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**MAIN EVENTS AND CHARACTERS THAT CONTRIBUTED
TO THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND**

Bakalářská práce

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Prohlašuji, že jsem závěrečnou práci vypracoval samostatně a použil jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

V Olomouci 18. 4. 2016

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vlastnoruční podpis

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Abstract

The bachelor thesis focuses on key events and characters that contributed to the birth of the Republic of Ireland the most. After historical context, the reader is acquainted with particular chapters starting at the end of the 18th century with the Act of Union and finishing in the middle of the 20th century with Ireland becoming a republic. The project also studies relationships between Ireland and Great Britain as well as between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

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List of abbreviations:

GPO	General Post Office
IPP	Irish Parliamentary Party
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
MP	Member of Parliament
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
USC	Ulster Special Constabulary

Introduction

The aim of this bachelor thesis is to study Irish history and discover key events and characters that helped Ireland on its way to gain independence.

Since my first history classes I have already known what my bachelor thesis topic should be related to. At first, the topic was intended to be mainly concerned with Roman Catholic and Protestant clashes but as I have later discovered, the problem is more political rather than religious. Ireland was always in the shadow of its greater neighbour and many things are thus not known to the general public. I decided to focus on the creation of the Republic of Ireland and the events and characters that contributed to it the most. Some topics of my project are very often overlooked in media and school books. My intention was therefore to show the former colonial empire from a different perspective and, at the same time, to be as much objective as possible, using both primary and secondary sources. The most important reason why I have chosen this theme is that I am an Ireland enthusiast and wanted to study and understand this particular part of history in more detail.

Considering the form of my thesis, each chapter is closed by “Commentary and conclusion” where I try to support the importance of chosen event or character and conclude the main ideas. I prefer plain text to frequent interruptions by headlines so the number of chapters is not high.

My work opens with a brief historical context, followed by the Act of Union 1801 and some great and talented people that had much influence in the 19th century Ireland. The most important part in republican movement (i.e. the first half of the 20th century) is described more thoroughly.

1. Historical context

The Gaels settled in Ireland between 600 and 150 BC. In the 5th century, Saint Patrick was instrumental in spreading Christianity there. The 9th and 10th century were known for the Vikings and Danes invasions, followed by the Normans in 12-14th century. Ireland became England's first colony as they invaded the island in the 12th century. Henry VII took control over the Irish parliament in 1495 and tried to detach the Church of Ireland from the Papacy. The Irish did not want to accept English Protestant religion and first riots occurred. What is more, Queen Elizabeth kept sending English people to Ulster (a province in Northern Ireland) and disrupted the original composition of population. Under the rule of James I (17th century), the people of Ireland were basically distinguished as Protestants and Roman Catholics (hereinafter referred to as Catholics) and from then on, they were oppressed by Cromwell, William III of England and others. From 1727, Catholics had no right to vote nor were they allowed to work in public offices (Holwell, 1997).

2. Act of Union, the United Irishmen

At the end of the 18th century, the Irish politics were influenced by the American War of Independence. When the American colonists opposed the British supremacy, many Irish people were on their side. Both the Americans and the Irish were in a similar situation. Ireland was a legally independent country with its own Parliament. However, it was the British who appointed the Lord Lieutenant, the one who was in charge of Ireland. The independence was thus only notional. In fact, the Irish affairs were still in control of Great Britain (McDowell, p. 175-178, 1996).

The Irish Parliament approved the granting of the Irish military forces to the king when necessary. Those forces were used mainly for actions against the American colonies. The fact that the Irish would fight against the Americans caused an outcry. Ireland, especially Belfast, where the danger was higher, thus stayed unprotected against an invasion. At that time, the government was aware of French and American attack in order to free their Irish allies. Due to the fact, Protestants of Belfast formed a voluntary organisation which, equipped with guns, artillery and uniforms, comprised a hundred thousand volunteers by the end of 1779. The lack of English help caused that the Irish volunteers, in the manner of the Americans, created an association that refused the English import. Accusing Catholics of a military formation, the helpless British government tried to incite Catholics against Protestants but instead, they united them (Jackson, p. 72-73, 1951). Henry Grattan, a leader of the volunteers and a member of the parliament, demanded Ireland to get the status of an independent country. Although he was a brilliant speaker, the parliamentary majority denied his proposals (McDowell, p. 176, 1996).

The Irish volunteers were declining. A new organisation, the Society of United Irishmen (1791-1798), followed in their footsteps. Just like the volunteers, they were also

influenced by a revolution. This time it was the French Revolution 1789. Theobald Wolfe Tone is considered to be the main initiator of the Society. He is the author of *An Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland* that urges both Catholics and Protestants to forget about the past and create a united nation. A parliamentary reform was the main intention of the Society. However, Tone, as well as the volunteers, wanted Ireland's separation from England (Jackson, p. 79-81, 1951).

The United Irishmen were ahead of time. They were against the rents, in favour of the land reform and the abolishing of tithes. These topics formed the basis of the late 19th century politics. The Society was in contact with the Jacobites in France. Tone's good relations with France played a significant role in the following years (Jackson, p. 83, 1951).

In 1793, The Irish Parliament passed the Catholic Relief Act that admitted the Catholic franchise but they were still not allowed to sit in the parliament and hold high posts (McDowell, p. 183, 1996). The same year, Great Britain declared war on France and, due to their mutual contact, also on the United Irishmen. The government took measures to prevent any organisation from assembling, revolting and from becoming a political party. The Society was considered illegal and in 1794 its Dublin branch was dissolved (Jackson, p. 88-98, 1951).

Meanwhile, in Ulster, riots between Protestants and Catholics occurred. These revolts, for the sake of land, resulted in the Battle of Diamond in 1795 (McDowell, p. 183, 1996). On the Catholic side there were the Defenders, a secret military organisation connected with the United Irishmen. They were defeated by Protestants who formed the Orange Order (Jackson, p. 13-14, 2010).

Henry Graham, leading the Whigs, supported the policy of Catholic appeasement. He wanted to achieve their emancipation and also a parliament reform. His friend and new Lord Lieutenant W. W. Fitzwilliam was appointed to push these ideas through

but the British Cabinet, disapproving of the emancipation, removed him from the office. The radicals began planning a French invasion into Ireland but the British network of spies detected the information. In December 1796 the fleet sailed out from France but, luckily for the badly positioned British navy and due to bad weather conditions, they were unable to disembark. The British government was shocked by the fact that the invasion almost happened. It was apparent that the Irish rebels were forming a dangerous and cohesive group (McDowell, p. 183-184, 2010).

The British immediately took revenge. They introduced the Act of Indemnity and the Insurrection Act, both of which suppressed the rebels and favoured the government troops and the Orange society militants. The courts ignored Protestant's violence and the Orange members were thus temporarily immune from punishment (Jackson, p. 111, 1951). The Castle concentrated its forces in Ulster where the probability of invasion was very high. Those who were suspected were imprisoned and their houses were burnt. In 1798, the Martial law was announced. The United Irishmen were weakened and some of them left the country. Despite all that, they revolted in 1798. The rebellions, which took place in several counties, were easily suppressed, except in the county of Wexford, where the rebels resisted longer (Jackson, p. 15-17, 2010).

William Pitt, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, had a clear idea about the Irish question. He was about to unite Great Britain and Ireland together. In 1780s, this idea had little if any sympathisers. The events of the 1790s, however, changed the opinion of many MPs and, also thanks to the cabinet's propaganda campaign, Ireland became a part of the United Kingdom in 1801 (McDowell, p. 183-184, 2010).

Commentary and conclusion:

The world events that took place at the end of the 18th century had much influence on Ireland. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution aroused the desire for freedom among the Irishmen as well. Due to the British hostile relationship to both America and France (who were the Irish allies) and to their supremacy over the island, Ireland wanted to gain independence from Great Britain.

I have chosen the Irish volunteers and the United Irishmen as the most important groups of this era. They both demanded a parliamentary reform and separation of Great Britain and Ireland. The United Irishmen with T. W. Tone as the main initiator were more advanced and ahead of time. Their ideas formed the basis of the late 19th century politics. Although their effort to get help from France and the uprising of 1798 failed, the Irish worked as a team and the British government was aware of that. Paradoxically, it was these events that changed the political situation and helped William Pitt to implement the Act of Union in 1801. Ireland was given another reason to fight.

3. Daniel O’Connell and the Young Irelanders

In the whole history of Ireland there was no such a half-century that was so influenced by a single man (Whyte, p.188, 1996). This man was born into a wealthy Catholic family in 1792 in County Kerry, Ireland (Jackson, p.30, 2010). After the Catholics were allowed to become members of the legal profession, he became one of the first Catholic and most successful barristers in Ireland. In 1814-1847 he led the Irish political scene. His name is Daniel O’Connell (Whyte, p.188, 1996).

In May 1823 he established the Catholic Association and a Catholic rent (Jackson, p. 30, 2010). The aim of the association was to gain as wide range of classes of population as possible. The fee consisted of one penny a month. Being affordable even for the poor, the rent meant that the Catholic Association earned more money than any other catholic association before. Thanks to the Roman Catholic clergy, the rent and the newspapers, where the protests were printed, morality and cohesion were once again born among the Catholics (Whyte, p.190, 1996; also in Jackson, p. 30, 1996). It was not the institutions neither the scheme, that O’Connell created, for which he achieved the unique results. They were well known and already applied earlier in history. Instead, it was his ferocious energy and tenacity he based his ideas on (Jackson, p.31, 2010). Still, it is a matter of speculation whether the political leaders, nationalist intellectuals or the common people like teachers, newspaper editors and priests were ‘building’ the Irish nation in the 19th century (O’Day, p.18, 2004).

By 1826, the Catholics were not allowed to sit in the Parliament but they had the right to vote. In most of the counties they constituted the majority. Until then, due to the system of the 40-shilling freehold voting, Catholic freeholders were voting for the sake of their anti-emancipationist landlord. In the general elections that year, owing to the policy of the Catholic Association, the freeholders defied the commands of the landlords and

voted for the Catholic candidates. As a result, the pro-emancipationists (both Protestants and Catholics) won the election in four counties (Whyte, p.190, 1996).

Following the previous success and strongly supported by the association, Daniel O'Connell won the 1828 parliamentary election in Clare. In that period, nor the Duke of Wellington (the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom) neither Robert Peel (Home Secretary) were necessarily against the emancipation. That led to another success – the Roman Catholic Relief Act 1829 (Whyte, p. 192, 1996). It was the result of the government's fear of a possible resistance. The Catholics were from that time allowed to work in most offices except the Lord Chancellorship's (Jackson, p.35, 2010); they could be members of Parliament, ministers, judges, or generals. Not many Catholics actually reached such professions but it boosted their morality and they felt equal again (Whyte, p.192, 1996).

Although O'Connell intended to achieve the equalization peacefully (Whyte, p.192, 1996), Catholics started forming military groups. O'Connell's policy served as a functional model for later activists. Catholics had the future in their hands. They got an opportunity (Jackson, p.35, 2010). O'Connell was taking advantage of several things, though. Firstly, it was Wellington and Peer's moderate attitude to the emancipation. He did not face any unrepentant opponents either. Secondly, the Houses of Parliament were disunited (Whyte, p.193, 1996).

In Ireland, O'Connell was a hero. Being of an opinion that it will be for the good of the Irish people, he made use of his influence by supporting the Liberal Party (the Whigs). They, in return, agreed to some minor reforms that O'Connell requested (Whyte, p.194, 1996). By the 1830s it was apparent that the Whigs would not push all his demands through. Moreover, in 1840 it was assumed that the Conservatives would gain power over the Liberal party, which they really did in July 1841 after the general election victory.

O'Connell's dilatory policy of the last ten years was over. Instead, in July 1840, he established the Loyal National Repeal Association and commenced his second large campaign, this time for the repeal of the union (Jackson, p.38-39, 2010).

In October 1841, O'Connell was elected lord mayor of Dublin. He used the function to demonstrate the capability of the repeal movement. Towards the end of his term in office (in 1842), he initiated the plans for the repeal (Jackson, p.46, 2010). Most of his tactics were resembling those in the 1820s. Another fee was collected, bringing the association even bigger income than the previous one was. The Catholic clergy provided support again (Whyte, p.194, 1996). In 1843, O'Connell restored the idea of public meetings (Jackson, p.47, 2010). He held more than 40 of them during that year (Whyte, p.194, 1996). The biggest one took place in Tara, the former throne of the ancient Irish kings. The crowd was enormous. It kept pouring into the place during the whole night and when the dawn came, it revealed nearly a million people who came to see their idol. The aim of the meeting and O'Connell's speech was to condemn the Act of Union. For example, his rhetorical question "Are you and I a bit more Englishmen now than we were twenty or forty years ago?" received a round of applause (Oliver, p.80, 1987). Even though they were in such great numbers, people at the meetings were well disciplined, for the 10 000 voluntary horsemen – the so called Repeal police – secured maintaining of order (Bardon, 2009). The meeting, just as the 1820s elections, had an entertaining character as well, seeing as the bands and harpists performed (Jackson, p.47, 2010).

O'Connell was convinced that after reaching four fifths of the Irish population in the Repeal association, the Parliament will have no other option than to cancel the Act of Union. He believed that no government had been able to resist such a pressure and the British were no exception. O'Connell worked on the assumption that the political situation of the 1840s was similar to the one of the 1820s. It was not. While the 1829

Parliament was mostly in favour of the emancipation, in 1843 they were strictly against the end of the union. O'Connell was thus facing both Liberal and Conservative Party with only about twenty people on his side. As Robert Peel, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, said in his 1843 speech, there were no means, nor power or authority that would not be used to keep the union. The cancellation of the union would lead to the repeal of the Parliamentary law and to the end of the Empire (Whyte, p.196-197, 1996).

The posters on 8 October announced another meeting at Clontarf. It was supposed to have a military tendency (Jackson, p.48, 2010). Even the choice of sites was highly provocative and symbolic. The places like Tara or Clontarf saw furious battles where many Irishmen died (O'Driscoll, 2014). As a result, the government banned the Clontarf meeting and O'Connell decided to abandon it due to his strategy of staying within the law. It was a turning point for the repeal movement (Jackson, p.48, 2010). O'Connell's assumption that a peaceful movement necessarily leads to the gaining of independence proved to be wrong. It was ever more obvious that he failed and did not know how to proceed (Whyte, p.197, 1996).

There was a group of people called the Young Irelanders, who were a part of the Repealers (O'Driscoll, 2014). Among the most prominent members were Thomas Davis (a Dublin's protestant lawyer), Charles Gavan Duffy (a Catholic journalist), and John Mitchel (a Unitarian lawyer). They all contributed to The Nation magazine, in which their thoughts were spread (Whyte, p.197-198, 1996). Originally, they sympathised with O'Connell's ideas and some issues were devoted to him. Later on, having been frustrated, they detached themselves from their leader and broke the unity of the Loyal National Repeal Association. The magazine became more militaristic. After Davis' death, Mitchel became the major contributor. His articles were greatly factious. On 22 November 1845, for example, in an article called *Threats of Coercion* he was enraged at the amount of

money spent on railways development in Ireland so the troops, suppressing the movement, could move more easily. The fact that the Irish people were starving makes it even more appalling (O'Driscoll, 2014).

The Young Irelanders, unlike Daniel O'Connell, supported any criminal and violent activity against the British government and thus encouraged the nationalists. They formed the Irish Confederation (O'Driscoll, 2014) and in 1848 rebelled against the British rule. They were unsuccessful. The leaders either emigrated or were imprisoned. The political effects were intense. The Young Irelanders picked up the threads of the United Irishmen (Ó Cathaoir, 1998). Although the Young Irelanders meant a lot to the Irish nationalism and they even came up with the Irish tricolour and still popular Irish songs, historically, they were in the shadow of Daniel O'Connell (O'Driscoll, 2014).

Commentary and conclusion:

For some twenty years after the Act of Union, the Irishmen were paralysed. They needed a new leader. The so expected return of the nationalist movement came in the form of Daniel O'Connell. He created the Catholic Association that helped him to win a parliamentary seat. He made use of the situation in the Houses of Parliament and reached several successes. When the Liberals were replaced by the Conservatives, O'Connell established the Loyal National Repeal Association and began his campaign for the repeal of the union. His mass meetings were very popular but the situation of the 1840s was different from the 1820s. The Parliament was strictly against the cancellation of the union and the fame of O'Connell was declining. The Young Irelanders, a group of activists separated from the repeal movement, believed that O'Connell's legal law enforcement is not the option. They preferred the military way and revolted in 1848. Although unsuccessful, they stressed the Irish discontent with the British supremacy. They were the ones who followed the United Irishmen and who tried to bring O'Connell's

repeal movement to the end. As well as D. O'Connell, the United Irishmen also served as a model for later nationalists.

Daniel O'Connell was unique in his determination to achieve his goals lawfully. That was not the case of later groups and campaigns. He was the first to raise enough money for the campaigns. Many later organisations have learnt a lesson from his failures. He literally dominated the 1st half of the 19th century Irish politics. He was a hero and an idol of masses and had the ability to incite the people to take the required actions. O'Connell was especially important for his successes in negotiations with the British government, although he took advantage of the situation in the Houses of Parliament.

4. The Great Famine

After the Act of Union, the Irish society was socially and economically unbalanced. The landowners lived beyond their means and as far as their land prospered, they did not trouble themselves with taking care of the way it was managed. The Irish discovered potatoes, which, together with milk, were part of an everyday meal. Growing potatoes was, compared to corn, more efficient. According to that fact, corn was grown for money purposes only. Thanks to the peace in Ireland, its population arose. While in 1800 there were 5 million people, forty years later it was already 8 million. A problem of mass unemployment arose. More and more people emigrated to England or Northern America. In 1840s, more than two thirds of the population were dependent on agriculture, or, in other words, on potatoes. These crops, however, spoil very easily and cannot be stored as long as corn can be. The tragedy that followed caught the British government completely unprepared (Green, p.201-2013, 1996).

In 1843, there were some news about a disease that affected potato harvest in the United States. It was a virulent disease, a fungus, called phythophthora infestans. Two years later, in 1845, the virus was noticed in England and Ireland and because it occurred later in the season, half of the harvest was saved. However, the situation of the following year was critical. There was a crop failure all around Ireland. The area of potatoes planted decreased from 2,000,000 acres (1845) to 300,000 (1847). 1847, a year of hope, was followed by another bad harvest of 1848. The British government faced an unprecedented crisis (Jackson, p.68-69, 2010).

At the outset of the famine, Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, created a research commission (Jackson, p.70, 2010) that was supposed to examine the disease. Unfortunately, the commission failed and their new task was to distribute food. In 1845, Robert Peel purchased grain from the United States worth £100,000 to control the

increasing price on the market (Green, p.203, 1996). Peel was of the opinion that it was better to sell the food rather than give. As a consequence, he established an institution that provided work for the starving. Another important fact is that, despite the lack of food in Ireland, Robert Peel decided not to ban the export of food. In 1846 his government failed in their endeavour and the Tories were replaced by the Whigs, with Lord John Russel as the Prime Minister (Green, p.204, 1996). The Whig government continued with the work scheme which ended in fiasco. Food was sold at the cost price and the poor, with low if any wages, could not afford it until the Destitute Poor Act 1847, when food was available for free via soup kitchens. This policy was a success and by August 1847, more than 3 million people were fed there. Without help of private organisations (the Quakers or the British Relief Association), the soup kitchens would not be put into operation so quickly. These canteens were not available everywhere, though. The poor had to travel long distances to reach one. If they made it, they had to wait in long queues and were thus exposed to the risk of becoming infected with all kinds of diseases, e.g. typhus (Jackson, p. 70-73, 2010), dysentery, or scurvy (Green, p.206, 1996).

The most devastated areas were in the south and west of Ireland. People there tried to find a shelter in the workhouses, yet the conditions there were gruesome, as they were not built to deal with such a disaster. The number of people housed there peaked in 1849 when it nearly reached a million (Jackson, p.75, 2010).

The famine caused the deaths of one million people. In 1845-1855, about two million emigrated (Donnelly, 2011) to the United States, England, or Canada (Green, p.207, 1996). Those who survived asked themselves a question: who was responsible for the whole situation? An array of people criticised the British government and its dogmatism while the Whigs accused the Irish landlords. John Mitchel, a member of the Young

Irelanders, said that it was the God who sent the disease but it was the British who caused the famine by allowing food export while the Irish were starving (Jackson, p.76-78, 2010).

Commentary and conclusion:

The famine played a significant role in the later 19th century politics. The way the British coped with the crisis (they were giving food in exchange for work at first; the export of food was not banned) evoked deep anger and bitterness among the decimated people of Ireland. In their eyes, the British were the guilty ones. I included the famine because it interrupted the repeal movement for some time and completely changed the strategy of the upcoming nationalists. O'Connell already reached Catholic emancipation and, thanks to him, it was known that not even the pressure put on the British government would change their attitude. The Irish Tenant League and Parnell thus seized the opportunity the famine presented them with – it pointed out the problem with land.

5. The Fenians and the land question

The Famine determined the course of Irish politics in the middle of the 19th century. The people were depressed and disunited in their opinions. The population decreased by approximately three million (Donnelly, 2011; also in Jackson, p.86, 2010). For that very reason, the farmland expanded and the living conditions improved (Moody, p.210, 1996). The Great Famine also interrupted the efforts of the repeal movement and worsened the relationships between landlords and tenants. The landowners were put under big pressure during the potato crisis and many of them wrought their anger on the landholders either by higher rents or ejection. The tenants had no right for compensation. As a reaction, farmers all over Ireland established tenant organisations which were followed by the creation of the Irish Tenant League in 1850 by courtesy of Charles Gavan Duffy and other politicians (Jackson, p.86-87, 2010).

Although the Tenant league unified farmers of all religions (Jackson, p.87, 2010), the chasm between the mostly Protestant minority, who agreed with the union, and the Catholic majority, who were in favour of the cancellation, deepened. The Catholics viewed the union as an irreparable wrongdoing. For them, it meant poverty, underdevelopment and, primarily, the Famine (Moody, p.211, 1996). What is more, Peel's government angered the Catholic clergy by godless Queen's colleges, followed by Lord Russel's anti-Catholic acts (Jackson, p.87-88, 2010). Protestant Ulster minority, consisting of the land aristocracy and Protestant community, was strictly for the union because it was the British who contributed to the industrial revolution in Ulster. Unlike the rest of Ireland, which was not very affected by the developments, the Ulster tenants could hold land longer (Moody, p.211, 1996).

The Irish Tenant League was popular thanks to the principle of three "fs" (fair rent, free sale, fixity of tenure) which they were trying to push through the Independent Irish

Party in the Parliament. After the general elections, the party fell apart and opened the way for the Fenians, also known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). The IRB members were connected with the 1848 rising and their ranks included American Civil War veterans (Jackson, p.91-92, 2010) and predominantly working-class people. James Stevens and John O'Mahony were the most prominent members of the Brotherhood, who wanted to achieve the independence by military means and did not trouble themselves with the land reforms (Moody, p.212-213, 1996). The intention of the IRB was to wait until Britain would be busy with a war with some nation or when it would be weakened by any other reason (Jackson, p.92, 2010). The Brotherhood was a secret organisation consisting mostly of Catholics who believed in separation of the Church and the state (Moody, p.213, 1996).

As well as the United Irishmen, the Fenians were interested in the international scene too. They were supported by the Americans, chiefly by the Fenian Brotherhood (an IRB's American organisation), who knew what it was like to be occupied by the British. The IRB, in comparison with the United Irishmen and the Young Irelanders, went further. While the latter generally stayed within the law at the beginning of their career, the first-mentioned did the exact opposite (Jackson, p.93-96, 2010).

The Fenian rebellion 1867 was suppressed and its leaders were imprisoned. After the trial, the Fenians rescued two of their members who were guarded by police. One policeman was killed and, as an immediate response, three members of the organisation (Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien) were hung (Jackson, p.97-98, 2010). The executions were followed by a public outrage. A massive funeral procession, resembling a demonstration, followed the coffins of the three martyrs. Some of the participants were prosecuted (Jackson, p.216-217, 1951). The effect was remarkable. The executions fastened the public attention and the Fenians gained new support (Jackson, p.101-102, 2010).

The rising itself focused on Dublin and Cork and the aim was to wait until the American support comes. Although the organisation was poor, about ten thousand people were willing to fight (Jackson, p.100-101, 2010). The Fenians were not discouraged by the failure at all. They learned a lesson, replaced their leaders and waited for another opportunity.

The actions of the brotherhood gained attention of W. E. Gladstone, the liberal British Prime Minister sympathizing with Ireland. His reforms, called “justice for Ireland”, represented the British endeavour to solve the Irish problems. The Irish Church Act (1869) detached the Church of Ireland from the state and caused the churches to be equal. With the Land Act (1870), Gladstone tried to resolve the problem with tenants. The Irish University Bill (1873) did not meet the requirements of both Catholics and Protestants (Moody, p.214-215, 1996).

In 1870, the first Home Rule movement came into existence, as Isaac Butt established the Home Government Association and united both religions (Jackson, p. 109, 2010). Butt demanded autonomous parliament in Ireland under the sovereignty of the crown. He acquired the IRB support, although it was not what they had originally fought for (Moody, p. 215, 1996). The public supported the idea but did not become as enthusiastic as it was about the repeal movement. That means no fee was collected. When the Catholic clergy became interested in the Home Rule movement, the Protestant part of the Association detached (Jackson, p. 109-112, 2010).

Isaac Butt was an imperialist who rejected land reforms and sectarianism. In his advanced age, he faced the young nationalists within the Association who criticised him for being idle. Among them were Joseph Gillis Biggar, John O’Conner Power, and Charles Stewart Parnell. Although Butt liked the idea of obstructions in parliament, these men, despite Butt’s disapproval, pushed its limits further. They disrupted the government

discussions whenever possible (Jackson, p. 109-112, 2010) and were so successful that they became hated by the members of the houses (Moody, p. 216, 1996). These tactics had hardly any gain but were very popular among the Irish. Parnell and Biggar's party got much needed support, divided the Home Rule movement and demeaned Isaac Butt, as he had to resign after the lost election in 1877. In the Home Rule Confederation, Butt was replaced by Parnell (Jackson, p. 113, 2010).

Commentary and conclusion:

The Great Famine interrupted any kind of nationalist movement. It underlined the problem between landlords and tenants and because the British had hardly any interest in dealing with the situation, the farmers created the Irish Tenant League. After the failure of the Independent Irish Party, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (the Fenians) came into existence. They followed the previous organisations such as the United Irishmen or the Young Irelanders and went further with their endeavour. Although the Whigs, with Gladstone in the lead, tried to help the Irish, the Fenians wanted more. Their aim was to cancel the union. Isaac Butt came with an idea of the Home Rule – an autonomous parliament in Ireland under the sovereignty of the crown. He opened the way for other successful politicians of the late 19th century – Ch. S. Parnell and M. Davitt. After the repeal movement, the Home Rule was the second attempt to gain independence peacefully.

The Irish Republican Brotherhood followed in the United Irishmen and the Young Irelanders' footsteps. They avoided the preceding mistakes, worked in secret and preferred military actions. The organisation almost disappeared from the political scene at the turn of the 20th century but it played an important role in a later republican movement. Their rebellion of 1867 pointed out the fact that even if the rising was unsuccessful, the British suppression would be followed by public outrage.

The post-famine era revealed a much wider problem than the land issue. For the first time, the Protestant Ulster minority showed their sympathies with the Union because of the British contribution to the industrial revolution in Ulster. The later politicians had to take that into consideration.

6. Charles Stewart Parnell and Michael Davitt

Although born in County Wicklow, Ireland into a Protestant landowning family, Parnell preserved his anti-British stance. After he interrupted his studies in Cambridge, he returned to Ireland where the Fenians were repressed. That arose his Irish national feeling even more (O'Brien, 2016). Simultaneously with Parnell, another important figure of the late 19th century entered the Irish politics. It was Michael Davitt, who was released after seven years of prison in 1877 for his activities in the IRB. He was full of hatred towards the British supremacy and the system of the land possessions (Moody, p. 217, 1996).

In 1878 there was another agrarian crisis. It underlined imperfections of the Irish Land Act 1870 that was based on the punctuality of paying rent. Moreover, a bad potato harvest hit Ireland once again (Jackson, p. 241, 1951). In fear of repeating the Great Famine, Davitt established the Irish Land League in 1879 with Parnell in its lead (O'Brien, 2016). Their main aim was to fight against the ejection of tenants and, in the long term, to make them owners of the land they were working on. The cooperation of Parnell and Davitt was crucial. While Parnell was a brilliant leader and well respected among the movement members, Davitt was its driving force. The extent of the league was enormous. All the nationalists, including the Fenians, but also some Catholic clergy, were united into one organisation. *The Clan na Gael*, a successor of the Fenian Brotherhood, provided enough financial support. The result was the Land War of 1879-1882 (Moody, p. 218-219, 1996). It is important to remark that Great Britain's and American Catholics contributed to Parnell's success to the same as (or even greater) degree than the Irish ones. After the famine, most of the Irishmen settled there. They were not warmly accepted by the Protestant majority. In their eyes England was still an enemy and the memories of home,

as well as hope in Ireland's autonomy, still remained (Boyce, p. 203, 1995). That's the reason of the IRB's strong international support.

Whenever there was an eviction of a tenant in Ireland, it was followed by mass demonstrations. Those who were expelled were offered accommodation and support by the league. An embargo was imposed on the responsible landowners. After the 1880 elections, Gladstone was in the office once again, replacing the Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. Parnell won a seat in the parliament (Moody, p. 218-219, 1996).

In the House of Commons, Parnell submitted a structure of a new law, recompensing the evicted tenants. With Gladstone, he reached several compromises but the law was denied by the House of Lords in 1880. The decision was followed by a wave of violence (Jackson, p. 245, 1951). In the following period, the Land League acted as a secondary government. The case of Captain Charles Boycott nicely depicts its actions (Moody, p. 220, 1996). He sent tenants the notices to leave his land. That resulted in him being completely cut off from the outside world. His servants left, the merchants sold him no goods and only police was able to deliver him letters. The volunteers, followed by police, helped him harvest the crops (Jackson, p. 246-247, 1951).

The House of Commons passed a law that permitted the government to apprehend anybody suspicious and keep him or her in custody for unlimited time. As a consequence, Michael Davitt, followed by Parnell and other members of the League, were arrested in 1881 (Jackson, p. 248-249, 1951) and the league was dissolved (Moody, p. 221, 1996). The Gladstone's government passed a new Land Act 1881 that introduced the Land commission. This commission calculated every tenant a rent that was to be valid for the next 15 years (Moody, p.220, 1996).

Both Parnell and Gladstone knew that without any organisation, the agrarian movement would lead to acts of violence or terrorism. For this reason and due to the

Kilmainham treaty 1882, Parnell and others were released from prison. When things were finally looking better and Parnell reached another success, Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Chief Secretary, and T. H. Burke were murdered in Dublin by a terrorist organisation (Jackson, p. 250-251, 1951). Both Parnell and Davitt condemned the act (Jackson, p. 122, 2010).

After Gladstone's Land Act, the rents decreased by twenty percent. The landowners found it more favourable to sell the land instead of renting it. In 1885, the Ashbourn's Conservative Party started to subsidize the purchasing of land. It was followed by other measures in 1903 that caused the old system of land possession to be abolished. Although it was not what Davitt had originally intended (he did not realise its effect at first), the new system was revolutionary. As Parnell said, he would not be launching into the land campaign if he was not sure it would open the way for the independence. The nationalists solved one problem and could concentrate on another – the Act of Union (Moody, p.221, 1996).

Commentary and conclusion:

In 1879, Davitt and Parnell, two main figures of this era, created the Irish Land League, a successor of the Irish Tenant League of 1850. While the IRB was waiting for the opportunity to rise, they were fighting against the tenants' evictions and they were often successful. For a certain time, they acted as a secondary government. Gladstone, however, took appropriate measures and imprisoned the leaders. Due to the danger of escalation of violence, the leaders were released. In 1881 the Land Act was passed which, together with other reforms, definitely solved the Irish land problem. The land was not only an agrarian issue, it was basically a conflict between Catholic tenants and Protestant landowners. The land success was thus also Catholic success. They were freed from paying the rents – that is, if they could afford to buy a land – and were no longer afraid of losing their ground.

7. On the way to the republic

7.1. Home Rule

After Parnell's death in 1891, Irish hopes in self-government were over. His funeral was followed with a mass public interest (Jackson, p. 271, 1951). The Irish nationalists had no leader. A dull period of politics ensued when the Home Rule idea was considered dangerous. What is more, any military intentions were unacceptable by 1900. At the turn of the 20th century, the farmers were enjoying at least one of Parnell's successes and they prospered. Some people therefore thought Ireland achieved its goal but not everyone was of the opinion (Curtis, p. 333-338, 2002).

The pro-Irish Liberals won the elections in 1906 in order to press for the Home Rule in the Parliament. The so much desirable law of the Irish majority was being negotiated once again. However, the House of Lords had the last say in the matter and they could veto the bill at any time (Curtis, p. 333-338, 2002), which they indeed did in 1886 and 1893 (McNally, p. 7, 2007). At the beginning of the 20th century, neither the English population nor the crown supported the Irish self-government. In Ireland, it was the Orange Order who held the pro-Union stance. They were strictly against the Home Rule and afraid that Catholics would gain dominion over all Ireland. Looking back into the past, the nationalists (both O'Connell and Parnell for example) were highly tolerant of other religions (Curtis, p. 338, 2002).

Belfast became a notional centre of Ireland. With its developing industry (mostly linen, cotton and ship-building), it attracted attention of the Orange unionists. The people of Belfast and Ulster believed that the industry boom is connected with Free Trade and thus the Union. As distinct from 1800, when they had disagreed with the act, the Protestants now supported the British supremacy (Curtis, p. 340, 2002).

On the opposite side, Arthur Griffith, a South African journalist, established the *United Irishmen* newspaper in 1899. Griffith was loyal to Parnell's legacy. He considered the Act of Union illegal and all those MPs who voted for it responsible for the illicitness. His newly emerged political party *Sinn Féin*¹ became very popular but, from the very beginning, their so desirable success in the general elections did not come. There existed a friendship between *Sinn Féin* and the IRB but both parties differed. The former supported passive resistance and dual monarchy but the latter preferred the military means in order to establish the republic. Although the IRB was weakened by the split of the Parnellites, it soon returned to life. Similar to Michael Davitt, Thomas James Clark was also released from prison and immediately started helping the IRB. *Irish Freedom*, an IRB's newspaper, spread the idea of the independent republic. The new young generation of the nationalists who were raised and educated by the Gaelic League² and whose ranks included names like Pearse, Plunkett or MacDonagh, identified themselves with the idea (McCartney, p. 226-233, 1996).

According to McCartney (p. 233, 1996), the existence of these particular groups (i.e. the Gaelic League, *Sinn Féin* or the IRB) was very crucial. Each group focused on different matters but together, they created a school of thoughts that influenced the new generation and contributed to the events of 1891-1921.

Meanwhile in the Houses of Parliament, Redmond's party pushed through the Parliament Act 1911. From then on, the House of Lords could not veto the bill anymore. Every law issued in the House of Commons was to be valid within two years. When the Irish Parliamentary Party introduced the third Home Rule bill, it was only a matter of time until it would come to effect. In 1907, colonial countries such as Australia,

¹ *Sinn Féin* comes from the Irish language and means "we ourselves" or "ourselves alone". They represented the nationalists who resisted to the crown (Arthur, 2015)

² Gaelic League: an organisation established to revive the Irish language (Curtis, p. 345, 2002)

Canada, or South Africa already had their self-government. It looked as if it was Ireland's turn but the Orange Order in Ulster wanted to forestall the bill at all costs. Sir Edward Carson initiated a signing of the Ulster Covenant and showed that the Protestants are united (Curtis, p. 347, 2002). As it is seen in Appendix 1, it would not be easy for Catholics to unite the whole Ireland under the republic. As they said, the people of Ulster were willing to use "*all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland*". For them, it was advantageous to be in the union with Great Britain. As it was already mentioned, Belfast and the whole Ulster was thankful to the British for the industrial boom. The whole situation resembled Robert Peel's attitude towards O'Connell's repeal movement. He was willing to use any means necessary as well.

The third Home Rule bill was to be valid by 1914. At that time, Protestants were already arming and formed the Ulster Volunteer Force. They managed to smuggle in rifles and ammunition from Germany. As a reaction, the pro-Home Rule side raised the National Volunteers body and acquired arms and ammunition too. The situation would have probably led to a civil war if an unpredictable event had not occurred. In June 1914, the heir to the Austria-Hungary throne was killed at Sarajevo. Germany declared war on Serbia that was supported by Russia and France and after Germans invaded Belgium, the great powers were also joined by Great Britain on August 1914 (McNally, p. 8-14, 2007). The Great War interrupted the issue of Home Rule. It was said to be lawful after the end of the war (Curtis, p. 349, 2002).

Ireland was now in a situation which several groups were waiting for for ages, predominantly the IRB. Britain's attention was focused on the war and approximately 100,000 Irishmen were fighting there (Curtis, p. 349, 2002). The members of the

brotherhood decided to make use of their position and to plan an uprising (McCartney, p. 237, 1996).

Commentary and conclusion:

At the turn of the 20th century, neither the Crown nor the Orange Order were in favour of the Home Rule. When the Parliament Act 1911 was passed, the self-government was just a matter of time. However, the Great War postponed putting it into operation. Ulster Protestants were willing to use any force necessary to defeat the conspiracy. It was apparent that Ireland was split into two groups and it would be hard to unite the whole island together. Despite that, the IRB sensed their chance and planned an uprising in order to create a republic.

When Arthur Griffith's *Sinn Féin* was established, it was only to follow Parnell's legacy. Griffith considered the Act of Union illegal and hoped that his policy of passive resistance would be the way to achieve dual monarchy. The IRB still remained in secret, waiting for the British to be weakened. The IPP was trying to implement the Home Rule. At the same time, there were three different movements trying to make Ireland an independent country.

We can only guess what would happen if the Great War did not start and interrupt the Home Rule. It was said to be valid by the end of the war but Ulster Protestants were already arming at that time and the situation could have led to a civil war. The civil war happened anyway, however, and it could thus save people's lives and expedite the whole process. The problem was the IRB did not want to wait anymore.

7.2.The Easter Rising 1916

James Connolly worked as a commander of the Citizen Army. He was a socialist and had a great influence over the young leaders such as Pearse, MacDonagh and others.

Based on their relationship with Germany, they were all wrongly connected with *Sinn Féin*. The government wanted to have all the republican journals under control and it thus happened that *Irish Freedom* and *Irish Worker*³ had to be printed in Belfast and Glasgow. Connolly was eager to revolt and waited for the right opportunity. He had had enough of the British oppression and believed in power of his Citizen Army. In February 1916, Connolly was at the verge of his patience. The brotherhood, in fear he would alert the authorities, had to kidnap him. They told him about their plan to rise in Easter week 1916. Connolly agreed and became a member of the organisation (Jackson, p. 296-298, 1951). Only about twelve people knew about the plan. Among them was a veteran from the 1860s - John Devoy. He believed that when the uprising would take place, the ordinary Irishmen would join them. And if they were defeated, he was sure it would only strengthen the desire for the republic (Jackson, p. 298, 1951).

The IRB was not lucky enough to obtain arms and ammunition from Germany as the German ship *Aud* was blocked by the British Navy. When Eoin MacNeill, the leader of the National Volunteers, heard about the uprising, he was shocked. Clarke, Pearse, and MacDermott, who told him, made a mistake. MacNeill notified all Sunday newspapers about the plan and ordered to stop the rising. Nothing happened on Sunday and it looked as if the rebels obeyed (McNally, p. 16, 2007). But on Easter Monday 1916, Connolly's troops were seen as they rushed into the General Post Office (GPO) in Dublin and took over the building. On the front side of the building, the rebels raised the Irish tricolour (green, white and orange) and, as a president of the Provisional Government, Patrick Pearse proclaimed the republic (Jackson, p. 301. 1951). The proclamation itself (see Appendix 2) mentions that the IRB – in cooperation with the volunteers and the Citizen Army – “*waited for the right moment to reveal itself*” and that “*she strikes in full*”

³ *Irish Worker* was a republican magazine published by James Connolly (Jackson, p. 296, 1951)

confidence of victory". It confirms the fact that the IRB was back on the scene and that it waited for Great Britain to be weakened. It also emphasizes the necessity of the republic claiming "*the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty six times during the past three hundred years*". Every earlier attempt was suppressed and appropriately punished by the British side. Until then, no rising whatsoever had gotten that far nor had it been plotted so well. The IRB was supported by "her exiled children in America and allies in Europe". The leaders spoke in the name of God and the people and they believed that this time, the uprising would be successful. At the end of the document, there are the signatures of seven rebels, including Pearse and Connolly.

The number of rebels nearly reached one thousand but, in the following days, their ranks doubled as the volunteers from all over Ireland came to help. For the lack of people, they were not able to capture Dublin's castle nor did they expect the government to use artillery in so densely populated area. After seven days, on Sunday, all the insurgents surrendered (Jackson, p. 301, 1951). The response was cruel. Almost immediately, three people were executed, followed by fifteen others (including all the leaders who signed the proclamation). The martial law was declared and many innocent people were imprisoned. Both the armed forces and the government made many mistakes which *Sinn Féin* turned into their advantage (McCartney, p. 237, 1996). The people of Dublin did not sympathise with the rebels at first (Sabur, 2016). Both Irish and English magazines condemned the rebellion (Jackson, p. 305, 1951). However, the public opinion changed when people saw a picture of injured Connolly facing the firing troops. The executed leaders became martyrs (Sabur, 2016). Thanks to his American origin, Éamon de Valera evaded the execution and was elected President of *Sinn Féin* (Arthur Griffith became Vice-President). Prime Minister Lloyd George's plan to establish compulsory military service failed. Instead, it united *Sinn Féin* and other republican organisations together (they were strictly against the obligatory service). George commanded all the members of *Sinn Féin*

to be imprisoned for co-operation with Germany. Michael Collins, their leader, avoided the incarceration. The following period is known as the Anglo-Irish War (Jackson, p. 309-311, 1951).

Commentary and conclusion:

Despite some misfortunes, the IRB and Connolly's Citizen Army managed to revolt. They seized several buildings in Dublin centre, including the General Post Office, where they proclaimed the republic. After a week, they were forced to surrender. The British response was merciless. All the signatories were executed and many people were imprisoned. The newly established *Sinn Féin* party made use of the British mistakes and continued with the republican struggle while Great Britain persisted in her contra-revolutionary policy.

Although the IRB relied on public interest, it did not come at first. The Dublin forces were joined by volunteers from all over Ireland but the people of Dublin and both Irish and British magazines condemned the act. It was only the British brutality that changed the public opinion. The executed leaders became martyrs and, from then on, the Irish people saw their oversea neighbour in a different light.

The proclamation played an important role in the following period. It united the whole Ireland (including Ulster) under the republic and despite the fact that the north of Ireland was against the independence, many later republicans (the anti-Treaty forces) did not want to abandon the idea and were ready to fight for it.

7.3. The Anglo-Irish War 1919-21

In 1918, *Sinn Féin* won the general elections and replaced Redmond's IPP that worked well during peace. But the late 1910s completely changed the political situation

(McCartney, p. 238, 1996). After the polls, *Sinn Féin* formed *Dáil Éireann*⁴ and signed the Declaration of Independence. Two Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) members were shot at Soloheadbeg quarry by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and it is said that the event initiated the Anglo-Irish War, also called the Troubles (Cottrell, p. 45, 2006). After the republican political success, Britain launched preventive measures against the party. They banned the meetings, imprisoned the speakers and imposed censorship on electoral documents and literature. Ireland had two governments – *Dáil Éireann* and the Parliament of Great Britain. The former was highly supported by the public, the latter, situated in Dublin, had power and an army. The British were trying to interrupt the subvention and to have the people on their side. The 1920 local elections meant another success for the republicans and a vain effort of their oversea neighbour (Jackson, p. 313-314, 1951).

At the beginning of the war, practically all the *Sinn Féin* leaders were either abroad or in prison. The republican offences resulted from the British persecution. A complex system of spies, informers, and the RIC ensured that the Crown knew everything. To be able to face such an enemy, the Irish chose Michael Collins. His counterespionage activities, performed by volunteers, spies, or agents, successfully deflected British actions. In 1919, the above mentioned people established the IRA. Collins and the IRA literally paralysed the enemy's spy network. They were making attacks on police stations and warehouses to obtain arms. The IRA was popular in Ireland. They were helped by the people if necessary. The Irishmen were in advantageous position, seeing as they knew the local conditions better. The RIC was thus facing a huge resistance wherever they operated (Jackson, 314-316, 1951).

⁴ *Dáil Éireann* – was a parliament created after the proclamation of the Irish republic by the Easte rebels (Jackson, p. 313, 1951)

To deal with the situation, the Crown declared a state of emergency and, in 1920, they established two subdivisions of RIC – *the Black and Tans* and *the Auxiliaries*. The former's members were policemen recruited predominantly from England. The appalling fact is that the Englishmen also recruited criminals who were, in return for the service, forgiven some offences. The name itself referred to their special black caps and uniforms. *The Auxiliaries* consisted of the Great War veterans. Their status was higher than that of *the Black and Tans* and they were paid better. Both groups served as a mechanism to keep the public opinion on the British side. The government was aware that the martial law announcement would mean that the British are interfering in a foreign country and that they are the aggressors, not the Irish (Jackson, p. 316, 1951). Jackson (1951) claims *the Black and Tans* and *the Auxiliaries* resembled the Nazis and fascists during the Second World War in their tactics.

The whole world was outraged by the English policemen's actions (Jackson, p. 316, 1951). Whenever there was a British attack, the IRA ambushed in response. The new forces burnt towns of Balbriggan and Tuam. In Ulster, the loyalists created the Ulster Special Constabulary (USC) that reacted to the deaths of two Protestants killed by the IRA. The Constabulary, in return, murdered Catholics and burnt their houses (Dorney, 2012). They wanted to get rid of them forever. During these pogroms, Catholics were expelled from work, they were unable to defend themselves and many of them became homeless. The situation in Ireland was getting out of control (Jackson, p. 319, 1951).

The people of Ireland accepted *Dáil Éireann* as the primary parliament. That highlighted the powerlessness of the British institutions. Nothing changed after the cruel actions of *the Black and Tans*. The British government was limited by the public opinion in England. Because of economic reasons, they had to be careful about the opinion in

America too. It is a matter of question how would they behave without taking public opinion into consideration. But doing so, they did not improved their position either, as the Englishmen were divided into two groups – pro- and anti-revolutionary (Jackson, p. 320, 1951).

However, both sides (*the Black and Tans* and the IRA) continued with their actions. On 21 November 1920, in a massive offensive, the IRA units assassinated 14 men including 8 English officers. In blazing anger, the British troops reacted even more cruelly (Dorney, 2012a). Heavily armed, they rushed into Croke Park in Dublin where thousands of citizens were watching a football game. About 100 soldiers shot into the crowd, killing 13 people and injuring 60 others. The troops justified their actions by saying it was the crowd who fired first but no one confirmed that. The day became known as Bloody Sunday 1920 (Dorney, 2011).

The events escalated quickly. Next week, 17 members of *the Auxiliaries* were killed by the IRA. The opposite side reacted with burning houses in Cork where the incident happened (Dorney, 2012a). In Ireland, railroad workers refused to transport any troops or weapons and after blasting bridges and mining some arterial roads, the IRA complicated the British movement. It was apparent the war would be lengthy and bloody. Ever more leaders called for truce (Jackson, p. 320, 1951). By the half of 1921, about one thousand people died and thousands of activists were imprisoned. On 11 July 1921 the truce was finally announced (Dorney, 2012a).

After de Valera's return from America, where he obtained funds for the party, the British side started negotiations with *Dáil Éireann*. Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins were chosen as the representatives of the Irish Republic. In December 1921 they signed the Anglo-Irish treaty that created the Irish Free State. The treaty dissolved the republic declared in 1919. Counties in Northern Ireland had the option to choose whether

to join the Irish Free State or not. The loyalty to the crown was taken for granted. All the British soldiers, policemen and office workers were told to leave the country (Jackson, p. 321, 1951) but their departure was very slow. Thousands of units stayed for more than a year (Dorney, 2012a). We do not know for sure what happened during the negotiations but as Jackson (p. 321, 1951) says, it is apparent that the Irish delegates were outsmarted by more experienced politicians who knew what to do. Collins and his companions were not allowed to debate about the proposal in *Dáil*. Instead, they were given an ultimatum – to accept the conditions in three days or the war would continue. Although disunited in their opinion, the Irish agreed and signed the treaty (Dorney, 2012a).

Commentary and aftermath:

Sinn Féin party created its own parliament (*Dáil Éireann*) and together with the IRA they took actions against the British. For a certain time, there were simultaneously two governments. The conflict escalated into a guerrilla war with thousands of dead people. Great Britain did not abandon her anti-revolutionary policy and they intervened without compromise. The conflict resulted in signing the Anglo-Irish treaty that established the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. Not all Irish people agreed with the Treaty conditions. A civil war ensued.

Great Britain wanted to preserve Ireland under her reign at all costs. Using *the Black and Tans* and *the Auxiliaries*, they wanted to change the public opinion. However, the people of Ireland supported *Dáil Éireann*. The effect of the executions after the Easter Rising 1916 was still obvious. Both sides knew that only force would ensure Great Britain the order and dominion. Were it not for the counterespionage activities of Michael Collins and the IRA, the British would probably manage it. The Anglo-Irish relations were, however, irretrievably damaged and the Irish desire for independence would never cease.

7.4.The Irish Civil War 1922-23 and the aftermath

The agreement aroused a wave of emotions. It did not meet the Irish requirements. De Valera strongly disagreed with the verdict and resigned from his function as the President of the Republic. Michael Collins was of the opinion that the treaty gave Ireland an opportunity to reach the freedom. The Anglo-Irish treaty was ratified in *Dáil* in 1922 by a bare majority of MPs (Lynch, 1996). Griffith and Collins were chosen as the members of the Provisional Government. Before the general elections, they were trying to persuade the public in their pro-Treaty stance and, in June 1922, they managed to win. De Valera and his followers formed the anti-Treaty opposition. According to them, the document was inconsistent with the proclamation of the republic in 1916 and Griffith signed it only under the threat of war. De Valera thus still preserved his republican thinking (Dorney, 2012b).

The guerrilla war began after the IRA was divided into two groups – the pro- and anti-Treaty. First of all, the opposing IRA units with Rory O'Connor in the lead garrisoned the Four Courts building. Collins with his National army, armed with the British artillery, took this strategic post back (Jackson, p. 324, 1951). Later, the pro-Treaty forces took control of Dublin and other cities controlled by the republicans. The situation and cruelty of actions resembled the Anglo-Irish War. This time, however, the Irishmen were fighting with each other and as the government supported executions, the number of executed people was even higher than during the previous conflict with Britain (Dorney, 2012b). The Civil War ended in May 1923 with the defeat of the republicans. Michael Collins was assassinated in August 1922 and Griffith died ten days earlier. William T. Cosgrave became the new head of *Dáil* (Lynch, p. 250, 1996).

In 1923, the pro-treaty party formed itself into *Cumman na nGaedheal* and won the elections. They later united with other minor groups and created the *Fine Gael* party

which played a major role in the 20th century Irish politics. The anti-Treaty group entered the political scene in 1927 known as *Fianna Fail* and, in 1932, they came to power (Dorney, 2012). In 1937, de Valera introduced a new constitution that proclaimed Ireland a sovereign, independent and democratic state. Still, the Irish preserved the British monarch for diplomatic occasions. It was only the 1949 law that ensured Ireland a status of republic (Lynch, p. 255, 1996).

Commentary and conclusion:

When the Anglo-Irish treaty was signed, Ireland was already without an official government for some time. After the ravaging of the *Black and Tans* troops, the violence was at high level there. Eamon de Valera and his followers disagreed with the treaty and started a civil war. Collins, Griffith, and their companions were fighting another guerrilla war with them. For Eamon de Valera, the Irish Free State was far away from the republic proclaimed in 1916. Griffith anticipated it would be impossible to unite the whole island and thus accepted the Treaty. Maybe he had had enough of the war and followed the saying “better than nothing”. Michael Collins said the Treaty would give Ireland an opportunity to gain freedom and he was right.

Conclusion

One of the first discontents of Irish people with England came when Henry VII tried to introduce Protestantism in Ireland. From that time on, in the figurative meaning, it was an everyday occurrence. At the end of the 18th century, the world events such as the American War of Independence and the French Revolution encouraged the Irish enough to try to reach the independence. Henry Grattan and his volunteers were unsuccessful; so were the United Irishmen with their 1798 rebellion and an attempt of acquiring arms from France. Instead, they helped William Pitt to implement the Act of Union 1801.

When Daniel O'Connell entered the Irish politics in 1820s, his Catholic Association greatly improved the position of Catholics in Ireland with the assistance of Robert Peel's moderate government. O'Connell's second campaign for the repeal of the union was met with resistance and his mass meetings were banned. He was followed by the Young Irelanders – a military organisation, whose rebellion of 1848 was unsuccessful yet again.

A catastrophic agricultural disaster hit Ireland in 1840s and for some time postponed the repeal movement. However, it highlighted the problem with land and tenants and also angered the Irish people, seeing as the British did not cope with the situation very well (they did not ban export).

In 1850, the farmers and tenants established the Irish Tenant League in order to fight for their rights. At that time, the Irish Republican Brotherhood was established. Their revolt in 1867 was suppressed once again. The first attempt of Home Rule appeared in 1870 when Isaac Butt established the Home Government Association but it did not gain much public support. Butt was replaced by other successful politicians (Ch. S. Parnell and M. Davitt) who created the Irish Land League in 1879. They managed to unite all the nationalists and Catholics together and solved the land problem forever.

Other Home Rule attempts were vetoed by the House of Lords in 1886 and 1893 but, after the Act of Parliament 1911, the third Home Rule Bill was to be valid in 1914. It was interrupted by the Great War, however. The increasing disagreement with the bill from Protestant side made the idea of united Ireland unreal. Moreover, the Easter Rising 1916 squandered chances to achieve the independence by law.

The uprising was mercilessly suppressed. *Sinn Féin* created *Dáil Éireann*, the second Irish government, and together with the IRA fought the Anglo-Irish War with the Crown's *Black and Tans* and *the Auxiliaries*. The war ended with the Anglo-Irish Treaty that caused the Irish Civil War. In 1949, Ireland was officially called the Republic of Ireland.

The Easter Rising 1916 played a very important role on the way to the republic. All the previous rebellions were easily suppressed and although they were followed by waves of emotions, there was no change in the Irish situation. It was only the executions after the Easter Rising that were followed by massive public outrage not only in Ireland, but all around the world. The executed leaders became martyrs and, from that time on, the Irish people perceived their oversea neighbour differently. Because of that, they were in favour of the IRA and *Dáil Éireann* during the Anglo-Irish War and supported them.

Until the Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921, Great Britain was not willing to abandon its counter-revolutionary stance. Otherwise it could be Daniel O'Connell or the United Irishmen who would have reached the independence. It is unfortunate that only the brutal actions of the Anglo-Irish War changed the British opinion and forced them to renounce Ireland.

As time passed, Ulster Protestants were becoming ever more pro-unionists and the idea of a united independent island was a taboo. Éamon de Valera probably suspected it when he sent A. Griffith and M. Collins to negotiate the treaty. He did not want to take

the responsibility. In my opinion, in signing the Treaty, Griffith did his best to save the situation. The words of Daniel O'Connell were right. His Catholic emancipation gave the Irish people a chance and opened the way for the republic. Collins' claim that the treaty gave Ireland an opportunity to gain freedom was right as well.

I discovered that there was not a single event nor character that was crucial. Instead, it was all the events and characters mentioned and linked together that lead to the creation of the Republic of Ireland. Since the Act of Union, the republic was inevitable and it seems that Ireland was predestined to be independent, seeing as they were always trying to overthrow the British government. In my opinion, the Easter Rising was the breaking point in the Anglo-Irish relations and, after the executions, there was no way back.

Considering this topic, there are possibilities for further study. It would be interesting to concentrate on the later 20th century events – i.e. the situation in Northern Ireland, the role of religion in the Troubles or the contemporary Anglo-Irish relations. It might also be worthwhile to study the role and position of Gaelic language during the events mentioned in this work.

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Appendix 1:

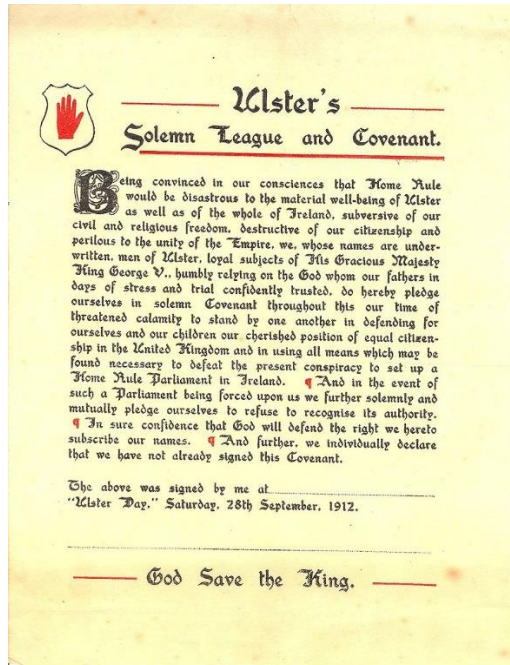
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ulster covenant



Appendix 2: Proclamation of the Irish Republic

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN. 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,

SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN Ceannt,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

Resumé

Bakalářská práce je zaměřena na klíčové události a postavy, které přispěly ke vzniku Irské republiky. Po historickém kontextu následují kapitoly počínající zákonem o unii z roku 1801 a končící v polovině 20. Století vyhlášením Irské republiky. Práce také studuje vztahy mezi Irskem a Velkou Británií a mezi katolíky a protestanty během tohoto období.

Annotation

Jméno a příjmení:	Jakub Fojtík
Katedra nebo ústav:	Ústav cizích jazyků
Vedoucí práce:	PhDr. Světlana Obenausová, MLitt, Ph.D.
Rok obhajoby:	2016

Název práce:	Hlavní události a postavy, které přispěly ke vzniku Irské republiky
Název v angličtině:	Main events and characters that contributed to the birth of the Republic of Ireland
Anotace práce:	Bakalářská práce popisuje hlavní události a postavy, které přispěly ke vzniku Irské republiky. Důraz je kladen hlavně na události mezi 18. a 20. století. Práce se také zabývá vztahy mezi Irskem a Velkou Británií a mezi katolíky a protestanty v tomto období.
Klíčová slova:	Zákon o unii, Sjednocení Irové, O'Connell, Mladé Irsko, Velký hladomor, Irské republikánské bratrstvo, Parnell, Davitt, Autonomní zákon, Velikonoční povstání, Anglo-Irská válka, Irská občanská válka
Anotace v angličtině:	The bachelor thesis describes main events and characters that contributed to the birth of the Republic of Ireland. It focuses on the events from the 18 th to 20 th century. The thesis also studies relationships between Ireland and Great Britain and between Catholics and Protestants.
Klíčová slova v angličtině:	The Act of Union, the United Irishmen, O'Connell, the Young Ireland, the Great Famine, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Parnell, Davitt, Home Rule, the Easter Rising, the Anglo-Irish War, the Irish Civil War
Přílohy vázané v práci:	Appendix 1: Ulster covenant Appendix 2: Proclamation of the Irish Republic
Rozsah práce:	52 s.
Jazyk práce:	Angličtina