

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
Department of History
Semester I, 1992-93

History 365

REVOLUTION AND NATIONALISM IN IRELAND
1780 TO THE PRESENT

Prof. Donnelly
Mr. Maloney

COURSE DESCRIPTION

"Life springs from death," cried a famous Irish rebel in 1915, "and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations." The British, he continued, "have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Since the 1790's Irish revolutionary nationalism has drawn much of its strength from this cult of the dead celebrated by Patrick Pearse in 1915. The Irish revolutionary tradition, however, was long denied its goal. Time after time, revolutionary republicanism either failed to arouse mass support, as in 1848, 1867, and 1916, or having done so, as in 1798, was crushed nevertheless. One of our objectives in this course will be to understand the reasons for these repeated defeats. But it was a central aspect of Irish nationalism that even the so-called constitutional nationalists, who rejected violence as the means of overthrowing British rule, were not without sympathy for the revolutionary tradition. We shall therefore be concerned to examine the succession of constitutional nationalist movements not only in their own right but also with an eye to the influence which the revolutionary tradition exercised over them. Finally, we will explore why it was that southern Ireland owed the degree of independence which it achieved in 1921-2 not to the constitutional variety of nationalism, dominant as it usually was, but rather to the violent revolutionary tradition. No doubt the triumph of 1921-2 was incomplete, but it was still substantial. The lesson of this triumph after repeated defeat is one of the things that gives such desperate courage to the Provisional I.R.A. today. History, as they interpret it, teaches them to soldier on, to endure, to suffer -- indeed, to court suffering -- in the unalterable conviction that some day victory will be theirs, theirs again.

LECTURES

Lectures two days per week (Tu, Th, 1:00-2:15), supplemented by weekly discussion meetings and/or audio-visual presentations, including films, slides, and music.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS AND EXAMS

Besides a final exam, there will be either one or two hour exams, depending upon the decision of the students during the first week of class. Those students who take the course for 4 credits will be asked to do a short essay (2,500 words) on some controverted issue relating to the subject matter of the course.

GRADING SYSTEM

If the students decide to have only one hour exam plus the final, the grade for the course will be determined on the following basis: active interest and regular participation in discussion, 15 percent; hour exam, 35 percent; final exam, 50 percent. If, on the other hand, the students decide to have two hour exams plus the final, a number of grading options will be offered allowing students to determine, within broad limits, how they wish their grade for the course to be determined.

REQUIRED READINGS

Foster, R. F., Modern Ireland, 1600-1972 (Penguin paperback).

Miller, Kerby A., Emigrants and Exiles Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America (Oxford University Press paperback).

Laffan, Michael, The Partition of Ireland, 1911-1925 (Dundalgan Press paperback)

Brown, Terence, Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922 to the Present (Cornell University Press paperback)

Bruce, Steve, God Save Ulster: The Religion and Politics of Paisleyism (Oxford University Press paperback)

GENERAL COURSE OUTLINE

| <u>Week</u> | <u>Topic</u> | <u>Required Reading</u> |
|-------------|--|-------------------------|
| 9/7-9/11 | 1. Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ireland | Foster |
| 9/14-9/18 | 2. The Irish Volunteers and the Constitution of 1782 | Foster |
| 9/21-9/25 | 3. The United Irishmen, the Rebellion of 1798, and the Union | Foster |
| 9/28-10/2 | 4. Catholic Emancipation, Repeal, and Young Ireland | Miller |
| 10/5-10/9 | 5. Fenianism | Miller |
| 10/12-10/16 | 6. The Home Rule Movement under Butt and Parnell | Miller |
| 10/19-10/23 | 7. The Land War, 1879-1903 | Miller |
| 10/26-10/30 | 8. The "Irishing" of Ireland, The Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, and the Literary Revival | Laffan |
| 11/2-11/6 | 9. The Home Rule Crisis: Ulster Blocks the Way, 1906-14 | Laffan |
| 11/9-11/13 | 10. The Easter Rising and the Sinn Fein Revolution, 1916-21 | Laffan; Brown |
| 11/16-11/20 | 11. From Free State to Republic: The Ascendancy of DeValera | Brown |
| 11/23-11/27 | 12. Northern Ireland under Home Rule: Monolithic Unionism and the Siege Mentality | Brown |
| 11/30-12/4 | 13. From Reform to Violence: O'Neill, Paisley, and Civil Rights | Bruce |

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|-------------|-----|--|-------|
| 12/7-12/11 | 14. | The British Army Intervenes | Bruce |
| 12/14-12/15 | 15. | The Extremist Game: The Provisional I.R.A. and Loyalist Vigilantes | Bruce |

READING ASSIGNMENTS

Week

| | | |
|-------------|-----|---|
| 9/7-9/11 | 1. | Foster, 3-163 |
| 9/14-9/18 | 2. | Foster, 167-258 |
| 9/21-9/25 | 3. | Foster, 259-86; Miller, 3-130 |
| 9/28-10/2 | 4. | Miller, 131-279; Foster, 289-344 |
| 10/5-10/9 | 5. | Miller, 280-353 |
| 10/12-10/16 | 6. | Miller, 353-426; Foster, 373-99 |
| 10/19-10/23 | 7. | Miller, 427-568; Foster, 400-28 |
| 10/26-10/30 | 8. | Foster, 431-60; Laffan, 1-18 |
| 11/2-11/6 | 9. | Laffan, 19-71; Foster, 461-93 |
| 11/9-11/13 | 10. | Brown, 13-61; Laffan, 72-125; Foster, 494-515 |
| 11/16-11/20 | 11. | Brown, 62-161; Foster, 516-68 |
| 11/23-11/27 | 12. | Brown, 162-270; Foster, 569-96 |
| 11/30-12/4 | 13. | Bruce, 1-92 |
| 12/7-12/11 | 14. | Bruce, 93-198 |
| 12/14-12/15 | 15. | Bruce, 199-297 |

History 365

Revolution and Nationalism in Ireland, 1780 to the Present

Suggested Paper Topics

1. Daniel O'Connell: Did He Deserve Popularity after 1829?

D'Arcy, F.A., "The Artisans of Dublin and Daniel O'Connell, 1830-47: An Unquiet Liaison," in Irish Historical Studies, xvii, no. 66 (Sept. 1970), pp. 221-43.

Hill, J.R., "Nationalism and the Catholic Church in the 1840s," in Irish Historical Studies, xix, no. 76 (Sept. 1975), pp. 371-95.

Macintyre, A., The Liberator: Daniel O'Connell and the Irish Party, 1830-1847. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965.

McCaffrey, L.J., Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal Year. Louisville: University of Kentucky Press, 1966.

MacDonagh, Oliver, The Emancipist: Daniel O'Connell, 1830-47. London, 1989.

Nowlan, K.B., The Politics of Repeal: A Study in the Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, 1841-50. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.

2. The Great Famine: How Much Did the British Government Do?

Daly, Mary E., The Famine in Ireland. Dundalk, 1986.

Donnelly, J.S., Jr., "The Great Famine" (Chapters XII-XIX), in W.E. Vaughan, ed., A New History of Ireland, Vol. V, 272-371.

Edwards, R.D., and Williams, T.D., eds., The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History, 1845-52. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1956. See Chapters IV-VI.

Griffiths, A.R.G., "The Irish Board of Works in the Famine Years," in Historical Journal, xiii, no. 4 (Dec. 1970), pp. 634-52.

Ó Grada, Cormac, The Great Irish Famine. London, 1989.

Woodham-Smith, C., The Great Hunger: Ireland, 1845-1849. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.

3. Fenianism in the 1860s: Why Did It Fail So Miserably?

Comerford, R.V., The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society, 1848-82. Dublin, 1985.

Harmon, M., ed., Fenians and Fenianism. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970.

Moody, T.W., ed., The Fenian Movement. Cork: Mercier Press, 1968.

O Broin, L., Fenian Fever: An Anglo-American Dilemma. New York: New York University Press, 1971.

O'Leary, J., Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism. 2 vols., London, 1896.

Ryan, D., The Fenian Chief: A Biography of James Stephens. Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, 1967.

4. Gladstone and the Irish Land Question: Was He on the Right Track?

Hammond, J.L., Gladstone and the Irish Nation. London: Longmans, 1938.

Solow, B.L., The Land Question and the Irish Economy, 1870-1903. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Steele, E.D., "Gladstone and Ireland," in Irish Historical Studies, xvii, no. 65 (Mar. 1970), pp. 58-88.

Steele, E.D., Irish Land and British Politics: Tenant-Right and Nationality, 1865-1870. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

5. The Land War: What Caused It?

Bew, P., Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858-82. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978.

Brown, T.N., Irish-American Nationalism, 1870-1890. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1966. See Chapters IV-VII.

Clark, Samuel, Social Origins of the Irish Land War. Princeton, 1979.

Donnelly, J.S., Jr., The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork: The Rural Economy and the Land Question. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975. See Chapters III-VI.

Moody, T.W., "The New Departure in Irish Politics, 1878-9," in Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd, ed. H.A. Cronneo, T.W. Moody, and D.B. Quinn (London, 1949), pp. 303-33.

Palmer, N.D., The Irish Land League Crisis. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.

6. Parnell's Fall: Who and What Were Responsible?

Abels, J., The Parnell Tragedy. New York: Macmillan, 1966.

Glasser, J.F., "Parnell's Fall and the Nonconformist Conscience," in Irish Historical Studies, xii, no. 46 (Sept. 1960), pp. 119-38.

Larkin, E., The Roman Catholic Hierarchy and the Fall of Parnell. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Publications in Humanities, 1962.

Larkin, E., "The Roman Catholic Hierarchy and the Fall of Parnell," in Victorian Studies, iv, no. 4 (June 1961), pp. 315-36.

Larkin, E., "Mounting the Counter-Attack: The Roman Catholic Hierarchy and the Destruction of Parnellism," in Review of Politics, xxv (April 1963), pp. 157-82.

Larkin, E., "Launching the Counter-Attack: Part ii of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and the Destruction of Parnellism," in Review of Politics, xxviii (July 1966), pp. 359-83.

Lyons, F.S.L., The Fall of Parnell, 1890-91. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.

Lyons, F.S.L., Charles Stewart Parnell. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. See Chapters 15-20.

7. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921: How Badly Did It Divide the Irish People?

Hayes, M., "Dail Eireann and the Irish Civil War," in Studies, viii (Spring 1969), pp. 1-23.

Hopkinson, Michael, Green against Green: The Irish Civil War. Dublin, 1988.

Nesson, E., The Civil War in Ireland, 1922-23. Rev. ed. Cork: Mercier Press, 1969.

O'Beirne-Ranelagh, J., "The I.R.B. from the Treaty to 1924," in Irish Historical Studies, xx, no. 77 (March 1976), pp. 26-39.

Official Report: Debate on the Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland Signed in London on 6 December 1921. Dublin, n.d.

Pakenham, F. (Lord Longford), Peace By Ordeal. Rev. ed. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1962.

Younger, C., Ireland's Civil War. London, 1968.

8. The Catholic Church since 1921: Vast Power or Misunderstood Influence?

Blanshard, P., The Irish and Catholic Power: An American Interpretation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1953.

Inglis, Tom, Moral Monopoly: The Catholic Church in Modern Irish Society. Dublin, 1987.

Whyte, J.H., Church and State in Modern Ireland, 1923-1970. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1971.

9. The Northern Ireland Crisis: What Is the Basic Problem-- Sectarianism, Colonialism, or What?

Barritt, D.F., and Carter, C.F., The Northern Ireland Problem: A Study in Group Relations. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Bruce, Steve, God Save Ulster! The Religion and Politics of Paisleyism. Oxford, 1986.

Darby, J., Conflict in Northern Ireland: The Development of a Polarized Community. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976.

de Paor, L., Divided Ulster. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970.

Edwards, O.D., The Sins of Our Fathers: Roots of Conflict in Northern Ireland. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970.

Farrell, M., Northern Ireland: The Orange State. London: Pluto Press, 1976.

Fitzgerald, G., Towards a New Ireland. London: Charles Knight, 1972.

Kennedy, Liam, Two Ulsters: A Case for Repartition. Belfast, 1986.

O'Malley, Padraig, The Uncivil Wars: Ireland Today. Boston, 1983.

Rose, R., Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective. London: Faber and Faber, 1971.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF IRISH HISTORY

Synopsis

- I. Before 1800
- II. Since 1800
 - a. Politics, 1800-1914
 - b. Politics since 1914
 - c. Economic, Social, and Cultural History
- III. Two Textbooks

I. Before 1800

Corish, P.J., The Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Dublin: Helicon, 1981. An excellent synthesis, harvesting much recent scholarship.

Cullen, L.M., Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968. Perhaps the best work of Ireland's most distinguished economic historian; much broader than its title might suggest.

Cullen, L.M., The Emergence of Modern Ireland, 1600-1900. London: Batsford, 1981. A stimulating collection of related essays dealing with social, economic, and political topics; breaks much fresh ground; full of valuable insights.

Elliott, Marianne, Partners in Revolution: The United Irishmen and France. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982. Prize-winning study of the origins, early growth, and temporary eclipse of Irish revolutionary republicanism; gracefully written and steeped in the sources; especially valuable on the French dimensions of the United Irish movement before and after 1800.

Lecky, W.E.H., A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. New ed. 5 vols. London: Longmans, Green, 1892. Still essential reading for all those concerned with the eighteenth century. A one-volume abridgement, edited by L.P. Curtis, Jr., is available (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Lydon, J.F., The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972. No other book attempting to deal with medieval Ireland has similar breadth and scope; yet mainly a work of interpretation rather than description.

MacNiocaill, Gearóid, Ireland before the Vikings. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972. An excellent survey.

Moody, T.W., F.X. Martin, and F.J. Byrne, eds., A New History of Ireland, Vol. III: Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976. Much of what is known, and worth knowing, about early modern Ireland can be found in this rich volume, the first to appear in a grand project of collective scholarly labor. All major aspects of the history of the period are treated, each by an expert.

Nicholls, K.W., Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972. The first coherent account of the society, laws, and institutions that lay beyond the reach of the Dublin government; a work of considerable erudition in a neglected field.

Ó Corráin, Donncha, Ireland before the Normans. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972. An excellent brief survey.

Ó Cuív, Brian, ed., Seven Centuries of Irish Learning, 1000-1700. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1961. A very useful collection.

Perceval-Maxwell, Michael, The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973. The standard work on a movement that changed the face of Ulster and the course of Irish history.

II. Since 1800

a. Politics, 1800-1914

Brown, Malcolm, The Politics of Irish Literature: From Thomas Davis to W.B. Yeats. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972. Much more politics than literature; especially good on the Young Irelanders and the Fenians; a literary gem of great scope and insight.

Garvin, Tom, The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981. A pioneering study of popular Irish nationalism and of nationalist political organization since the late eighteenth century; a wholesome blend of theory and solid research.

Kee, Robert, The Green Flag. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972. Vivid, highly readable survey of political nationalism from the 1790s to the early 1920s, by the distinguished journalist who gave us "Ireland: A Television History."

Lyons, F.S.L., Charles Stewart Parnell. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. Incomparably the best biography, personal and political, of this great nationalist leader.

Macintyre, Angus, The Liberator: Daniel O'Connell and the Irish Party, 1830-1847. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965. Unrivalled study of O'Connellite politics after Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

Moody, T.W., Davitt and Irish Revolution, 1846-82. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981. Magisterial life of Michael Davitt, the Fenian revolutionary and agrarian agitator who founded the Land League, by a great historian.

b. Politics since 1914

Bell, J.B., The Secret Army: A History of the IRA, 1916-1970. London: Anthony Blond, 1970. Balanced, readable, and better organized than its chief competitor, Tim Pat Coogan's The I.R.A. (1970).

Bowman, John, De Valera and the Ulster Question, 1917-1973. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. Prize-winning study of De Valera's consistently unhelpful northern policies; essential for understanding the current stance of Fianna Fail.

Chubb, Basil, The Government and Politics of Ireland. 2nd ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982. The classic exposition of the structure and workings of the Irish political system since 1921.

Edwards, Ruth Dudley, Patrick Pearse: The Triumph of Failure. London: Victor Gollancz, 1977. Richly illuminating biography of the Irish-language enthusiast, educationist, and messianic revolutionary who elevated the notion of "blood sacrifice" into the raison d'être of the 1916 Easter Rising.

Fitzpatrick, David, Politics and Irish Life, 1913-1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977. The only book that really explains how and why militant and increasingly republican nationalism superseded the long dominant creed of Home Rule in Irish political organizations; essential for understanding the Irish war for independence.

Longford, Earl of (Frank Pakenham), Peace by Ordeal. New ed. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1972, originally published 1935. The classic account of the negotiations that led to the Anglo-Irish treaty of December 1921, under which the 26-county Irish Free State became a self-governing dominion.

O'Malley, Padraig, The Uncivil Wars: Ireland Today. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983. Indisputably the best book about the contemporary Northern Ireland crisis; exposes the myths and dubious assumptions of all parties to the conflict; dispassionate, hard-headed, and free of preconceived opinions -- a brilliant study.

Whyte, J.H., Church and State in Modern Ireland, 1923-79. 2nd ed. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1984. The classic work on the political influence of the Catholic church; takes the measure of the church's power without exaggerating it, as numerous writers have done.

c. Economic, Social, and Cultural History

Arensberg, C.M., and S.T. Kimball, Family and Community in Ireland. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. A classic anthropological study, based on research in County Clare during the 1930s.

Brown, Terence, Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-79. London: Fontana, 1981. No other book provides as full an understanding of material and cultural changes in Ireland since independence; especially valuable on literary reflections of the conflict between stasis and change.

Clark, Samuel, Social Origins of the Irish Land War. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979. The best study of the Land War of 1879-82, which initiated the ending of landlordism, and a social history of Irish rural and small-town life in the nineteenth century besides.

Connolly, S.J., Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1982. The most important book in Irish ecclesiastical history in many years; shows how wide was the cultural gulf between the Catholic clergy and their often nominal parishioners; also shows that sexual repression was not a characteristic of pre-Famine society.

Connell, K.H., The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950. The classic (and now controversial) account of the dynamics of the Irish population explosion that preceded the Great Famine; still "must" reading in spite of recent criticisms.

Daly, M.E., Social and Economic History of Ireland since 1800. Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland, 1981. Balance, clarity, and insightfulness make this book the best short treatment of the subject.

Donnelly, J.S., Jr., The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork: The Rural Economy and the Land Question. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975. Prize-winning study of the transformation in Irish agriculture and rural social relations, as seen from the perspective of Ireland's largest county; revises long-established views about the mercenary character of Irish landlordism after 1850.

Edwards, R.D., and T.D. Williams, eds., The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History, 1845-52. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1956. A landmark in Irish historical studies; more comprehensive and judicious, but also more diffuse and less readable than that best seller, Cecil Woodham-Smith's The Great Hunger (1962).

Evans, E.E., Irish Folk Ways. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. The finest example of the work of Ireland's foremost cultural geographer.

Larkin, Emmet, The Making of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1850-1860. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. Part of a historiographical monument, a multi-volume history of the Catholic church in nineteenth-century Ireland, this particular volume deals with the great reorganization under Archbishop Paul Cullen.

Schrier, Arnold, Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958. Still the best account of the great post-Famine exodus which powerfully affected so many aspects of Irish life.

Woodham-Smith, Cecil, The Great Hunger: Ireland, 1845-9. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962. An indispensable book written in a compelling style; argues that laissez-faire economic doctrines largely explain the inadequacy of British relief measures; not comprehensive, not always reliable, but still essential reading.

III. Two Textbooks

Ó Tuathaigh, Gearóid, Ireland before the Famine, 1798-1848. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972. By far the most comprehensive and reliable general work on early nineteenth-century Ireland; suitable for the specialist and nonspecialist alike.

Lyons, F.S.L., Ireland since the Famine. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971. The magisterial work of a great historian; better for political and cultural than for social and economic history, but offering more solid fare than any five competitors.