate wish of a majority of the people of the island of Ireland for a united Ireland, the present wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, freely exercised and legitimate, is to maintain the Union and, accordingly, that Northern Ireland's status as part of the United Kingdom reflects and relies upon that wish; and that it would be wrong to make any change in the status of Northern Ireland save with the consent of a majority of its people;
- (iv) affirm that if, in the future, the people of the island of Ireland exercise their right of self-determination on the basis set out in sections (i) and (ii) above to bring about a united Ireland, it will be a binding obligation on both governments to introduce and support in their respective parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish;
- (v) affirm that whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, the power of the sovereign government with jurisdiction there shall be exercised with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all the people in the diversity of their identities and traditions and shall be founded on the principles of full respect for, and equality of, civil, political, social and cultural rights, of freedom from discrimination for all citizens, and of parity of esteem and of just and equal treatment for the identity, ethos, and aspirations of both communities;
- (vi) recognise the birthright of all the people of Northern Ireland to identify themselves and be accepted as Irish or British, or both, as they may so choose, and accordingly confirm that their right to hold both British and Irish citizenship is accepted by both governments and would not be affected by any future change in the status of Northern Ireland.

2. The participants also note that the two governments have accordingly undertaken in the context of this comprehensive political agreement, to propose and support changes in, respectively, the constitution of Ireland and in British legislation relating to the constitutional status of Northern Ireland.

Annex A

Draft Clauses/Schedules for Incorporation in British Legislation

1. (1) It is hereby declared that Northern Ireland in its entirety remains part of the United Kingdom and shall not cease to be so without the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland voting in a poll held for the purposes of this section in accordance with Schedule 1.
- (2) But if the wish expressed by a majority in such a poll is that Northern Ireland should cease to be part of the United Kingdom and form part of a united Ireland, the secretary of state shall lay before parliament such proposals to give effect to that wish as may be agreed between her majesty's government in the United Kingdom and the government of Ireland.
2. The Government of Ireland Act 1920 is repealed; and this act shall have effect notwithstanding any other previous enactment. . . .

Annex B

Irish Government Draft Legislation to Amend the Constitution

Add to Article 29 the following sections:

- 7.
1. The state may consent to be bound by the British-Irish Agreement done at Belfast on the day of 1998, hereinafter called the Agreement.
1. Any institution established by or under the Agreement may exercise the powers and functions thereby conferred on it in respect of all or any part of the island of Ireland notwithstanding any other provision of this constitution conferring a like power or function on any person or any organ of state appointed under or created or established by or under this constitution. Any power or function conferred on such an institution in relation to the settlement or resolution of disputes or controversies may be in addition to or in substitution for any like power or function conferred by this constitution on any such person or organ of state as aforesaid.
1. If the government declare that the state has become obliged, pursuant to the Agreement, to give effect to the amendment of this constitution referred to therein, then, notwithstanding Article 46 hereof, this constitution shall be amended as follows: . . .

Article 2

It is the entitlement and birthright of every person born in the island of Ireland, which includes its islands and seas, to be part of the Irish nation. That is also the entitlement of all persons otherwise qualified in accordance with law to be citizens of Ireland. Furthermore, the Irish nation cherishes its special affinity with people of Irish ancestry living abroad who share its cultural identity and heritage.

Article 3

1. It is the firm will of the Irish nation, in harmony and friendship, to unite all the people who share the territory of the island of Ireland, in all the diversity of their identities and traditions, recognising that a united Ireland shall be brought about only by peaceful means with the consent of a majority of the people, democratically expressed, in both jurisdictions in the island. Until then, the laws enacted by the parliament established by this constitution shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws enacted by the parliament that existed immediately before the coming into operation of this constitution.

2. Institutions with executive powers and functions that are shared between those jurisdictions may be established by their respective responsible authorities for stated purposes and may exercise powers and functions in respect of all or any part of the island. . . .

'8. The state may exercise extra-territorial jurisdiction in accordance with the generally recognised principles of international law. . . .

Strand One: Democratic Institutions in Northern Ireland

1. This agreement provides for a democratically elected assembly in Northern Ireland which is inclusive in its membership, capable of exercising executive and legislative authority, and subject to safeguards to protect the rights and interests of all sides of the community.

The Assembly

2. A 108-member assembly will be elected by PR(STV) from existing Westminster constituencies.

3. The assembly will exercise full legislative and executive authority in respect of those matters currently within the responsibility of the six Northern Ireland government departments, with the possibility of taking on responsibility for other matters as detailed elsewhere in this agreement.

4. The assembly—operating where appropriate on a cross-community basis—will be the prime source of authority in respect of all devolved responsibilities.

Safeguards

5. There will be safeguards to ensure that all sections of the community can participate and work together successfully in the operation of these institutions and that all sections of the community are protected, including:

- (a) allocations of committee chairs, ministers and committee membership in proportion to party strengths;
- (b) the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and any bill of rights for Northern Ireland supplementing it, which neither the assembly nor public bodies can infringe, together with a Human Rights Commission;
- (c) arrangements to provide that key decisions and legislation are proofed to ensure that they do not infringe the ECHR and any bill of rights for Northern Ireland;
- (d) arrangements to ensure key decisions are taken on a cross-community basis;
 - (i) either parallel consent, i.e., a majority of those members present and voting, including a majority of the unionist and nationalist designations present and voting;
 - (ii) or a weighted majority (60%) of members present and voting, including at least 40% of each of the nationalist and unionist designations present and voting.

Key decisions requiring cross-community support will be designated in advance, including election of the chair of the assembly, the first minister and deputy first minister, standing orders and budget allocations. In other cases such decisions could be triggered by a petition of concern brought by a significant minority of assembly members (30/108).

- (e) an Equality Commission to monitor a statutory obligation to promote equality of opportunity in specified areas and parity of esteem between the two main communities, and to investigate individual complaints against public bodies.

Operation of the Assembly

6. At their first meeting, members of the assembly will register a designation of identity—nationalist,

unionist or other—for the purposes of measuring cross-community support in assembly votes under the relevant provisions above.

7. The chair and deputy chair of the assembly will be elected on a cross-community basis, as set out in paragraph 5(d) above.

8. There will be a committee for each of the main executive functions of the Northern Ireland administration. The chairs and deputy chairs of the assembly committees will be allocated proportionally, using the d'Hondt system. Membership of the committees will be in broad proportion to party strengths in the assembly to ensure that the opportunity of committee places is available to all members.

9. The committees will have a scrutiny, policy development and consultation role with respect to the department with which each is associated, and will have a role in initiation of legislation. They will have the power to:

- consider and advise on departmental budgets and annual plans in the context of the overall budget allocation;
- approve relevant secondary legislation and take the committee stage of relevant primary legislation;
- call for persons and papers;
- initiate enquiries and make reports;
- consider and advise on matters brought to the committee by its minister.

10. Standing committees other than departmental committees may be established as may be required from time to time.

11. The assembly may appoint a special committee to examine and report on whether a measure or proposal for legislation is in conformity with equality requirements, including the ECHR/bill of rights. The committee shall have the power to call people and papers to assist in its consideration of the matter. The assembly shall then consider the report of the committee and can determine the matter in accordance with the cross-community consent procedure.

12. The above special procedure shall be followed when requested by the executive committee, or by the relevant departmental committee, voting on a cross-community basis.

13. When there is a petition of concern as in 5(d) above, the assembly shall vote to determine whether the measure may proceed without reference to this special procedure. If this fails to achieve support on a cross-community basis, as in 5(d)(i) above, the special procedure shall be followed.

Executive Authority

14. Executive authority to be discharged on behalf of the assembly by a first minister and deputy first minister and up to ten ministers with departmental responsibilities.

15. The first minister and deputy first minister shall be jointly elected into office by the assembly voting on a cross-community basis, according to 5(d)(i) above.

16. Following the election of the first minister and deputy first minister, the posts of ministers will be allocated to parties on the basis of the d'Hondt system by reference to the number of seats each party has in the assembly.

17. The ministers will constitute an executive committee, which will be convened, and presided over, by the first minister and deputy first minister.

18. The duties of the first minister and deputy first minister will include, inter alia, dealing with and coordinating the work of the executive committee and the response of the Northern Ireland administration to external relationships.

19. The executive committee will provide a forum for the discussion of, and agreement on, issues which cut across the responsibilities of two or more ministers, for prioritising executive and legislative proposals and for recommending a common position where necessary (e.g., in dealing with external relationships).

20. The executive committee will seek to agree each year, and review as necessary, a programme incorporating an agreed budget linked to policies and programmes, subject to approval by the assembly, after scrutiny in assembly committees, on a cross-community basis. . . .

Legislation

26. The assembly will have authority to pass primary legislation for Northern Ireland in devolved areas, subject to:

- (a) the ECHR and any bill of rights for Northern Ireland supplementing it which, if the courts found to be breached, would render the relevant legislation null and void;
- (b) decisions by simple majority of members voting, except when decision on a cross-community basis is required;
- (c) detailed scrutiny and approval in the relevant departmental committee;
- (d) mechanisms, based on arrangements proposed for the Scottish parliament, to ensure suitable co-ordination, and avoid disputes, between the assembly and the Westminster parliament;

- (e) option of the assembly seeking to include Northern Ireland provisions in United Kingdom-wide legislation in the Westminster parliament, . . .

Relations with Other Institutions

. . . 32. Role of secretary of state:

- (a) to remain responsible for NIO matters not devolved to the assembly, subject to regular consultation with the assembly and ministers;
- (b) to approve and lay before the Westminster parliament any assembly legislation on reserved matters;
- (c) to represent Northern Ireland interests in the United Kingdom cabinet;
- (d) to have the right to attend the assembly at their invitation.

33. The Westminster parliament (whose power to make legislation for Northern Ireland would remain unaffected) will:

- (a) legislate for non-devolved issues, other than where the assembly legislates with the approval of the secretary of state and subject to the control of parliament;
- (b) to legislate as necessary to ensure the United Kingdom's international obligations are met in respect of Northern Ireland;
- (c) scrutinise, including through the Northern Ireland grand and select committees, the responsibilities of the secretary of state.

34. A consultative civic forum will be established. It will comprise representatives of the business, trade union and voluntary sectors, and such other sectors as agreed by the first minister and the deputy first minister. It will act as a consultative mechanism on social, economic and cultural issues. . . .

Strand Two: North/South Ministerial Council

1. Under a new British/Irish Agreement dealing with the totality of relationships, and related legislation at Westminster and in the Oireachtas, a North/South Ministerial Council to be established to bring together those with executive responsibilities in Northern Ireland and the Irish government, to develop consultation, co-operation and action within the island of Ireland—including through implementation on an all-island and cross-border basis—on matters of mutual interest within the competence of the administrations, North and South.

2. All council decisions to be by agreement between the two sides. Northern Ireland to be represented by the

first minister, deputy first minister and any relevant ministers, the Irish government by the taoiseach and relevant ministers, all operating in accordance with the rules for democratic authority and accountability in force in the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Oireachtas respectively. Participation in the council to be one of the essential responsibilities attaching to relevant posts in the two administrations. If a holder of a relevant post will not participate normally in the council, the taoiseach in the case of the Irish government and the first and deputy first minister in the case of the Northern Ireland administration to be able to make alternative arrangements.

3. The Council to meet in different formats:

- (i) in plenary format twice a year, with Northern Ireland representation led by the first minister and deputy first minister and the Irish government led by the taoiseach;
- (ii) in specific sectoral formats on a regular and frequent basis with each side represented by the appropriate minister;
- (iii) in an appropriate format to consider institutional or cross-sectoral matters (including in relation to the EU) and to resolve disagreement.

4. Agendas for all meetings to be settled by prior agreement between the two sides, but it will be open to either to propose any matter for consideration or action.

5. The council:

- (i) to exchange information, discuss and consult with a view to co-operating on matters of mutual interest within the competence of both administrations, North and South;
- (ii) to use best endeavours to reach agreement on the adoption of common policies, in areas where there is a mutual cross-border and all-island benefit, and which are within the competence of both administrations, North and South, making determined efforts to overcome any disagreements;
- (iii) to take decisions by agreement on policies for implementation separately in each jurisdiction, in relevant meaningful areas within the competence of both administrations, North and South;
- (iv) to take decisions by agreement on policies and action at an all-island and cross-border level to be implemented by the bodies to be established as set out in paragraphs 8 and 9 below.

6. Each side to be in a position to take decisions in the council within the defined authority of those attending, through the arrangements in place for co-ordination of executive functions within each jurisdic-

tion. Each side to remain accountable to the assembly and Oireachtas respectively, whose approval, through the arrangements in place on either side, would be required for decisions beyond the defined authority of those attending.

7. As soon as practically possible after elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly, inaugural meetings will take place of the assembly, the British/Irish Council and the North/South Ministerial Council in their transitional forms. All three institutions will meet regularly and frequently on this basis during the period between the elections to the assembly, and the transfer of powers to the assembly, in order to establish their *modus operandi*.

8. During the transitional period between the elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly and the transfer of power to it, representatives of the Northern Ireland transitional Administration and the Irish government operating in the North/South Ministerial Council will undertake a work programme, in consultation with the British government, covering at least 12 subject areas, with a view to identifying and agreeing by 31 October 1998 areas where co-operation and implementation for mutual benefit will take place. Such areas may include matters in the list set out in the Annex.

9. As part of the work programme, the council will identify and agree at least 6 matters for co-operation and implementation in each of the following categories:

- (i) Matters where existing bodies will be the appropriate mechanisms for co-operation in each separate jurisdiction;
- (ii) Matters where the co-operation will take place through agreed implementation bodies on a cross-border or all-island level.

10. The two governments will make necessary legislative and other enabling preparations to ensure, as an absolute commitment, that these bodies, which have been agreed as a result of the work programme, function at the time of the inception of the British-Irish Agreement and the transfer of powers, with legislative authority for these bodies transferred to the assembly as soon as possible thereafter. Other arrangements for the agreed co-operation will also commence contemporaneously with the transfer of powers to the assembly.

11. The implementation bodies will have a clear operational remit. They will implement on an all-island and cross-border basis policies agreed in the council.

12. Any further development of these arrangements to be by agreement in the Council and with the specific endorsement of the Northern Ireland Assembly and Oireachtas, subject to the extent of the competences and responsibility of the two administrations.

13. It is understood that the North/South Ministerial Council and the Northern Ireland Assembly are mutually inter-dependent, and that one cannot successfully function without the other.

14. Disagreements within the council to be addressed in the format described at paragraph 3(iii) above or in the plenary format. By agreement between the two sides, experts could be appointed to consider a particular matter and report.

15. Funding to be provided by the two administrations on the basis that the council and the implementation bodies constitute a necessary public function.

16. The council to be supported by a standing joint secretariat, staffed by members of the Northern Ireland Civil Service and the Irish Civil Service.

17. The council to consider the European Union dimension of relevant matters, including the implementation of EU policies and programmes and proposals under consideration in the EU framework. Arrangements to be made to ensure that the views of the council are taken into account and represented appropriately at relevant EU meetings.

18. The Northern Ireland Assembly and the Oireachtas to consider developing a joint parliamentary forum, bringing together equal numbers from both institutions for discussion of matters of mutual interest and concern.

19. Consideration to be given to the establishment of an independent consultative forum appointed by the two administrations, representative of civil society, comprising the social partners and other members with expertise in social, cultural, economic and other issues.

Annex

Areas for North–South co-operation and implementation may include the following:

1. Agriculture—animal and plant health.
2. Education—teacher qualifications and exchanges.
3. Transport—strategic transport planning.
4. Environment—environmental protection, pollution, water quality, and waste management.
5. Waterways—inland waterways.
6. Social Security/Social Welfare—entitlements of cross-border workers and fraud control.
7. Tourism—promotion, marketing, research, and product development.
8. Relevant EU Programmes such as SPPR, INTER-REG, Leader II and their successors.
9. Inland Fisheries.

10. Aquaculture and marine matters.

11. Health: accident and emergency services and other related cross-border issues.

12. Urban and rural development.

Others to be considered by the shadow North/South Council.

Strand Three: British–Irish Council

1. A British–Irish Council (BIC) will be established under a new British–Irish Agreement to promote the harmonious and mutually beneficial development of the totality of relationships among the peoples of these islands.

2. Membership of the BIC will comprise representatives of the British and Irish governments, devolved institutions in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, when established, and, if appropriate, elsewhere in the United Kingdom, together with representatives of the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands.

3. The BIC will meet in different formats: at summit level, twice per year; in specific sectoral formats on a regular basis, with each side represented by the appropriate minister; in an appropriate format to consider cross-sectoral matters.

4. Representatives of members will operate in accordance with whatever procedures for democratic authority and accountability are in force in their respective elected institutions.

5. The BIC will exchange information, discuss, consult and use best endeavours to reach agreement on co-operation on matters of mutual interest within the competence of the relevant Administrations. Suitable issues for early discussion in the BIC could include transport links, agricultural issues, environmental issues, cultural issues, health issues, education issues and approaches to EU issues. Suitable arrangements to be made for practical co-operation on agreed policies. . . .

British–Irish Intergovernmental Conference

1. There will be a new British–Irish Agreement dealing with the totality of relationships. It will establish a standing British–Irish Intergovernmental Conference, which will subsume both the Anglo–Irish Intergovernmental Council and the intergovernmental Conference established under the 1985 Agreement.

2. The conference will bring together the British and Irish governments to promote bilateral co-operation at all levels on all matters of mutual interest within the competence of both governments.

3. The conference will meet as required at summit level (prime minister and taoiseach). Otherwise, govern-

ments will be represented by appropriate ministers. Advisers, including police and security advisers, will attend as appropriate.

4. All decisions will be by agreement between both governments. The governments will make determined efforts to resolve disagreements between them. There will be no derogation from the sovereignty of either government.

5. In recognition of the Irish government's special interest in Northern Ireland and of the extent to which issues of mutual concern arise in relation to Northern Ireland, there will be regular and frequent meetings of the conference concerned with non-devolved Northern Ireland matters, on which the Irish government may put forward views and proposals. These meetings, to be co-chaired by the minister for foreign affairs and the secretary of state for Northern Ireland, would also deal with all-island and cross-border co-operation on non-devolved issues.

6. Co-operation within the framework of the conference will include facilitation of co-operation in security matters. The conference also will address, in particular, the areas of rights, justice, prisons and policing in Northern Ireland (unless and until responsibility is devolved to a Northern Ireland administration) and will intensify co-operation between the two governments on the all-island or cross-border aspects of these matters.

7. Relevant executive members of the Northern Ireland administration will be involved in meetings of the conference, and in the reviews referred to in paragraph 9 below to discuss non-devolved Northern Ireland matters.

8. The conference will be supported by officials of the British and Irish governments, including by a standing joint secretariat of officials dealing with non-devolved Northern Ireland matters.

9. The conference will keep under review the workings of the new British-Irish Agreement and the machinery and institutions established under it, including a formal published review three years after the Agreement comes into effect. Representatives of the Northern Ireland administration will be invited to express views to the conference in this context. The conference will contribute as appropriate to any review of the overall political agreement arising from the multi-party negotiations but will have no power to override the democratic arrangements set up by this agreement.

Rights, Safeguards and Equality of Opportunity

Human Rights

1. The parties affirm their commitment to the mutual respect, the civil rights and the religious liberties of everyone in the community. Against the background of the recent history of communal conflict, the parties affirm in particular:

- the right of free political thought;
- the right to freedom and expression of religion;
- the right to pursue democratically national and political aspirations;
- the right to seek constitutional change by peaceful and legitimate means;
- the right to freely choose one's place of residence;
- the right to equal opportunity in all social and economic activity, regardless of class, creed, disability, gender or ethnicity;
- the right to freedom from sectarian harassment; and
- the right of women to full and equal political participation.

United Kingdom Legislation

2. The British government will complete incorporation into Northern Ireland law of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), with direct access to the courts, and remedies for breach of the convention, including power for the courts to overrule assembly legislation on grounds of inconsistency.

3. Subject to the outcome of public consultation underway, the British government intends, as a particular priority, to create a statutory obligation on public authorities in Northern Ireland to carry out all their functions with due regard to the need to promote equality of opportunity in relation to religion and political opinion; gender; race; disability; age; marital status; dependants; and sexual orientation. Public bodies would be required to draw up statutory schemes showing how they would implement this obligation. Such schemes would cover arrangements for policy appraisal, including an assessment of impact on relevant categories, public consultation, public access to information and services, monitoring and timetables.

4. The new Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission (see paragraph 5 below) will be invited to consult and to advise on the scope for defining, in Westminster legislation, rights supplementary to those in the

European Convention on Human Rights, to reflect the particular circumstances of Northern Ireland, drawing as appropriate on international instruments and experience. These additional rights to reflect the principles of mutual respect for the identity and ethos of both communities and parity of esteem, and—taken together with the ECHR—to constitute a bill of rights for Northern Ireland. Among the issues for consideration by the commission will be:

the formulation of a general obligation on government and public bodies fully to respect, on the basis of equality of treatment, the identity and ethos of both communities in Northern Ireland; and

a clear formulation of the rights not to be discriminated against and to equality of opportunity in both the public and private sectors.

New Institutions in Northern Ireland

5. A new Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission, with membership from Northern Ireland reflecting the community balance, will be established by Westminster legislation, independent of government, with an extended and enhanced role beyond that currently exercised by the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights, to include keeping under review the adequacy and effectiveness of laws and practices, making recommendations to government as necessary; providing information and promoting awareness of human rights; considering draft legislation referred to them by the new assembly; and, in appropriate cases, bringing court proceedings or providing assistance to individuals doing so. . . .

Comparable Steps by the Irish Government

9. The Irish government will also take steps to further strengthen the protection of human rights in its jurisdiction. The government will, taking account of the work of the All-Party Oireachtas Committee on the Constitution and the Report of the Constitution Review Group, bring forward measures to strengthen and underpin the constitutional protection of human rights. These proposals will draw on the European Convention on Human Rights and other international legal instruments in the field of human rights and the question of the incorporation of the ECHR will be further examined in this context. The measures brought forward would ensure at least an equivalent level of protection of human rights as will pertain in Northern Ireland. In addition, the Irish government will:

establish a Human Rights Commission with a mandate and remit equivalent to that within Northern Ireland;

proceed with arrangements as quickly as possible to ratify the Council of Europe Framework Convention on National Minorities (already ratified by the UK);

implement enhanced employment equality legislation;

introduce equal status legislation; and

continue to take further active steps to demonstrate its respect for the different traditions in the island of Ireland.

A Joint Committee

10. It is envisaged that there would be a joint committee of representatives of the two Human Rights Commissions, North and South, as a forum for consideration of human rights issues in the island of Ireland. The joint committee will consider, among other matters, the possibility of establishing a charter, open to signature by all democratic political parties, reflecting and endorsing agreed measures for the protection of the fundamental rights of everyone living in the island of Ireland.

Reconciliation and Victims of Violence

11. The participants believe that it is essential to acknowledge and address the suffering of the victims of violence as a necessary element of reconciliation. They look forward to the results of the work of the Northern Ireland Victims Commission.

12. It is recognised that victims have a right to remember as well as to contribute to a changed society. The achievement of a peaceful and just society would be the true memorial to the victims of violence. The participants particularly recognise that young people from areas affected by the troubles face particular difficulties and will support the development of special community-based initiatives based on international best practice. The provision of services that are supportive and sensitive to the needs of victims will also be a critical element and that support will need to be channelled through both statutory and community-based voluntary organisations facilitating locally-based self-help and support networks. This will require the allocation of sufficient resources, including statutory funding as necessary, to meet the needs of victims and to provide for community-based support programmes.

13. The participants recognise and value the work being done by many organisations to develop reconcili-

ation and mutual understanding and respect between and within communities and traditions, in Northern Ireland and between North and South, and they see such work as having a vital role in consolidating peace and political agreement. Accordingly, they pledge their continuing support to such organisations and will positively examine the case for enhanced financial assistance for the work of reconciliation. An essential aspect of the reconciliation process is the promotion of a culture of tolerance at every level of society, including initiatives to facilitate and encourage integrated education and mixed housing.

Rights, Safeguards and Equality of Opportunity

Economic, Social and Cultural Issues

1. Pending the devolution of powers to a new Northern Ireland Assembly, the British government will pursue broad policies for sustained economic growth and stability in Northern Ireland and for promoting social inclusion, including in particular community development and the advancement of women in public life.

2. Subject to the public consultation currently under way, the British government will make rapid progress with:

- (i) a new regional development strategy for Northern Ireland, for consideration in due course by the assembly, tackling the problems of a divided society and social cohesion in urban, rural and border areas, protecting and enhancing the environment, producing new approaches to transport issues, strengthening the physical infrastructure of the region, developing the advantages and resources of rural areas and rejuvenating major urban centres;
- (ii) a new economic development strategy for Northern Ireland, for consideration in due course by the Assembly, which would provide for short and medium term economic planning linked as appropriate to the regional development strategy; and
- (iii) measures on employment equality included in the recent White Paper ("Partnership for Equality") and covering the extension and strengthening of anti-discrimination legislation, a review of the national security aspects of the present fair employment legislation at the earliest possible time, a new more focused Targeting Social Need initiative and a range of measures aimed at combating unemployment and progressively eliminating the differential in unemployment rates between the two communities by targeting objective need.

3. All participants recognise the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots and the languages of the various ethnic communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of Ireland.

4. In the context of active consideration currently being given to the UK signing the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, the British government will in particular in relation to the Irish language, where appropriate and where people so desire it:

- take resolute action to promote the language;
- facilitate and encourage the use of the language in speech and writing in public and private life where there is appropriate demand;
- seek to remove, where possible, restrictions which would discourage or work against the maintenance or development of the language;
- make provision for liaising with the Irish language community, representing their views to public authorities and investigating complaints;
- place a statutory duty on the Department of Education to encourage and facilitate Irish medium education in line with current provision for integrated education;
- explore urgently with the relevant British authorities, and in co-operation with the Irish broadcasting authorities, the scope for achieving more widespread availability of *Teilifis na Gaeilge* in Northern Ireland;
- seek more effective ways to encourage and provide financial support for Irish language film and television production in Northern Ireland; and
- encourage the parties to secure agreement that this commitment will be sustained by a new Assembly in a way which takes account of the desires and sensitivities of the community.

5. All participants acknowledge the sensitivity of the use of symbols and emblems for public purposes, and the need in particular in creating the new institutions to ensure that such symbols and emblems are used in a manner which promotes mutual respect rather than division. Arrangements will be made to monitor this issue and consider what action might be required.

Decommissioning

1. Participants recall their agreement in the Procedural Motion adopted on 24 September 1997 "that the

resolution of the decommissioning issue is an indispensable part of the process of negotiation," and also recall the provisions of paragraph 25 of Strand 1 above.

2. They note the progress made by the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning and the governments in developing schemes which can represent a workable basis for achieving the decommissioning of illegally-held arms in the possession of paramilitary groups.

3. All participants accordingly reaffirm their commitment to the total disarmament of all paramilitary organisations. They also confirm their intention to continue to work constructively and in good faith with the Independent Commission, and to use any influence they may have, to achieve the decommissioning of all paramilitary arms within two years following endorsement in referendums North and South of the Agreement and in the context of the implementation of the overall settlement.

4. The Independent Commission will monitor, review and verify progress on decommissioning of illegal arms, and will report to both governments at regular intervals.

6. Both governments will take all necessary steps to facilitate the decommissioning process to include bringing the relevant schemes into force by the end of June.

Security

1. The participants note that the development of a peaceful environment on the basis of this agreement can and should mean a normalisation of security arrangements and practices.

2. The British government will make progress towards the objective of as early a return as possible to normal security arrangements in Northern Ireland, consistent with the level of threat and with a published overall strategy, dealing with:

- (i) the reduction of the numbers and role of the Armed Forces deployed in Northern Ireland to levels compatible with a normal peaceful society;
- (ii) the removal of security installations;
- (iii) the removal of emergency powers in Northern Ireland; and
- (iv) other measures appropriate to and compatible with a normal peaceful society. . . .

Policing and Justice

1. The participants recognise that policing is a central issue in any society. They equally recognise that Northern Ireland's history of deep divisions has made it

highly emotive, with great hurt suffered and sacrifices made by many individuals and their families, including those in the RUC and other public servants. They believe that the Agreement provides the opportunity for a new beginning to policing in Northern Ireland with a police service capable of attracting and sustaining support from the community as a whole. They also believe that this agreement offers a unique opportunity to bring about a new political dispensation which will recognise the full and equal legitimacy and worth of the identities, senses of allegiance and ethos of all sections of the community in Northern Ireland. They consider that this opportunity should inform and underpin the development of a police service representative in terms of the make-up of the community as a whole and which, in a peaceful environment, should be routinely unarmed. . . .

4. The participants believe that the aims of the criminal justice system are to:

deliver a fair and impartial system of justice to the community;

be responsive to the community's concerns, and encouraging community involvement where appropriate;

have the confidence of all parts of the community; and

deliver justice efficiently and effectively.

5. There will be a parallel wide-ranging review of criminal justice (other than policing and those aspects of the system relating to the emergency legislation) to be carried out by the British government through a mechanism with an independent element, in consultation with the political parties and others. . . .

Prisoners

1. Both governments will put in place mechanisms to provide for an accelerated programme for the release of prisoners, including transferred prisoners, convicted of scheduled offences in Northern Ireland or, in the case of those sentenced outside Northern Ireland, similar offences (referred to hereafter as qualifying prisoners). Any such arrangements will protect the rights of individual prisoners under national and international law. . . .

Validation, Implementation and Review

Validation and Implementation

1. The two governments will as soon as possible sign a new British-Irish Agreement replacing the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, embodying understandings on constitutional issues and affirming their solemn commitment to support and, where appropriate, implement

the Agreement reached by the participants in the negotiations which shall be annexed to the British-Irish Agreement.

2. Each government will organise a referendum on 22 May 1998. Subject to parliamentary approval, a consultative referendum in Northern Ireland, organised under the terms of the Northern Ireland (Entry to Negotiations, etc.) Act 1996, will address the question: "Do you support the agreement reached in the multi-party talks on Northern Ireland and set out in Command Paper 3883?" The Irish government will introduce and support in the Oireachtas a bill to amend the constitution as described in paragraph 2 of the section "Constitutional Issues" and in Annex B, as follows: (a) to amend Articles 2 and 3 as described in paragraph 8.1 in Annex B above and (b) to amend Article 29 to permit the government to ratify the new British-Irish Agreement. On passage by the Oireachtas, the bill will be put to referendum.

3. If majorities of those voting in each of the referendums support this agreement, the governments will then introduce and support, in their respective parliaments, such legislation as may be necessary to give effect to all aspects of this agreement. . . .

Review Procedures Following Implementation

. . . 7. If difficulties arise which require remedial action across the range of institutions, or otherwise require amendment of the British-Irish Agreement or relevant legislation, the process of review will fall to the two governments in consultation with the parties in the assembly. Each government will be responsible for action in its own jurisdiction. . . .

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND

The British and Irish governments:

Welcoming the strong commitment to the Agreement reached on 10th April 1998 by themselves and other participants in the multi-party talks and set out in Annex 1 to this agreement (hereinafter "the Multi-Party Agreement");

Considering that the Multi-Party Agreement offers an opportunity for a new beginning in relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands;

Wishing to develop still further the unique relationship between their peoples and the close co-operation between their countries as friendly neighbours and as partners in the European Union;

Reaffirming their total commitment to the principles of democracy and non-violence which have been fundamental to the multi-party talks;

Reaffirming their commitment to the principles of partnership, equality and mutual respect and to the protection of civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights in their respective jurisdictions;

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The two governments:

- (i) recognise the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its status, whether they prefer to continue to support the union with Great Britain or a sovereign united Ireland;
- (ii) recognise that it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively and without external impediment, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish, accepting that this right must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the Agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland;
- (iii) acknowledge that while a substantial section of the people in Northern Ireland share the legitimate wish of a majority of the people of the island of Ireland for a united Ireland, the present wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, freely exercised and legitimate, is to maintain the Union and accordingly, that Northern Ireland's status as part of the United Kingdom reflects and relies upon that wish; and that it would be wrong to make any change in the status of Northern Ireland save with the consent of a majority of its people;
- (iv) affirm that, if in the future, the people of the island of Ireland exercise their right of self-determination on the basis set out in sections (i) and (ii) above to bring about a united Ireland, it will be a binding obligation on both governments to introduce and support in their respective parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish;
- (v) affirm that whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, the power of the sovereign government with jurisdiction there shall be exercised with rigorous impar-

tiality on behalf of all the people in the diversity of their identities and traditions and shall be founded on the principles of full respect for, and equality of, civil, political, social and cultural rights, of freedom from discrimination for all citizens, and of parity of esteem and of just and equal treatment for the identity, ethos and aspirations of both communities;

- (vi) recognise the birthright of all the people of Northern Ireland to identify themselves and be accepted as Irish or British, or both, as they may so choose, and accordingly confirm that their right to hold both British and Irish citizenship is accepted by both governments and would not be affected by any future change in the status of Northern Ireland.

Article 2

The two governments affirm their solemn commitment to support, and where appropriate implement, the provisions of the Multi-Party Agreement. In particular there shall be established in accordance with the provisions of the Multi-Party Agreement immediately on the entry into force of this agreement, the following institutions:

- (i) a North/South Ministerial Council;
- (ii) the implementation bodies referred to in paragraph 9 (ii) of the section entitled "Strand Two" of the Multi-Party Agreement;
- (iii) a British-Irish Council;
- (iv) a British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference.

Article 3

(1) This agreement shall replace the Agreement between the British and Irish governments done at Hillsborough on 15th November 1985 which shall cease to have effect on entry into force of this agreement.

(2) The Intergovernmental Conference established by Article 2 of the aforementioned agreement done on 15th November 1985 shall cease to exist on entry into force of this agreement.

Article 4

(1) It shall be a requirement for entry into force of this agreement that:

- (a) British legislation shall have been enacted for the purpose of implementing the provisions of Annex A to the section entitled "Constitutional Issues" of the Multi-Party Agreement;
- (b) the amendments to the constitution of Ireland set out in Annex B to the section entitled "Constitutional Issues" of the Multi-Party Agreement shall have been approved by referendum;
- (c) such legislation shall have been enacted as may be required to establish the institutions referred to in Article 2 of this agreement.

(2) Each government shall notify the other in writing of the completion, so far as it is concerned, of the requirements for entry into force of this agreement. This agreement shall enter into force on the date of the receipt of the later of the two notifications.

(3) Immediately on entry into force of this agreement, the Irish government shall ensure that the amendments to the constitution of Ireland set out in Annex B to the section entitled "Constitutional Issues" of the Multi-Party Agreement take effect.

In witness thereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto by the respective governments, have signed this agreement.

Done in two originals at Belfast on the 10th day of April 1998.

*For the government
of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Northern
Ireland
For the government
of Ireland*

*A full text of this document is available at the Northern
Ireland Office Online at [http://www.nio.gov.uk/issues/
agreement.htm](http://www.nio.gov.uk/issues/agreement.htm).*

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