

# Studying Ireland in British history

Irish History at A-Level

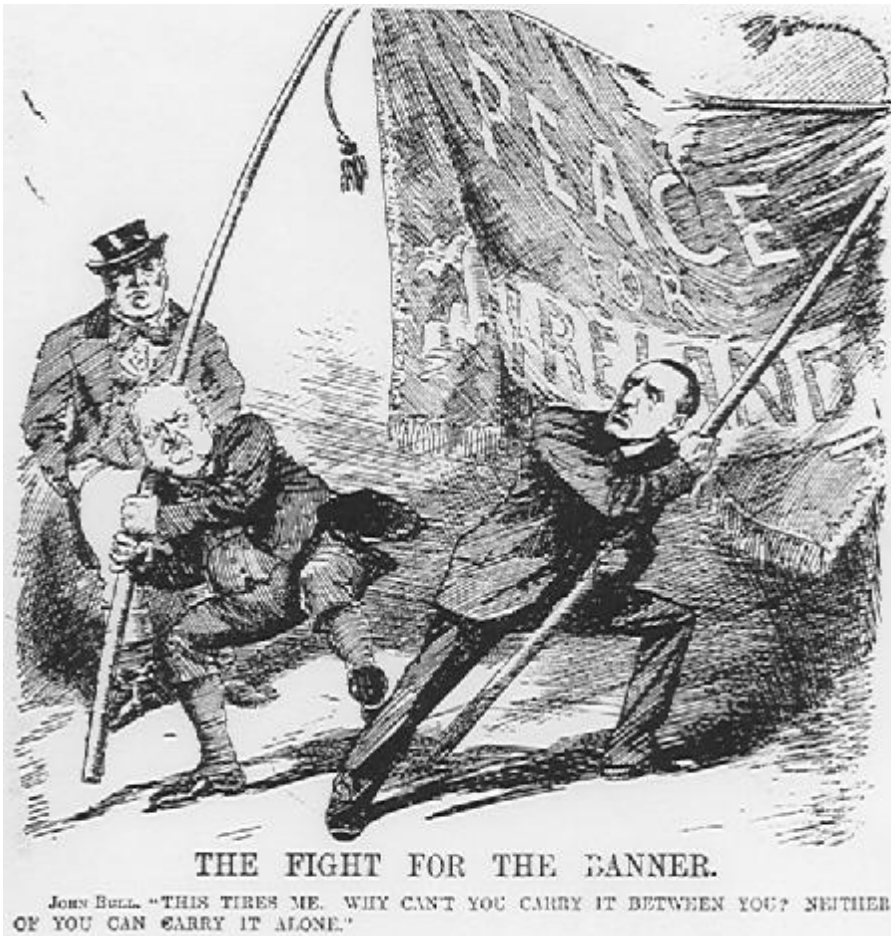
University of Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations

GCE Advanced Level History Syllabus

**Study unit**

(SU5)

## **The Ulster crisis, 1912-14**



The Warrington Project Schools Programme  
Pilot Scheme C: Rye St Antony School, Oxford

*in association with*

The Institute of Irish Studies, The University of Liverpool

# Preface

**This Study Unit offers a new exciting opportunity to study Irish history within the present University of Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations GCE Advanced Level History Syllabus.**

- Its basic premise is that the so-called 'Irish Question' is central to the historian's understanding of nineteenth century Britain. The accepted Anglo-centric orthodoxy with London as its centre needs to be challenged and placed in a wider context. Ireland was a part of the Union from 1 January 1801 and hence should be an integral, rather than a marginal, part of British nineteenth century history.
- For the A-level students, the Unit has a direct relevance to the Modern World and shed light on modern issues in Ireland.
- The Unit has been designed to facilitate the delivery of the syllabus. All activities are related to the Oxford Delegacy's Assessment Objectives and the units provide sources for study and bibliographies. The allocation of time is flexible, so that teachers can offer a rich curriculum within the constraints of ordinary A-level teaching.
- My own involvement in this Pilot Scheme stems from my own experience of living and teaching in both Northern Ireland and in England. I hope that by promoting better knowledge and understanding of Ireland in Britain through education, this Study Unit will form part of the wider process of peace and reconciliation which is essential to turn the long-relationship between Britain and Ireland from mutual suspicion to mutual enrichment.

At the same time, I recognise that those who write with the intention of dispelling myths are in danger of simply substituting one set of prejudices with another. The revised version is likely to be more politically correct, that is more in alignment with the current revisionist interpretation of events but it is not necessarily a more accurate reflection of the past.

The selection of documents in this Study Unit was influenced by an awareness that no matter how hard I tried to be balanced in my presentation, the very inclusion or omission of pieces of evidences was bound to colour the outcome. Furthermore, shortage of time and resources to research the period adequately will inevitably mean that certain key sources have been overlooked.

The reader will be better prepared to evaluate events of the period (and it is hoped, be better prepared to analyse other documents), if she or is familiar with the rationale behind my selection. I prepared this work for a group of students whom I was preparing for the A-level examination set by the Oxford Board and have been influenced by the following factors:

- A determination not to reinforce negative images of Ireland which some already had as a result of contemporary events.
- Nervousness that my Irishness would be a barrier against communication.
- Realisation that traditional and revisionist views of the period must be expressed.
- The English were not to be portrayed as villains and the Irish as victims.
- A consideration was made of possible parallel situations in Britain and Europe to supply a sense of perspective.
- The uniqueness of Ireland was acknowledged.
- Cultural and educational developments acknowledged within the context of Constructive Unionism, Irish nationalism and intrinsic value.
- A balance was sought between political, social and economic factors.
- The objectives of the A-level syllabus were followed in an effort to give the girls the best possible preparation for the examination.

I thoroughly enjoyed the challenge of preparing the units, in conjunction with Professor Patrick Buckland, former Director of the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool. I am most grateful to the Trustees of Warrington Project and Rye St Antony's Board of Governors for giving me the time to develop the units. I would especially like to thank my students. Their help has been the most gratifying of all the assistance I have received.

Margaret Conway  
Head of History  
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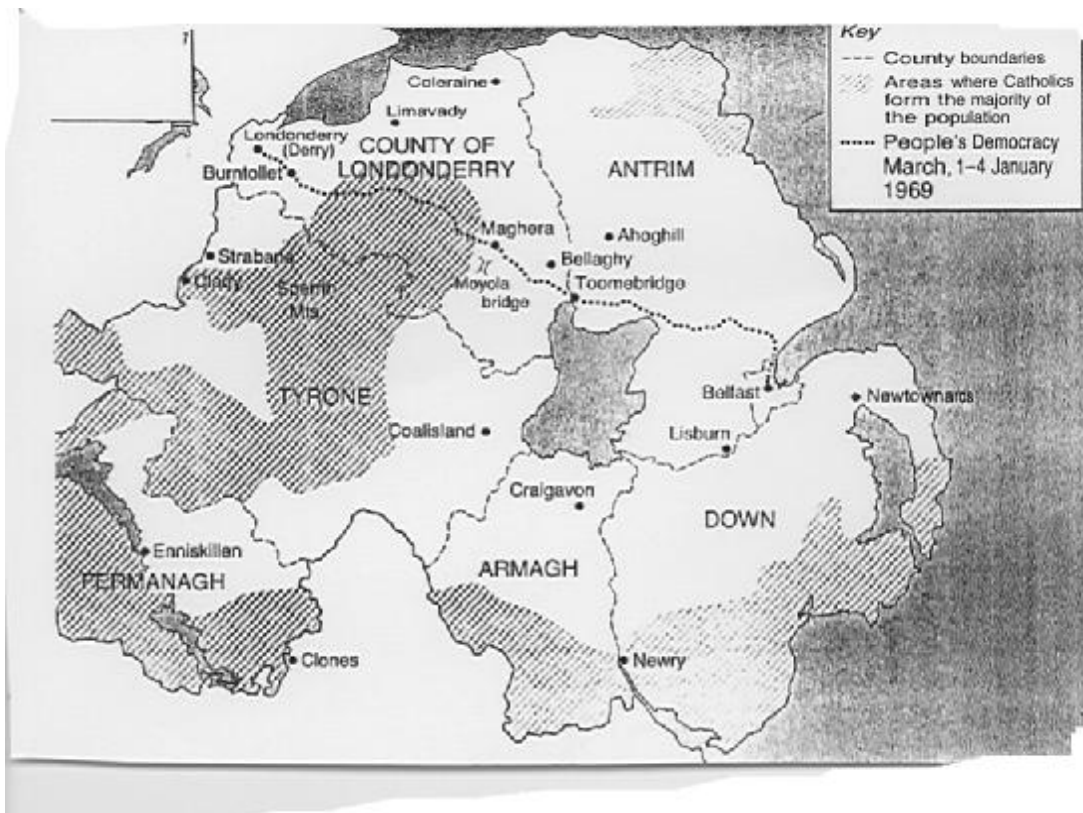
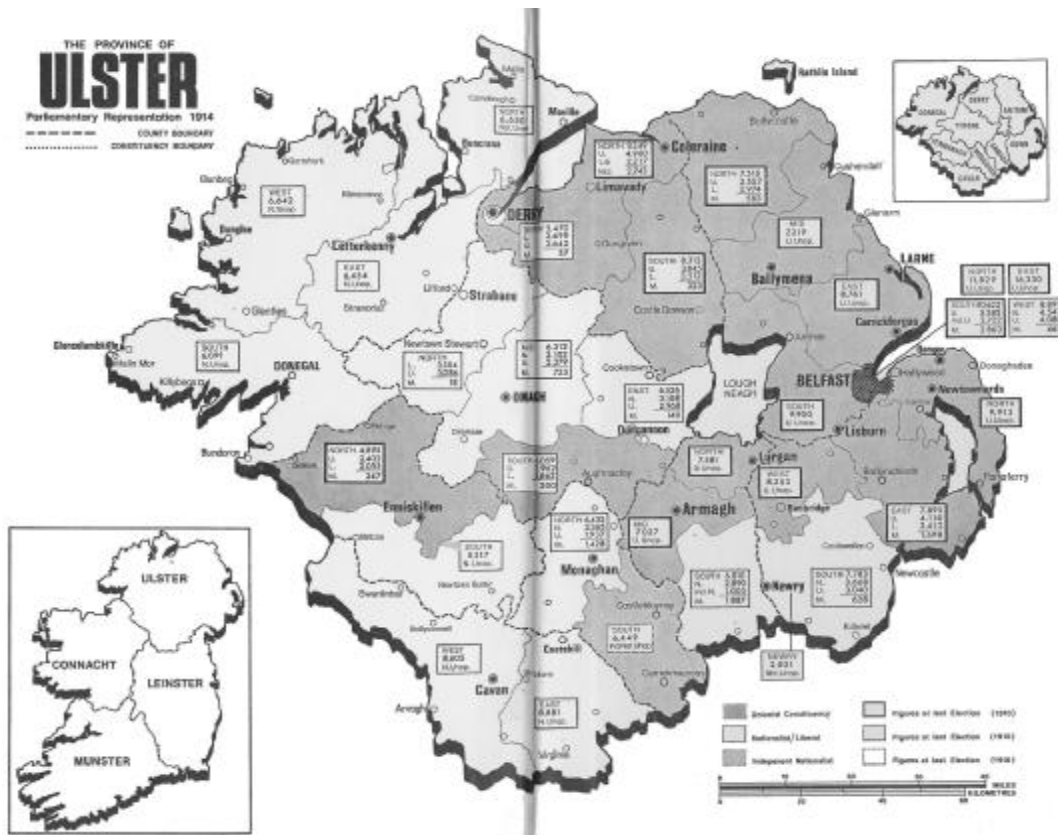
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## Religious groupings in Ireland, 1911

The population of Ulster, 1861 and 1911  
 Proportion of Roman Catholics and other denominations

County/town	1861		1911	
	Roman Catholics	Other denominations	Roman Catholics	Other denominations
<b>Co. Antrim</b>	<b>24.8</b>	<b>75.2</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>79.5</b>
<b>Co. Armagh</b>	<b>48.8</b>	<b>51.2</b>	<b>45.3</b>	<b>54.7</b>
<b>Belfast</b>	<b>33.9</b>	<b>66.1</b>	<b>24.1</b>	<b>75.9</b>
<b>Co. Cavan</b>	<b>80.5</b>	<b>19.5</b>	<b>81.5</b>	<b>18.5</b>
<b>Co. Donegal</b>	<b>75.1</b>	<b>24.9</b>	<b>78.9</b>	<b>21.1</b>
<b>Co. Down</b>	<b>32.5</b>	<b>67.5</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>68.4</b>
<b>Co. Fermanagh</b>	<b>56.5</b>	<b>43.5</b>	<b>56.2</b>	<b>43.8</b>
<b>Co. Londonderry</b>	<b>45.3</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>41.5</b>	<b>58.5</b>
<b>Co. Monaghan</b>	<b>73.4</b>	<b>26.6</b>	<b>74.4</b>	<b>25.3</b>
<b>Co. Tyrone</b>	<b>56.5</b>	<b>44.5</b>	<b>55.4</b>	<b>44.6</b>
<b>Ulster</b>	<b>50.5</b>	<b>48.9</b>	<b>43.7</b>	<b>56.3</b>



# Introduction

# 1. Purpose of the study unit

## PURPOSE

**This trial study unit is part of a pilot scheme to extend the teaching of Irish history in the sixth-form in British schools and colleges and to establish Irish history as a key and valid part of the history of the British Isles from 1800 to 1906.**

**It has been jointly produced by the Institute of Irish Studies and Rye St Antony School, Oxford, as part of the Warrington Project which was established after the tragic bombing in the town centre in March 1993.**

**It develops teaching and other materials to exploit the Irish aspects of the University of Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations GCE Advanced Level History Syllabus.**

**Unit 2.3 English History: Politics and Society 1900-1918**

**Unit 3 Social History - The Role of Women**

**Unit 5.6 Investigating Problems: Why Did the Liberal Party Decline between 1886 and 1918?**

**The aim to develop support materials and links which will assist the teaching and examining of Irish aspects of the British history syllabus in a form which is easy for the teacher, interesting to the student and relevant to the syllabus objectives.**

## ADDRESSING THE SYLLABUS

**The unit deal with one of the most controversial aspects of British and Irish politics - the Ulster Crisis, 1912-14, which brought the United Kingdom to the verge of civil war. It helps to answer the following questions which are central of the syllabus:**

- **Why did successive British government fail to settle the Irish problem, 1900-1918?**
- **What role did women play in political life?**
- **How far was the Irish question responsible for the decline of the Liberals.**

## FORMAT

**The units has been designed to meet the assessment objectives of the syllabus and to accommodate a range of teaching styles and ability levels. It is suggested that teachers select or reject the prepared material as they see fit.**

**Documents rather than narrative accounts form the basis of teaching and learning. Sample questions and answers have been included.**

**A wide range of unedited documents have been given to provide teachers and students with the opportunity to:**

- **make their own selection which will provide a basis for discussion;**
- **increase knowledge of the personalities and period;**
- **compile other sample questions and answers.**

## ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES AND TEACHING AND LEARNING STRATEGIES

**A variety of teaching and learning strategies have been suggested and the materials can be adapted to suit particular strategies and teaching objectives.**

**Thus the notes and commentaries might be converted into overheads. The role play exercise can be tailored to suit the ability and inclination of individual groups. The lists of personalities, concepts etc. may be used in a number of ways. Teachers may ask students to conduct their own research before supplying them with definitions. Alternatively, the 'answers' could be given first and students asked to supply more detail.**

### STIMULATING INTEREST IN IRELAND

Showing videos

**Robert Kee,           Ireland: A Television History**  
**A.N. Wilson,        Eminent Victorians: Gladstone.**

Using interviews and questionnaires

**Students may be videoed while they interview each other, using structured questionnaires, exploring their knowledge of and interest in Ireland and Irish history. Alternatively or additionally, a written test may be set on the same lines.**

## 2. Reading

Books on Ireland recommended by the Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations

- J.C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, Faber & Faber 1966  
D.G. Boyce, *The Irish Question and British Politics*, Macmillan 1988  
*Ireland 1828 - 1923: From Ascendancy to Democracy*, Blackwell 1992
- F. Callanan, *The Parnell Split 1890-91*, Cork U.P. 1992  
P. Catterall (ed), *Britain 1867-1918*, Heinemann 1994  
R.F. Foster, *Charles Stewart Parnell: The Man and his Family*, Harvester 1976  
J.A. Jenkins, *Gladstone, Whiggery and the Liberal Party 1874 - 1886*, Clarendon 1988  
R. Kee, *The Laurel and the Ivy: The Story of Charles Stewart Parnell and Irish Nationalism*, Hamilton 1993
- J. Loughlin, *Gladstone, Home Rule and the Ulster Question, 1882 - 1893*, Gill + Macmillan 1977
- F.S.L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell*, Fontana 1977  
A O'Day, *The English face of Irish Nationalism Parnellite involvement in British Politics 1880-86*, Gill & Macmillan 1977
- M.J. Winstanley, *Ireland and the Land Question 1880 - 1922*, Lancaster Pamphlets 1984.

Books on Ireland used at Rye St Anthony

It will come as no surprise to learn that there is an ever-growing wealth of books on Ireland and Anglo-Irish relations. The following list is a very selective set of suggestions as to some of the most accessible and readable works:

- J.C. Beckett, *The Anglo Irish Tradition* (Faber & Faber 1976)  
An important set of essays on relations between Ireland and England  
*The Making of Modern Ireland* (Faber & Faber 1972)  
The same author's much admired survey of Irish history.
- D.C. Boyce, *Ireland 1828-1923* (Blackwell 1992)  
A brief but enlightening survey of the period.  
*Nationalism in Ireland* (Croom Helm 1982)  
A lively account of some of the cross-currents of Irish history.
- D.G. Boyce (ed), *The Revolution in Ireland 1879-1923* (Macmillan 1988).  
Another set of essays by experts on major themes.
- D.G. Boyce & Alan O'Day (eds).  
*Parnell in Perspective* (Routledge 1991)  
A collection of essays introducing the latest research on a critical figure in a critical period of Irish history
- T. P. Coogan, *De Valera, Long Fellow, Long Shadow* (Hutchinson 1993)  
The latest work by a lively and regular contributor to the debate on Irish history  
*Ireland Since the Rising* (Pall Mall Press 1966)  
An important earlier study by the same writer
- R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (Penguin 1988)  
Arguably the best book on Ireland currently available, scholarly, provocative and up-to-date

- Paddy and Mr Punch: Connections in Irish and English History*** (Allen Lane, The Penguin Press 1993)  
A more difficult book by the same author, but well worth reading for its analysis of Anglo-Irish attitudes.
- T.A. Jackson,** ***Ireland Her Own: an Outline History of the Irish Struggle*** (Lawrence and Wishart 1971).  
First written in 1938, this is well worth reading as an example of a committed Marxist-Nationalist interpretation of Irish history.
- Robert Kee,** ***The Green Flag: a History of Irish Nationalism*** (Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1972)  
A must - a large, well-illustrated and informative study  
***The Laurel and the Ivy: the story'' of Charles Stewart Parnell and Irish Nationalism*** (Hamish Hamilton 1993)  
Another monumental study, this time of Parnell, the outstanding figure in nineteenth century Anglo-Irish relations.
- J.J. Lee** ***Ireland 1912-1985*** (CUP 1989)  
An interesting Nationalist perspective on the later part of the period
- F.S.L. Lyons** ***Ireland Since the Famine*** (Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1971)  
Described by other scholars as a 'magisterial' study of Irish history
- Magnus Magnusson,** ***Landlord or Tenant: a View of Irish History*** (The Bodley Head 1978)  
An excellent popular treatment of Anglo-Irish relations, full of stimulating observations
- Nicholas Mansergh,** ***The Irish Question 1844-1921*** (George Allen & Unwin 1975)  
Now established as a major work by a major historian
- T.W. Moody & F.X. Martin,** ***The Course of Irish History*** (Mercier Press 1967)  
An excellent introduction to Irish history, covering a wide field
- Conor Cruise O'Brien,** ***States of Ireland*** (Hutchinson 1972)  
Contains some of this important writer's key ideas on Irish history
- Alan O'Day & John Stevenson (eds),** ***Irish Historical Documents since 1800*** (Barnes & Noble 1992). A very useful source book with linking commentary
- Patrick O'Farrell,** ***Ireland's English Question*** (Batsford 1971)  
As its title suggests, this reverses the customary way of looking at Anglo-Irish history.

### 3. Stimulating interest in and awareness of Ireland

**Students may be videoed while they interview each other, using structured questionnaires, exploring their knowledge of and interest in Ireland and Irish history.**

**Alternatively or additionally, a written test may be set on the same lines.**

QUESTIONS FOR VIDEO *(see below for format of questionnaire)*

1. **What Irish history have you done in the past?**
2. **What do you know about Ireland today?**
3. **Do you think that you will enjoy learning Irish history?**
4. **Do you think that it is an advantage or a disadvantage having an Irish teacher teaching you?**
5. **Do you think that she might be biased. If so, in what direction?**
6. **Did you ever detect bias in your history class with any history teacher?**
7. **Do you think that your teacher will be biased in her presentation of Irish history?**
8. **What way is she likely to be biased?**
9. **What is your opinion of the Irish problem?**
10. **What do you think of the British army being in Northern Ireland?**
11. **Do you think that studying Irish history will change your opinion of Irish politics?**
12. **Which (if any) of these opinions do you agree with?**

QUESTIONS FOR WRITTEN TEST

1. **What way is Ireland divided?**
2. **Who is/are the Prime Minister(s)?**
3. **Who is/are the Head(s) of State?**
4. **What does IRA stand for and why were they fighting?**
5. **Who are the WF and why were they fighting?**
6. **Why is there a problem in N. Ireland?**
7. **Why is the British army there?**
8. **Do you think that the army should stay?**
9. **What does the SDLP want and who is its leader?**
10. **What does the Unionist Party want and who is its leader?**
11. **Who is to blame for the problems in Ireland?**
12. **What solution do you have to the Irish problem?**
13. **What do you know about Ireland's past?**
14. **Do you think that it is important to study Irish History?**
15. **Do you think that you will enjoy studying Irish history?**
16. **What event in Irish history is being remembered this year?**
17. **What happened in Ireland in 1916?**
18. **What happened in Ireland in 1690?**
19. **Name three famous Irish men or women.**
20. **On what side did Ireland fight in the first and second world wars?**

**SUGGESTED FORMAT OF QUESTIONNAIRE ON IRELAND**

**ANSWER BY CIRCLING ONE OR MORE RESPONSES**

**1. HOW MUCH IRISH HISTORY DO YOU THINK YOU KNOW?**

- (1) A vast amount (2) Quite a lot (3) Know about some things but not others (4) Know a little (5) Know virtually nothing (6) Am completely ignorant**

**Other comments:** \_\_\_\_\_

**2. WHERE DID YOU LEARN IRISH HISTORY?**

- (1) At school (2) At home (3) From the media (4) Private study (5) Have no knowledge of it**

**Other comments:** \_\_\_\_\_

**3. WHY DO YOU THINK IRISH HISTORY SHOULD BE TAUGHT?**

- (1) to broaden one's understanding of history generally (2) To have an opinion on the Irish Question because it is so much in the news (3) Because it is relevant to other history - particularly British history (4) Because it is on the A-level syllabus**

**Other comments:** \_\_\_\_\_

**4. HOW MUCH IRISH HISTORY SHOULD BE TAUGHT IN BRITISH SCHOOLS?**

- (1) A vast amount (2) Quite a lot (3) A selected period (specify below) (4) A little (5) None at all**

**Other comments:** \_\_\_\_\_

**5. DO YOU THINK YOU WILL ENJOY LEARNING IRISH HISTORY?**

- (1) Very much (2) Probably will (3) Not very likely (4) Highly unlikely (5) Don't know**

**Other comments:** \_\_\_\_\_

**6. DO YOU THINK HAVING A TEACHER FROM IRELAND WILL MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE TO YOUR UNDERSTANDING AND ENJOYMENT OF IRISH HISTORY?**

- (1) I am more likely to enjoy it (2) I am less likely to enjoy it (3) It makes no difference (4) Don't know**

**Other comments:** \_\_\_\_\_

7. **DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR TEACHER WILL BE BIASED IN HER PRESENTATION OF IRISH HISTORY?**  
(1) Very likely (2) Probably to some extent (3) She is likely to give an unbiased presentation  
(4) I don't know  
Other comments: \_\_\_\_\_
8. **WHAT WAY IS SHE LIKELY TO BE BIASED?**  
(1) In favour of the Catholics Nationalists (2) In favour of the Protestant Unionists (3) For the British (4) Against the British (5) Not likely to be biased (6) I don't know  
Other comments: \_\_\_\_\_
9. **WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE IRISH PROBLEM?**  
(1) It is basically about religion (2) It is basically about politics (3) It is an economic problem  
(4) It is a racial problem (5) It was caused by Britain's mistakes (6) It is the fault of the Irish  
(7) It is the fault of the IRA (8) It is the fault of Ian Paisley and the UVF (9) I don't know  
Other comments: \_\_\_\_\_
10. **WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE BRITISH ARMY BEING IN NORTHERN IRELAND?**  
(1) It is very necessary (2) They do a good job (3) They don't make any difference (4) They have no right to be there (5) They do more harm than good (6) They should leave because they are being shot (7) I don't know  
Other comments: \_\_\_\_\_
11. **DO YOU THINK THAT STUDYING IRISH HISTORY WILL CHANGE YOUR OPINION OF IRISH POLITICS?**  
(1) Very likely (2) Probably a little (3) Will make no difference (4) I don't know  
Other comments: \_\_\_\_\_
12. **WHICH (IF ANY) OF THESE OPINIONS DO YOU AGREE WITH?**  
(1) Ireland is a land of saints and scholars (2) The Irish are always fighting (3) The Irish are too fond of drink (4) The Irish are lazy (5) The Irish are easy going (6) The IRA are terrorists (7) The IRA are freedom fighters (8) Northern Ireland should remain British (9) There should be a United Ireland  
Other comments: \_\_\_\_\_

# The Ulster crisis - the background

## 4. The Ulster crisis - a narrative of events

### THE UNION

**During this period, Ireland as part of the United Kingdom was governed from Westminster. Great Britain and Ireland had been united by the Act of Union 1800. As a result of this Act, Ireland lost her parliament and the country was represented in Parliament by 103 MPs out of a total of over 600 in the House of Commons. George V was King of Great Britain and Ireland and the Union flag flew in Dublin and Belfast as it did in London and Liverpool.**

### DEMAND FOR HOME RULE

**Most Irish MPs belonged to the Irish Parliamentary Party. The Catholic Church, to which about 80% of the people belonged, supported this party. The Irish Parliamentary Party accepted the link with Britain, but had been campaigning for nearly forty years for Home Rule, which would mean having a parliament in Dublin for purely Irish matters. Supporters of this party were called Nationalists.**

### EARLY DEFEATS FOR HOME RULE

**In 1885, Gladstone, the leader of the Liberal Party, was converted to the Home Rule cause and introduced two Home Rule Bills. Both were defeated and, although the issue divided the Liberal Party, it continued officially to support Home Rule for Ireland. When the party came to power in 1906 with a large majority, it did not need the Irish Nationalists to stay in power so Home Rule for Ireland was not actively pursued.**

### THIRD HOME RULE BILL

**It was not until the elections of 1910 reduced the Liberal majority making them dependent on the Irish nationalists that the Liberals were persuaded to introduce a Third Home Rule Bill in 1912.**

**One third of Irish MPs were Unionists who believed in maintaining the Act of Union and therefore did not want Ireland to have a parliament in Dublin, albeit with limited powers. They generally supported the Conservative party which, although out of power at the time, had a majority in the House of Lords.**

### THE DELAYING POWER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

**The Lords had the power to veto (stop) any Bill becoming law, so there appeared to be little chance of Home Rule being accepted. The Parliament Act 1911 reduced the power of the House of Lords; it could now only suspend a Bill for two years: after that time it would become law. Consequently, when Home Rule was introduced in 1912, a crisis occurred because the Unionists were determined to prevent it becoming law in 1914.**

### EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY RESISTANCE

**There was no parliamentary way in which the Unionists and the Conservatives could stop Home Rule, so the Conservative Party leader Bonar Law hinted at other ways of resisting when he said: 'There are stronger influences than Parliamentary majorities'. In another speech he said 'I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster can go in which I should not be prepared to support them'.**

The Unionist Party, which had prided itself as the party of law and order, now appeared to be supporting mob rule. This was an indication of the extent to which the issue raised passions and distorted the regular conduct of Parliamentary politics.

#### PREPARATIONS IN ULSTER

In Ulster, Carson and Craig had resolved that there could be no turning back. At Craigavon on 23 September 1911, Carson told 50,000 Orangemen, 'With the help of God you and I joined together .... will defeat the most nefarious conspiracy that has ever been hatched against a free people .... we must be prepared .... the morning Home Rule passes, ourselves to become responsible for the government of the Protestant provinces of Ulster'. This demonstration defined Ulster's methods and policy for the next three years.

#### ULSTER COVENANT AND ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

The Ulster leader began to train an army, the Ulster Volunteer Force, as a means of providing the provisional government with a force to resist the government. A Solemn League and Covenant was signed to give a further pledge of Ulster's determination. It was hoped that these steps would make Asquith withdraw the Home Rule Bill.

#### THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT'S OPTIONS

There were three courses open to Asquith. He could give in to the Unionists and *withdraw the Bill*. This would be political suicide for the Liberals who depended on the Irish Nationalists to remain in power.

Secondly, he could try to *force Home Rule on Ulster*. In March 1914, the War Office planned to move troops from an army base at the Curragh camp outside Dublin to Ulster. Sixty officers threatened to resign if the order was given to move against Ulster. This so-called Curragh Mutiny showed that Asquith could not count on the loyalty of the army in dealing with Ulster. The incident was particularly alarming in light of the fact that a European War was looming in Europe. The following month a shipment of guns were brought from Germany to Ulster ports to arm the UVF.

A third possibility was to find some kind of *compromise which would satisfy both Unionists and Nationalists*. In 1912 a Liberal backbencher put forward a scheme for the exclusion of the four most Protestant Ulster Counties from the operation of Home Rule. Various proposals for partitioning Ireland were put to Carson and Redmond (including county option) but none were acceptable to both leaders. In July 1914, the king called a Conference at Buckingham Palace but it failed to find an acceptable solution.

#### VERDICTS ON ASQUITH

Asquith's handling of the Ulster crisis has caused controversy among historians. Some praise Asquith's 'wait and see' tactics and insist that Asquith's defence must rest on the fact that the problems of Ulster were (and still appear to be) insoluble. Even if he had accepted the principle of exclusion in the face of resolute opposition from the Nationalists and many members of his own party, how was Ulster to be defined? Only in four of the nine counties did the Protestants have a clear majority.

Nevertheless, Asquith's limitations cannot be denied. Confronted by an armed revolt in Ulster and the need for immediate action, Asquith procrastinated, failing to arrest those who were openly advocating sedition in Belfast and to suppress the private armies that were forming. His equivocal

**attitude and delayed concessions encouraged opposition from Ulster, disheartened Government supporters and made the situation more grim.**

#### **VERDICT ON LIBERALISM**

**The failure of Asquith to overcome the opposition of a minority determined to resist the wishes of the majority can be said to be as much a failure of Liberalism in the fast-changing political climate before 1914. At the heart of Liberalism is the belief that all things can be solved within the framework of the constitution and in the last resort, a minority will always accept the decisions of a majority. With a slogan such as ‘Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right’, consent to the Home Rule Bill was the last thing that Unionists were prepared to give.**

#### **IRISH VOLUNTEERS**

**Redmond was convinced that Asquith would not back down on Home Rule but Professor Eoin Mac Neill, a founder of the Gaelic League, was not so sure. He encouraged the formation of a Nationalist force to counter-balance the Ulster Volunteers. This led to the formation of the Irish Volunteers in 1913. As numbers grew, Redmond reluctantly accepted a share in the organisation of the Volunteers.**

#### **THREAT OF CIVIL WAR**

**In 1914 the threat of Civil War loomed over the United Kingdom. There was bitter division between Conservatives, who saw Home Rule as an attack on the British constitution and the first step in the collapse of the British Empire, and the Liberals, who condemned Conservative support for the rebellious Ulster Unionists as a denial of the authority of Parliament.**

**Another threat to the rule of law came in July 1914 when the Irish Volunteers landed guns bought from Germany outside Dublin. After failing to prevent the landing of guns, British troops fired at a jeering crowd in Dublin, killing three people and wounding thirty-two. Civil War was probably averted by Britain’s entry into the First World War on 4 August 1914.**

#### **THE PROBLEM SHELVED**

**Redmond agreed to co-operate with the government by calling on the Volunteers to defend Irish shores. However, he encouraged them to fight wherever the firing line extended after the Home Rule Bill became law on 18 September 1914. A bill to suspend Home Rule’s operation until after the European War ended was also passed with a proviso protecting Ulster’s interests. Consequently, both volunteer movements went to fight for Britain on the understanding that when the war was over, their cause would be satisfied. The war shelved the Irish problem, it did not solve it.**

#### **RESURRECTED BY THE EASTER RISING**

**Moreover, it provided the opportunity for the more advanced form of Nationalism to organise an insurrection. The military council of the IRB decided on the outbreak of war that ‘England’s difficulty was Ireland’s opportunity’. It was planned to ally with supporters in America and the Germany to bring sufficient arms into the country to strike a successful blow for Irish independence. The date of the rising was to be Easter Sunday 1916.**

**Although plans went drastically wrong, and the rising had to be deferred to Easter Monday, a small radical group comprising members of the IRB, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army led by James Connolly and Patrick Pearse, seized the centre of Dublin and proclaimed an Irish Republic.**

**After a week of fierce fighting the Easter Rising was crushed and, shortly afterwards, many of its leaders were shot.**

**The British handling of the Rising had the unintended effect of changing the attitude of many Irish people towards the rebels and their cause. Lloyd George who negotiated for Asquith's government was anxious to persuade Nationalists and Unionists to agree to an immediate Home Rule settlement. In order to achieve Home Rule, Redmond was willing to accept temporary exclusion of six Ulster counties but Ulster Unionists demanded permanent exclusion. The initiative failed.**

#### **ECLIPSE OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY**

**By the time the war had ended in 1918, attitudes towards Home Rule in Ireland had changed extensively. The majority of Irish nationalists now supported Sinn Fein, the party which was associated with complete independence from Britain. This political revolution occurred partly because of the Easter Rising and because of the Conscription controversy of 1917-1918. The effort made to recruit support by Sinn Fein was another factor in its success.**

**In the election of December 1918, Sinn Fein was a well organised popular party which claimed 73 seats. True to Sinn Fein's manifesto, Westminster was boycotted and an unofficial Irish Parliament, Dáil Éireann, was established in Dublin to rule all Ireland as an independent country. John Redmond died in March 1918 and was replaced by John Dillon as leader of the IPP. Dillon's party only got six seats in the election and the cause of Home Rule was dead for the majority of the Irish people. A War of Independence was then fought with Britain by the newly formed IRA until 1921 when a compromise was reached.**

#### **THE PARTITION OF IRELAND**

**The Anglo-Irish Treaty gave Free State status to twenty six counties and allowed the six Ulster Counties that had been partitioned by the Government of Ireland Act 1920 to remain with Britain but ruled by their parliament in Belfast. Consequently, the Irish question was temporarily solved by six Ulster counties accepting Home Rule from Belfast and the other twenty-six counties continuing the struggle for complete independence. Although complete independence was achieved by the Free State in 1949, some Nationalists continued to support the IRA's demand that all Ireland be united into an Irish republic. The Unionists are as determined to resist this today as they were in 1912.**

## 5. Key personalities

**Herbert Asquith  
(1852-1928)**

English. Outstanding classical scholar barrister and Parliamentarian. Supporter of New Liberal social reforms. Became Prime Minister in 1908. Reluctant to introduce Home Rule because of the outcry it would cause until he was forced to do so in 1912 when the Liberals were dependent on the Nationalist party to stay in power. Criticised for his handling of the Irish situation. Introduced Home Rule in 1912 which was unacceptable to the Unionists. He was accused of trying to apply English remedies to an Irish situation. Bitter racial and religious conflict, fear and suspicion made the Protestant people of Ulster unwilling to accept the rule of their hated enemies, the Catholics in the South. He failed to understand the true nature of the Irish problem. His mismanagement is said to make the situation there more impossible. Generally, he did too little, too late.

**Edward Carson  
(1854-1935)**

Lawyer and political leader of the Unionist Party. Born Dublin. Educated Trinity College, Dublin. Called to the Irish Bar 1877. Joined the Unionist government in 1900 as Solicitor General and received a Knighthood. In parliament vigorously opposed any move to weaken the links between England and Ireland. Became leader of the Irish Unionists in 1910. Took a leading part in the formation of the UVF. Told Ulster Unionists 'Don't be afraid of illegalities'. Was assured by Asquith that coercion of Ulster was unthinkable. Appointed Attorney-General in 1915 but resigned in 1916 in dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war. After the Easter Rising he was assured by Lloyd George that the six northern counties would be permanently excluded from the Home Rule Act and he accepted office as First Lord of the Admiralty. After the war became an MP for Belfast and advised the Ulster Unionists to accept the Government of Ireland Act 1920 which established the state of Northern Ireland and partition.

**Winston Churchill  
(1874-1965)**

Born Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire. Father Randolph, 3rd son of the Duke of Marlborough and a Conservative MP advised his party to 'play the Orange Card'. Winston became a Conservative MP but left the Party to join the Liberals in 1903 when the party was considering accepting tariff reform. He supported Home Rule.

**Michael Collins  
(1890-1922)**

Revolutionary leader. Born in Cork. Worked in the Post Office. Joined the IRB in London and came to Dublin to fight in the Easter Rising. Imprisoned until December 1916 and on release became prominent in Sinn Fein and the volunteer movement. Minister of Home Affairs and later Finance in the Dáil. Organised loans from America. Organised the supply of arms and intelligence to the volunteers in the Anglo-Irish War 1919-1921. Negotiated the treaty in 1921. Shot in an ambush in 1922.

**James Craig (1871-  
1940)**

Unionist leader. Born Belfast, son of a wealthy businessman. Second only to Carson in leading the Ulster Unionists. Carson was a forceful speaker, Craig was a good organiser. In 1921 he became the first Prime Minister of the new state of Northern Ireland.

**James Connolly  
(1868-1916)**

Socialist revolutionary. Born Edinburgh, Scotland. Roman Catholic. Son of Irish immigrants. Grew up in harsh working class surroundings. Worked in a bakery and factory before joining the army. Self-educated, left school at age 10. Became active in Socialist and Trade Union affairs. Came to Dublin in 1896. Founded the Workers' Republic, the first Irish Socialist newspaper. Organised the Transport Workers' Union in Ulster in 1910. Led workers' in the 1913 strikes and Lock Outs after Larkin sent to prison. Saw capitalism as the great enemy to peace and social justice and believed socialism could only be achieved in Ireland when it became a republic. Was one of the leaders of the 1916 Insurrection for an Irish Republic. Executed for his part in the Rising.

**George V  
(1865-1935)**

King of England 1910-1935. Supported the Liberals in their struggle with the Lords. Tried to encourage both sides in the Irish question to reach a compromise. Lamented the complexities of the situation when he said: 'no matter what I do I offend half my people'. Held the ultimately futile Conference in July 1914 in Buckingham Palace.

- Lloyd George (1863-1945)** The dynamic leader of the Welsh Nationalists in their demands and a prominent figure on the Liberal left. Spokesman for New Liberalism. Supported Asquith's effort to introduce Home Rule for Ireland. Tried to persuade Nationalists and Unionists to accept the compromise of some form of partition especially after the 1916 Rising. Failed in that he promised both sides something different. Negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921.
- Maud Gonne (1866-1953)** Revolutionary. Born at Aldershot. Daughter of a wealthy army officer of Irish decent and an English mother. Educated by a governess in France. Committed to working for Irish freedom. Founded Inghinidhe na hEireann (daughters of Ireland) 1900.
- Lady Gregory (1852-1932)** Playwright. Opened Abbey Theatre in 1904 with Yeats and Synge. Collected folklore. Learnt Irish, wrote plays which showed her to be a gifted dramatist. Part of the Irish literary renaissance. In 'Our Theatre 1914, she set out its ideals: 'We went on giving what we thought good until it became popular'.
- Arthur Griffith (1871-1923)** Leader of Sinn Fein. Born Dublin. Catholic. Educated Christian Brothers' School. Followed in his father's footsteps and became an apprentice printer. Joined the Gaelic League and the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Became editor of a new weekly paper *The United Irishman*. Believed in passive resistance to gain an Irish Republic. Irish members of parliament should form a national assembly in Dublin and ignore British rule. Sinn Fein emphasised the idea of national self-reliance in the economy and culture as well as in political life.
- Anna Johnson (18??-19??)** Writer. Wrote under the pseudonym of Ethna Carbery. With Alice Milligan she founded a monthly paper *The Northern Patriot* in conjunction with a national workingman's club in Belfast. The paper advocated the separation of Ireland from England. Following disagreement with the club, founded a new paper *The Shan Van Vocht* (the poor old woman), in 1896. The earliest writings of James Connolly were included in the journal but the authors made it clear that they disagreed with his Socialism. Wrote several plays, poems and novels.
- James Larkin (1876-1947)** Labour leader born in Liverpool the son of impoverished Irish immigrants. Worked as a seaman and then a foreman on Liverpool docks. Became the Union organiser for the National Union of Dockers. In 1908 he came to Dublin and in 1909 founded the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union for unskilled workers. Had magnetic personality and his success alarmed employers sufficiently to form a Federation and lock out workers in 1913. Went to America in 1913 to raise funds. Imprisoned. In 1923 he returned to Ireland and continued to fight for workers' rights.
- Andrew Bonar Law (1858-192?)** Born New Brunswick, Canada. Son of a Presbyterian minister who emigrated from Ulster in 1845. Educated in Scotland. Worked in the family business and made his fortune in the iron trade. Became an MP in 1900 for the Conservative Party. Became the leader of the Party in 1910. Was strongly opposed to Home Rule and assured the Ulster Unionists of his support of their cause. Became Prime Minister 1922-23. Retired due to ill health and died shortly afterwards.
- Countess Markievicz (1868-1927)** Revolutionary. Born into a Protestant Anglo-Irish family from Sligo. Married a Polish count. Was attracted by the Gaelic League and the Irish Literary movement. In 1908 she joined Sinn Fein and Inghinidhe na hEireann. In 1909 she formed Na Fianna an organisation for boys who were taught drill and the use of arms. During the lock-out in 1913 she ran a soup kitchen. She participated in the 1916 Rising and was condemned to death. Her sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. Released 1917 under general amnesty. Stood for election to parliament in 1918 and was the first woman to win a seat. As a member of Sinn Fein refused to take it.

**Eoin Mac Neill  
(1867-1945)**

Scholar and patriot. Born Glenarm, Co Antrim. Educated at the Royal University. Studied early Irish History. His interest in the Irish language led him to join with Douglas Hyde to found the Gaelic League. Professor of History at University College Dublin. Elected chairman of the Irish volunteers 1913. Against an armed rising because it had little hope of success. Without his knowledge, the secret IRB proceeded with its plans with Connolly and his Citizen Army and with the support of Pearse and other Volunteer officers. He was arrested after the Rising but released in 1917 under a general amnesty. He was elected an MP and supported the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. He represented the Free State at the abortive Boundary Commission in 1924.

**Alice Hilligan  
(1865-1923)**

Writer. Born in Omagh, Co. Tyrone. Father a wealthy, Protestant businessman. University educated. Refused to go to Germany to learn the language. Went to Dublin to learn Irish. Her studies intensified her enthusiasm for the political independence of Ireland. Her writings did much to stimulate the early Sinn Fein movement. With Anna Johnson she founded a monthly paper *The Northern Patriot* in conjunction with a national workingman's club in Belfast. The paper advocated the separation of Ireland from England. Following disagreement with the club, a new paper *The Shan Van Vocht* (the poor old woman) in 1896. Wrote several plays, poems and novels. A foundation member of the Ulster Anti-Partition Council.

**Sean O'Casey  
(1880-1964)**

Playwright. Socialist. Nationalist. Born Dublin 1880. Worked there as a manual labourer until 1926. Largely self-educated. Joined the Gaelic League. Was secretary of the Irish Citizen Army. Influenced by Larkin. Encouraged by Lady Gregory to submit his plays to the Abbey Theatre. Wrote among others, *Juno and the Paycock*, *The Shadow of a Gunman* and *The Plough and the Stars*.

**Margaret Pearse  
(1878-1969)**

Teacher. Sister of Patrick and William Pearse. Helped found St Enda's College with her brothers. Carried on with the school after her brother's death. TD (MP) for Co. Dublin 1933-37. In 1938 elected to the Senate. Bequeathed St Enda's to the nation as a memorial to her brothers and to their endeavours for the freedom of Ireland and for the Irish Language.

**Patrick Pearse  
(1879-1916)**

Educationalist, writer and revolutionary. His father, a monumental sculptor was an Englishman. His mother was a native of Co. Meath. Educated at a private school. Called to the Irish Bar. Deeply interested in Irish Language and culture. Joined the Gaelic League in 1895. Edited its newspaper and lectured in Irish at the Catholic University. Founded a bi-lingual school to advance his ideas of a free and Gaelic Ireland. Joined the IRB in 1913. In 1915 spoke at the burial of the Fenian O'Donovan Rossa ending his words "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace". In the Rising at Easter Week, he was the leader of the forces of the Irish Republic. After a week's fighting he agreed to an unconditional surrender 'to prevent further slaughter of Dublin Citizens'. He was executed in May 1916 for his part in the Rising.

**John Redmond  
(1856-1918)**

Political leader. Son of an MP. University educated. Devoted follower of Parnell. Called to the Irish Bar 1886. Elected MP 1881. Made a successful political mission to Australia and the USA 1882-84 where he addressed political meeting and raised money for the Irish Parliamentary Party funds. After a split in the Party following the Parnell Divorce Case 1890, he led the minority which supported Parnell. When the party was re-united again in 1900 he became its leader.

He was an influential member of the Land Conference 1903 which led to the Land Act allowing tenants to buy their land. After years of political manoeuvring against the delaying tactics of the Liberals, he secured the introduction of the Third Home Rule Bill 1912. It met with fierce opposition from the Unionists. He believed in reform by constitutional methods and was not in sympathy with the more extreme tactics of the IVF. He believed that Ireland was one nation not two but was prepared to consider temporary partition. No compromise with the Unionists was reached.

When the First World War broke out in 1914, Redmond proposed in the House of Commons that Ireland should be guarded by the Volunteers North and South and the British troops withdrawn. The British government ignored this, and thwarted his efforts to have a distinctive Irish division formed to correspond with that approved for Ulster. Despite these rebuffs, he continued to encourage Irishmen to join the British forces.

The unexpected Rising in 1916 was a blow to his policy. In 1917 he suggested a Convention of Irishmen be held in Dublin to draft a constitution for Ireland within the Empire. It made little headway. Redmond died suddenly in March 1918.

**Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington  
(1877-?)**

Feminist. Organised women's suffrage movement. Born Co. Tipperary. Both parents Catholic with strong Fenian sympathies. Father became a Nationalist MP. Strong mother who rejected the idea that 'a woman's place was in the home'. University educated. Won a First Class Honours' Degree. Married the writer Francis Skeffington who on principal adopted his wife's surname. She was the only women who attempted to develop an analysis that incorporated the feminist issue into a nationalist framework. The cause of women in Ireland was retarded because of tradition, religion and social and economic circumstances. Political life was occupied by the Home Rule issue.

**Eamonn De Valera  
(1882-1975)**

Revolutionary, politician and President of Ireland. Born New York. Mother Irish, Father Spanish. Reared in Ireland. Won scholarship to University and became a Professor of Mathematics. 1908 joined Gaelic League and in 1914 the IVF. Sworn into the IRB and led a unit in the 1916 Easter Rising. Sentenced to death but the sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. Elected President of Sinn Fen 1917 and MP for E. Clare. Jailed for anti-conscription work in 1918. Escaped 1919. Elected President of the First Dáil (parliament). Led the forces that opposed the Treaty 1921.

**William Butler Yeats  
(1865-1939)**

Poet. Playwright. Leading member of the Gaelic revival or Irish Ireland movement. Obsession with Maud Gonne. Under her influence he joined the IRB. Lady Gregory encouraged him to found the Irish National Theatre with her. He took a firm stand to prevent any attempt to curb free expression in the theatre. Although he abandoned active politics early in the twentieth century, the Easter Rising made a deep impression on him and he wrote several poems in homage to the executed leaders.

## 6. Key organisations, terms and concepts

### GENERAL CONCEPTS

**Conservative Unionism/Unionist(s)**  
**Dublin Castle**  
**Exclusion**  
**Evangelical Fundamentalism**  
**Federalism**  
**Fenianism/Fenian(s)**  
**Free State**  
**Home Rule/Home Ruler(s)**  
**Liberal Unionism/Unionist(s)**  
**Orangeism/Orangeman(men)**  
**Partition**

**Protestantism/Protestant(s)**  
**Redmondite**  
**Republic/Republicanism/Republican(s)**  
**Roman Catholicism/Catholic(s)**  
**Sinn Fein ('Ourselves')**  
**Southern Irish Unionism/Unionist(s)**  
**The Trouble/War of Independence/Anglo-Irish War**  
**Ulster Unionism/Unionists(s)**  
**Union/Unionist(s)**

### IRISH NATIONALISM AND ASSOCIATED MOVEMENTS ETC.

Organisations, terms and concepts

**Clan**  
**Fenianism**  
**Fenians**  
**Irish Citizen Army**  
**Irish Republican Brotherhood**  
**Republicanism**  
**Sinn Fein**

**Ancient Order of Hibernians**  
**Dominion Status**  
**Federalism**  
**Home Rule Party**  
**Home Rule**  
**Irish Parliamentary Party**  
**National Party**  
**Repeal**

**Gaelic Revival**  
**Gaelic Athletic Association**  
**Gaelic League**  
**Irish Literary Revival**

Personalities

**Michael Collins**  
**Arthur Griffith**  
**Patrick Pearse**  
**Eamon de Valera**

**John Dillon**  
**John Redmond**

**Lady Augusta Gregory**  
**Douglas Hyde**  
**Eoin McNeill**  
**Father Martin**  
**George Moore**  
**George Russell**  
**William Butler Yeats**

**IRISH UNIONISM AND ASSOCIATED MOVEMENTS ETC.**

<b>Irish Unionism</b>	<b>Marquess of Lansdowne</b>
<b>Irish Unionists</b>	
<b>Irish Unionist Alliance</b>	
<b>Southern Irish Unionism</b>	
<b>Unionist Associations of Ireland</b>	

<b>Ulster Unionism</b>	<b>Edward Carson</b>
<b>Ulster Unionist Council</b>	<b>James Craig</b>
<b>Unionist Clubs</b>	
<b>Ulster Volunteer Force</b>	
<b>Ulster Unionist(s)</b>	
<b>Loyalist(s)</b>	
<b>Orange Order</b>	
<b>Orangemen</b>	
<b>Partition</b>	
<b>Exclusion</b>	

**BRITISH GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL PARTIES ETC.**

<b>Liberals</b>	<b>Henry Campbell-Bannerman</b>
	<b>Herbert Henry Asquith</b>
	<b>Winston Churchill</b>
	<b>David Lloyd George</b>
<b>Liberal Unionism</b>	<b>Austen Chamberlain</b>
<b>Liberal Unionists</b>	
<b>Conservatives</b>	<b>A. J. Balfour</b>
	<b>Andrew Bonar Law</b>

## 7. Table of events

- 1900** Redmond elected leader of reunited Irish Parliamentary Party. This party wanted Home Rule for Ireland. Inghinidhe na hEireann (Daughters of Erin) formed to re-establish the complete independence of Ireland. British Labour Party founded. It supported Home Rule.
- 1903** Wyndham's Land Purchase Act provided money for tenant farmers to buy the land they farmed.
- 1904** The Ulster Unionist Council was formed to prevent any weakening of the union between Ireland and Great Britain
- 1905** The Sinn Fein movement to get more independence for Ireland was organised as a political party led by Arthur Griffith.
- 1906** The Liberal party which supported Home Rule won the election with a large majority. Campbell Bannerman became Prime Minister.
- 1907** An Irish Councils Bill was introduced by the Liberals but the IPP rejected it because it was not an adequate substitute for Home Rule.
- 1908** H.H. Asquith became Prime Minister. Old Age Pensions were introduced by the Liberals.
- 1909** To pay for them and for greater military expenditure, a budget was introduced which increased taxes on the rich. It was rejected by the Conservative majority in the House of Lords. Birrell's Land Act completed the process whereby tenants could buy their farms from the landlords with the help of government money. Irish Transport and General Workers' Union formed. The labour movement in Ireland was led by James Connolly and James Larkin.
- 1910** Two general elections (January and December). The Liberals lost their majority and were dependent on the Irish nationalists and the Labour party to stay in power and to get the budget passed. Sir Edward Carson, a distinguished Dublin lawyer, became leader of the Irish Unionists.
- 1911** An Irish Women's Suffrage Federation was founded in Dublin. Encouraged by the example of the English suffragettes, Irish women from all walks of life and political backgrounds demanded 'votes for women'. At first some of the Unionists seemed to be sympathetic but then they changed their minds and neither the Unionists nor the Nationalists supported the women's cause. An official anti-Home Rule campaign was launched at Craigavon, the Belfast home of the Unionist MP James Craig. Many Ulster businessmen pledged financial support. Andrew Bonar Law who had Ulster family connections and sympathies became the leader of the Conservative party. The Parliament Act was passed which reduced the power of the House of Lords. They could only delay a bill for two years.
- 1912**
- April 6: In Dublin, a group of Suffragettes carrying sandwich boards with slogans such as 'Self-Government means government by both men and women' were surrounded and their boards roughly torn from them.
  - April 9: A massive demonstration against Home Rule took place in the North of Ireland at Balmoral. The platform party included Bonar Law.
  - April 11: The Third Home Rule Bill was introduced and was likely to become law in two years.
  - June 18: A Liberal backbench amendment to exclude four Ulster counties from the Bill was defeated.
  - July 29: Bonar Law's Blenheim speech agreeing to support Ulster's use of force.
  - Sept.28: 'Ulster Day' organised by unionists takes the form of organised meetings and religious services all over the north of Ireland. A specially prepared petition called the 'Solemn League and Covenant' was signed by thousands who wanted to state their objections to Home Rule. As the Covenant was exclusively for men, the Women's Unionist Council organised a Women's Declaration so that women could show solidarity with their men.

- 1913**     **Jan:**        An Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) to fight the British government if Home Rule is introduced was formally established.
- Jan. & July:** Home Rule passed in the Commons but was defeated in the Lords.
- Sep.:**        The Provisional Government of Ulster was set up.
- Oct.-Dec.:** Compromise talks which failed.
- Nov.:**        An Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) was set up to fight the government if Home Rule was not passed. It was unofficially led by members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) - a physical force organisation which wanted complete independence. It attracted other nationalist groups such as Sinn Fein and the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association.
- The bitter industrial strife that was prevalent in Britain after 1910 hit Ireland in 1913 with strikes and lockouts. Confrontation between workers and police led to the formation of the Irish Citizen Army (ICA). It supported nationalism.
- 
- 1914**     **Mar.:**        ‘Curragh Incident’ where some officers threatened to resign if they were asked by the government to fight against Ulster Unionists. The Government backed down. Asquith’s offer of temporary exclusion for parts of Ulster to be determined by county plebiscite rejected.
- April:**        Cumann na mBan (Irishwomen’s Council) formed as part of the IVF. Gun-running. Arms were smuggled into Ulster from Germany for the WF. Met with no resistance.
- May:**        Home Rule Bill passed in the Commons
- June:**        Sarajevo murders
- July 10:**     Ulster Provisional government meets.
- 21-24 July:** Buckingham Palace Conference for all interested parties breaks down over issue of exclusion. Threat of Civil war.
- 26 July:**     Gun-running at Howth by the IVF  
Bachelor Walk Incident - Army shooting into the crowds in Dublin and killing people infuriated nationalist Ireland.
- 4 Aug.:**     War against Germany declared. Redmond commits the volunteers to the protection of Irish shores. Unionists but not nationalists were allowed to form special regiments.
- 9 Sept.:**     Supreme Council of the IRB decided on an insurrection before the end of the war.
- 18 Sept.:**    Home Rule Bill received royal assent but its operation was suspended for the duration of the war.
- 20 Sept.:**    Redmond’s speech at Woodenbridge calling on Irishmen to fight for Britain led to a split in the IVF.  
Members of the W F and the IVF volunteered to fight in France for Britain on the understanding that when the war was over their efforts would be rewarded.
- 
- 1915**     **May:**        War-time Coalition formed under Asquith. Bonar Law and Carson in the cabinet but not Redmond.
- 
- 1916**     **April:**        Easter Rising organised by members of the IRB, the IVF + ICA to fight for independence - lasted nearly a week in Dublin before being crushed by the British forces, Leaders executed. British handling of the situation led to a growth in republicanism and helped to promote Sinn Fein.
- May-July:**    Lloyd George’s unsuccessful initiative to find an immediate settlement.
- 12 June:**     Ulster Unionist Council accepted permanent partition.
- Dec.:**        Lloyd George became Prime Minister.
- 
- 1917**     **Feb.:**        A Sinn Fein Candidate was elected.
- 6 April:**     America entered the war.
- 16 May:**     Lloyd George offered Redmond partition or convention. Redmond accepted convention.
- July-Oct.:**    Irish Convention met and reached deadlock - Sinn Fein refused to participate.
- 
- 1918**     **Mar.:**        John Redmond died and was replaced by John Dillon.
- April:**        Convention Report published  
Conscription issue - promoted the growth of Sinn Fein.
- June:**        Conscription and Home Rule dropped.
- Nov.:**        Lloyd George claimed right to solve Irish problem by six counties partition.

**War Ended**

**Representation of the People's Act gave universal manhood suffrage and the vote to women over 30.**

**Dec. General election. Large majorities for Sinn Fein and for Lloyd George's peace-time coalition.**

**The decline of the IPP and the rise of Sinn Fein coincided with the formation of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). It was determined to gain independence by force.**

# The Ulster crisis - documents and exercises

## 8. Introduction to documents on the Ulster crisis

### THE ORANGE CARD

**In trying to solve the Irish question, Gladstone had been acutely aware of the problem of Ulster. [A-B] The Tory radicals, led by Randolph Churchill, played ‘the orange card’ by taking up the unionist cause: ‘Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right’. [C] In Ulster, a movement to resist Home Rule developed that was as resolute as that of the Irish Nationalists.**

### HOME RULE - ROME RULE?

**The Unionists’ fear was that if Ireland were to be granted independence this would result in their being subordinated to the Catholic South: ‘Home Rule means Rome rule’. [D - E] Thus by a curious twist of history Unionists found themselves at the end of the 19th century in the same position as Nationalists at the end of the 18th century - looking to union with Britain as the necessary guarantee of their interests.**

### ULSTER’S PROSPERITY

**In economic terms the Ulster region, particularly Belfast, was the most industrially advanced and prosperous region in Ireland. [F] This made Nationalists determined that the area should remain part of the nation should Ireland ever be granted separation.**

### IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES

**Clearly the unionist and Nationalist viewpoints were wholly irreconcilable. [G - H] Any attempt to solve the Irish question was now certain to fall foul of the Ulster issue.**

### 1911 PARLIAMENT ACT - UNIONISTS ON GUARD

**The Home Rule story took another dramatic turn in 1911. This was the year of the Parliament Act which ended the House of Lords’ veto over Commons legislation. The Act had been occasioned by the rejection by the Conservative-dominated House of Lords of the 1909 People’s Budget, but for Unionists it had an ominous bearing on the Irish question the reduction in the powers of the Lords meant that there was now no constitutional way to prevent the liberals forcing through Home Rule. Asquith’s government, supported by John Redmond’s Irish Nationalist MPs, could carry the Bill through the Commons, knowing that the lords could no longer prevent it becoming law. This produced a desperate reaction among the Unionists. [I - J]**

### RESISTING THE THIRD HOME RULE BILL

**Following Asquith’s introduction in 1912 of the third Home Rule Bill, Ulster prepared for violent confrontation**

**Edward Carson, the leader of the Protestant Covenanters, claimed that the two general elections of 1910, which had wiped out the Liberals’ majority and left them dependent on the Irish Nationalist MPs, had deprived the Liberal government of an electoral mandate for Home Rule. [K] Carson called upon the Unionists to ‘use all means which may be necessary’ to prevent the measure being implemented by the summer of 1914, what were in effect two armies, the Protestant Ulster Volunteers and the Nationalist Irish Volunteers, prepared for civil war. [L - N] That the Ulstermen were by far the better armed of the two sides did not lessen the Nationalists’ willingness to fight.**

## SAVED BY THE FIRST WORLD WAR

**Still believing that a compromise was possible, Asquith proposed that the Home Rule terms should not be applied in Ulster for six years. He had some success. In July 1914, with war against Germany imminent, it was agreed between the parties that the operation of the Home Rule Bill would be suspended for the duration of the war. This produced a temporary easing of the situation but it was clear the issue was far from settled.**

## 9. Documents on the Ulster crisis

- A. The Orange Order had earlier shown its fierce resistance to Gladstone's proposals to disestablish the Irish Church

**We have - I should rather say we had - a Protestant Constitution. The guardianship of that Constitution was committed to the king, Lords and Commons, the rulers of this Protestant kingdom. So long as they discharged their trust as honest men, there was no necessity to seek to withdraw it from their charge, but as soon as these guardians betrayed their trust and commenced, step by step, to assail that Constitution, break down the most precious bulwarks, and seek to destroy the Protestant faith, then it became a duty, and an actual necessity, to take upon ourselves the duty which they neglected to perform - to do the work that belonged to the government of a Protestant land, for the Protestant subjects of that land.**

from a speech of Brother W.J.Gwyn of the Orange Lodge Belfast (1867)

- B. When introducing the first Home Rule Bill, Gladstone alludes to the intractable problem of Ulster

**The strong instincts of the Irish people require, not only that laws should be good, but that they should proceed from a congenial and native source, and besides being good laws, they should be their own laws.**

**We seek the settlement of that question in the establishment of a Parliament sitting in Dublin, for the conduct of Irish, as distinct from Imperial affairs. That is my postulate, from which I set out ... The essential conditions of any plan are, that the unity of the Empire must not be placed in jeopardy, and next that there should be reasonable safeguards for the Protestant minority, especially in the Province of Ulster.**

**But, Sir, I cannot allow it to be said, that a Protestant minority in Ulster, or elsewhere, is to rule the question at large for Ireland, when five-sixths of its chosen representatives are of one mind in this matter ....**

from a speech by Gladstone in the House of Commons (1886)

- C. Randolph Churchill leads the Tory-radical attack upon Home Rule

**I decided some time ago, that if the G.O.M. [Gladstone] went for Home Rule, the Orange card should be the one to play. Please God it may turn out the ace of trumps and not the two ...**

**If political parties and political leaders, not only parliamentary but local, should be so utterly lost to every feeling and dictate of honour and courage as to hand over coldly, and for the sake of purchasing a short and illusory Parliamentary tranquillity, the lives and liberties of the Loyalists of Ireland to their hereditary and most bitter foes, make no doubt on this point - Ulster will not be a consenting party: Ulster at the proper moment will resort to the supreme arbitrament of force; Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right; Ulster will emerge from the struggle victorious, because all that Ulster represents to us Britons will command the sympathy and support of an enormous section of our British community.**

from letters and speeches of Randolph Churchill (1886)

- D. Anxious not to lose their dominant position in northern Ireland, the Protestants assert the merits of the Act of Union

**We but repeat, what is well known to everyone who has bestowed attention on the subject, that, in every detail which goes to make up the sum of civilised life, the Irish people are at this moment very far in advance of the condition of their ancestors at the time of the Union. They are better housed, better clad, better fed: they receive better prices for the produce of their farms, and higher wages for their labour; they have greater liberty and better protection in health, abundant provision for sickness, and facilities for the education and advancement in life of their children, such as were undreamt of 80 years ago. No measure has been passed, since the Union, for the benefit of the English or the Scotch people, in which they have not shared; and many Acts have been passed specially for their benefit which have not been extended to Scotland or England. These are facts which cannot be controverted, and which no one, except hireling agitators, would attempt to deny or distort.**

an address by the 'Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union' to Gladstone (1886)

- E. Supported by Tory-radicals at Westminster, the Orange Order re-emerges at the time of the Home Rule Bills as the voice of Irish Protestantism and the defender of the Union

**We solemnly resolve and declare that we express the devoted loyalty of Ulster Unionists to the Crown and constitution of the United Kingdom; that we avow our fixed resolve to retain unchanged our present position as an integral part of the United Kingdom; that we declare to the people of Great Britain our conviction that the attempt to set up such an all-Irish Parliament will result in disorder, violence and bloodshed.**

from the resolution of the Ulster Convention League (1892)

- F. Description of the religious divide in Belfast at the beginning of the twentieth century

**Belfast is a great manufacturing town, which in progress and wealth enjoys a foremost place among the centres of population of the United Kingdom. Its population in 1881, according to the census returns, was 208,122, and since that time has probably increased to about 230,000. It has an area of 6,805 acres, and a valuation of £604,537. The town is, in its present proportions, of very recent growth; and the result is that the poorer classes, instead of, as in other cities, occupying tenements in large houses, reside mainly in separate quarters, each of which is almost entirely given up to persons of one particular faith, and the boundaries of which are sharply defined. In the district of West Belfast, the great thoroughfare of the Shankill-road, with the network of streets running into it, and the side streets connecting those lateral branches, is an almost purely Protestant district; and the parties referred to in the evidence as 'the Shankill mob', are a Protestant mob. The great Catholic quarter is due south of the Shankill district, and consists of the thoroughfare known as the Falls-road, and the streets running south of it; and the parties referred to in the testimony before us as the 'Falls-road mob', are therefore a Catholic mob. Due south of the Falls district is Grosvenor-street; almost entirely inhabited by Protestants, so that the Catholic quarter lies between two Protestant districts. The Shankill-road and Falls-road are both largely inhabited by shopkeepers who supply the wants of the population, and whose houses are sometimes large and comfortable. The streets running off these thoroughfares consist of long rows of cottages of artisans and labourers. The great points of danger to the peace of the town are open spaces in the border land between the two quarters; and two of**

**these spaces - the Brickfields and Springfield - will be found to have been the theatres of some of the worst scenes of the riots.**

**The great number of working people who dwell in the districts we have described are, at ordinary times, a most peaceable and industrious community. But unfortunately a spirit has grown up amongst these people, which has resulted in that, on three previous occasions within the last 30 years, in 1857, 1864, and 1872, the town was the scene of disturbances and long-continued riots.**

*from the Report of the Belfast Riot Commissioners (1887)*

G. The Orangemen declare their total opposition to Home Rule

**We the Orangemen of the Loyal Orange District of Fivemiletown in the Co. of Tyrone hereby declare our steadfast adherence to the principles of civil and religious liberty thereby established in these realms, and our first determination to lay down our lives in their defense rather than allow them to be wrested from us ...**

**In common with our loyalist fellow subjects in England and Scotland as well as in Ireland we deprecate the insidious and profligate and unpatriotic attempt now being made by a self seeking and reckless old politician [Gladstone] abetted by a motley and heterogeneous rabble of professional agitators to smuggle through the House of Commons, with[out] the necessary full debate of its provisions a measure calculated to uproot the Constitution under which we live and to imperil our lives, our liberties and our worldly substance ... Lastly, we would record our undying allegiance to the Gracious Monarch who has so long and so wisely wielded the sceptre over the Mighty Empire of which Ireland forms an integral part, our ardent attachment to the Constitution of the United Kingdom, and our fixed resolve never to submit to laws enacted by an Irish Parliament of which the members would be the nominees and puppets of the Roman Priesthood.**

*from the 'Orange resolutions' (July 1893)*

H. Doubt is cast on the religious motivation behind sectarianism

**[T]here is a cast-iron bigotry - a cruel corroding, unfathomable, ferocious, sectarian rancour ... Orange hostility to Catholicism is largely due to sordid political enmity, or, in other words, to hard cash. Sectarianism is being used for a political end. It is not religious zeal. It is merely inherited spite ... There are Catholics ready to take their lives into their hands on St Patrick's Day who may not have complied with their religious duties for years. There are Orangemen ready to cry 'To Hell with the Pope' who have not been inside of a church since their boyhood. They are born to it, brought up to it. It is an inheritance, this blind unreasoning hatred.**

*from Rambles in Erin by William Buffin (1907)*

I. Disturbed by the commitment of the Liberals under Asquith to re-introduce Home Rule, the Unionists issue a 'Manifesto' at the time of the 1910 general elections

**One million five hundred thousand of your fellow subjects in Ireland, that is to say, about one-third of the whole population of the country, call for your help at the polls. They are loyally devoted to the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland under which they have been born and lived. They include, beside many thousands of scattered Royalists in the West and South of Ireland, the overwhelming majority of the most progressive and prosperous parts of Ulster, including the great city of Belfast. They comprise Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other religious**

**persuasions including a minority of loyal Roman Catholics. Be assured that they know from experience the danger under Home Rule of religious, social and political tyranny from the men who have been the enemies of Great Britain. We are convinced that the injury caused by Home Rule to the great industries of the North and other parts of Ireland would send thousands of workmen to your shores competing with you for employment and adding to the existing mass of unemployed... We are certain that a country within a few miles of you governed by those who have shown their hostility to Great Britain may constitute, especially at the present time, a standing menace to you from a naval and military point of view.**

from the Manifesto to the Electors of Great Britain' (1910)

J. Edward Carson, the leading spokesman for Irish Unionism, sees the danger for Protestant Ulster that follows from the 1911 Parliament Bill

**We must be prepared, in the event of a Home Rule Bill passing, with such measures as will carry on for ourselves the government of those districts of which we have control. We must be prepared the morning Home Rule passes, ourselves to become responsible for the government of the Protestant province of Ulster.**

from a speech by Edward Carson at a Unionist rally in Belfast (1911)

K. The Elections of 1910 throw doubt on the Liberals' mandate for Home Rule

ELECTION	PARTY	VOTES	SEATS	%AGE VOTES
January/February	Conservatives	3,127,887	273	46.9
	Liberals	2,880,581	275	43.2
	Labour	505,657	40	7.6
	Irish Nationalists	124,586	82	1.9
December	Conservatives	2,420,566	272	46.3
	Liberals	2,295,888	272	43.9
	Labour	371,772	42	7.1
	Irish Nationalists	131,375	84	2.5

L. Over 200,000 Unionists formally commit themselves to resist the introduction of Home Rule

**Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty, King George V, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending for**

**ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right we hereto subscribe our names.**

from the Solemn League and Covenant (September 1912)

M. Bonar Law, the Conservative leader, declares his willingness to defy the law in his support of the Ulster Unionists

**In our opposition... we shall not be guided by the considerations or bound by the restraints which would influence us in an ordinary constitutional struggle ... They may, perhaps they will, carry their Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, but what then I said the other day in the House of Commons and I repeat here that there are things stronger than parliamentary majorities ...**

**I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster can go in which I should not be prepared to support them, and in which, in my belief, they would not be supported by the overwhelming majority of the British people...**

**We regard the government as a revolutionary committee which has seized by fraud upon despotic power. In our opposition to them ... we shall not be restrained by the bonds, which would influence our action in any ordinary political struggle.**

from speeches by Bonar Law (1912)

N. Lord Dunleath one of the organisers, explains how the Ulster Volunteer Force an unofficial army of 100,000, came into being in 1913 prepared to fight Home Rule

**We felt that it was the plain duty of those of us who were possessed of influence to take some step, which would convince the government of the reality of our determination to resist this policy by every means in our power... We commenced by drilling our Orangemen and our Unionist Clubs, wherever drill instructors could be obtained, and suitable halls and lodges were available. Later on we amalgamated these forces, organised them into companies and battalions, appointed officers and section leaders, and gradually equipped and trained them into a very fairly efficient force of volunteer infantry. Finally we succeeded in providing them with a good supply of arms and ammunition. We can certainly claim that we have succeeded in turning the attention of Englishmen and Scotchmen towards Ulster and its inhabitants; we can also claim that the existence of this large armed force of Volunteers has materially assisted our political leaders.**

from Lord Dunleath to Edward Carson (1914)

## 10. Questions on Ulster crisis documents

1. **Comment on the significance of the following references:**
  - a **'We have - I should rather say we had - a Protestant Constitution (source A, line 1).** (4 marks)
  - b **'reasonable safeguards for the Protestant minority (source B, line 10).** (4 marks)
  - c **'Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right' (source C, line 11).** (4 marks)
  - d **'our fixed resolve to retain unchanged our present position as an integral part of the United Kingdom' (source E, line 3).** (5 marks)
2. **How far does the description in source F bear out the claims made in source D?** (7 marks)
3. **In the light of your own knowledge and the evidence in sources G-I, judge whether economic or religious concerns had the greater influence on the shaping of Unionist attitudes.** (8 marks)
4. **To what extent does the evidence in source K support the claims made by the Unionists in sources J and M in justification of their willingness to act outside the law in opposing Home Rule?** (8 marks)
5. **How far does the evidence in sources H-N support the contention that by 1914 Ulster had become an intractable political problem?** (10 marks)

# 11. Exercises

## Answering an essay question under exam conditions

When and why between 1906 and 1922 did the Irish Home Rule movement become revolutionary?

### 1. CANDIDATES' ESSAYS

#### Candidate A (?R)

The Irish Home Rule problem, which dated back from 1800 when Irish affairs became governed by Westminster, reached a climax between 1906 and 1922. Matters had come to such a head that some sort of decision had to be made, and the consequences taken.

The government between 1906 and 1915 was a liberal one, led first by Campbell Bannerman and then (from 1908) by Asquith. Home Rule was one of the liberal policies and they promised to do something about it when they came in to power at the 1905 election. However, until 1911, Asquith preferred to avoid the situation, saying 'wait and see' when asked about what he intended to do. He knew there was nothing he could do to keep both sides happy and was waiting until a

moment arose when action of some nature demanded his intervention. The Irish Home Rule Party was represented in the British Parliament by the Irish Nationalists. In 1910, the liberals won two elections. The results were a hung parliament, and only thanks to the Nationalists' support did they actually win. It now pressed upon the liberals to do something, and, after the Parliament Act of 1911, the 3rd Home Rule Bill was introduced, ready to come into being in 1914. However, in 1914, war broke out in Europe, and all talks were abandoned to concentrate on the foreign crisis. Home rule was passed, ready to come into effect as soon as the war was ended. The Home Rule party by this time, was not too reactionary, for it was now promised what it wanted.

However, in 1916, the events of the Easter Rising attracted a whole new wave of Irish Culturalism and Nationalism. The British government shot those responsible, and chaos ensued. Ireland now became divided between the Unionists mainly in Ulster, who wished to remain with Britain, and the Republicans, mostly in the south, who wanted an independent Republic. At this point the movement was on the point of turning reactionary. After the war, Home Rule was granted to the whole of Ireland, after which, it can be said, the movement did officially turn revolutionary. A War of Independence was fought between the British government and the Irish Republicans. The Home Rule Movement could be said to have largely disappeared, in exchange for those who wanted total independence, (now fought by the IRA) and those who wished to stay with England. It was on this occurrence - 1919, the creation of the IRA, when the Home Rule Movement became much more ambitious and ruthless, that 'revolutionary' could be used to describe its motives. It intended to bring about a constitutional change in the way Ireland was to be governed.

The War ended in 1920, and the Anglo-Irish Settlements discussed separation. Ireland now became divided, between Ulster, with home rule (though these were not the original Home Rule fighters) and the South, which became a free state. This meant they had their independence, but wanted more - they wanted freedom from the Commonwealth of which they were still under and to keep Ireland whole.

Thus, in 1922-1923, a civil war was fought, with the intention of breaking all ties with Britain, and keeping the whole country as a single republic. This war helped to further the term 'revolutionary' to describe the republicans - those who had originally wanted just Home Rule, but fought and fought on further to get more and more independence.

We can see that throughout its long and perturbed history, the movement when the Home Rule movement became revolutionary, was certainly in 1919 when Michael Collins, among others, founded the IRA. In this army was expressed all the feelings of hate and remorse of the last 100 years coupled with a determination to keep going, past the Home Rule 'target' and on, to find complete freedom. In 1921, Michael Collins was shot by (possibly) one of his own men, as a violent reaction against him having signed away Ulster to the British. Perhaps this act verifies the revolutionary change that had been made earlier. Revolution has no scruples, and anyone betraying it would be shown this, in the true revolutionary nature. It became a revolutionary movement, partly out of the reasons described above, and also perhaps as a reaction spurring from the violence of the British on executing leaders of the Easter Rising - Patrick Pearse and James Connolly among others. These men were not revolutionaries - they were romantic poets inspired by the ideals of their country. But the feelings and reactions that were felt after the stab against Ireland (ie. The executions) hurt and wounded, as well as intensified the Irish Nationalist Pride, and led them on. Their feelings changed from national pride of their culture to passionate and cold blooded revolt against the British.

Therefore, it appears that the Home Rule Party turned revolutionary in about 1919 to 1920 when the IRA was formed and the War of Independence began. Reasons for this were long and intense, and showed how a problem involving so many for so long, was virtually impossible to be solved causing grievance to noone.

## Candidate B (RL)

The Irish problem, whether or not to pass Home Rule, was always a heated topic with deep divisions in Ireland. In order to understand the debate one must first comprehend the divisions. Then it is necessary to study what actions took place between 1906-1922 which led to an emphasis on the revolutionary side. Thus it is necessary to view the Irish nationalists influence on the Liberal Party, 1906-1914, the constitutional crisis, the reaction to the passing of the Home Rule Act and the revolutionary actions of Easter 1916, followed by the War of Independence and then the Civil War.

Firstly one must understand the divides in Ireland. The issue of Home Rule created its supporters; the Nationalists who demanded that Ireland be allowed its own parliament in Dublin; its opponents, who wanted Ireland to remain ruled by Britain, and finally the Republicans who believed in total independence for Ireland. It was this divisions and indeed the continuous changed in what the people wanted which created the confusion which was the Home Rule Crisis.

Home Rule was traditionally opposed by the conservatives but the Liberals supported it. Thus when the Liberals came to power they were expected to introduce a bill. However with the balance of power in the House of Lords lying with the conservatives, with the right to veto, such a bill could never be passed until the balance was redressed. After the 1911 constitutional crisis in which the power of the House of Lords was restricted, indeed their right to veto was replaced by a two term suspension of a bill, the Liberals were able to pass any bill they chose. However were they willing?

After the support of the Irish nationalists in the 1908 election, which enabled them to return to power, they had an obligation to fulfil their promise of Home Rule. Thus in 1912 the third Home Rule bill was introduced, as expected it was shelved by the House of Lords for two years. During this time those opposed to Home Rule adamantly stated that they would fight the government if it became law. The Nationalists however stated they would fight it if didn't become law. Thus one can see the beginning of the revolutionary spirit in the Irish question. This topic was so heated and so divided fierce opposition to each view would result in violence. However, such violence did not take root yet.

The Home Rule bill was passed in 1914 but was postponed until after the war, this would mean that the government would not be trying to solve the Irish problem whilst also fighting a world war. Most of the Irish agreed, many joined up and Ireland appeared peaceful. However a small group of Republicans decided on military action. Easter 1916 can be seen as the first instance of revolutionary action as a group of rebels expecting arms and men from Germany made an attack on Dublin castle from the General Post Office. This attack, shunned by the Irish people and indeed the Germans, can be seen as the first revolutionary action, however it ended in surrender only days later.

Thus one can see that the Irish question first became revolutionary in Easter 1916 with direct actions. Thus was an attempt to take advantage of a vulnerable England who was already at war with Germany. Such an attack on Britain was fiercely put down by Britain who sent soldiers into Dublin. The Irish people objected to such action thus more military ensued. Indeed the individual armies, the IVF, UVF and the IRB had been storing arms and preparing for war for a time but this was the first instance of real action.

The reaction of British troops, often described as heavy handed, was objected to by the Irish. This led to further revolutionary tactics with a War of Independence ensuing. The black and tan soldiers fought the Irish fighting for independence from Britain. This fighting ended with the Anglo-Irish treaty which agreed to partition. Indeed the six most protestant Northern counties were to be ruled by a Belfast parliament whilst the 26 most Catholic southern counties were to be ruled by a Dublin parliament. The treaty was signed but then civil war broke out between those who accepted and those who rejected the treaty.

This illustrates the further violence of the revolutionary Irish Home Rule question. The reason behind such revolutionary activity was a determination, from all sides, that they could get what they wanted. It was also fuelled by an intensified hatred for the British after their execution of fifteen misled idealists involved in the Easter Rising, and then the British treatment of the Irish after the Rising. Even ordinary people uninvolved with the Rising felt persecuted and this one could say that it was the heavy handed actions of the British who furthered the revolutionary action which took place after 1916.

The civil war was finally won by the acceptors of the treaty and thus the partition of Ireland took place. However this did not end the revolutionary activity in Ireland. It continued as those opposing a divided Ireland fought on.

However one could attribute the revolutionary activity of the Irish as a reaction to a passionate belief. The decision of Home Rule would be something that would have affected their lives thus if they did not agree with the final decision the result could have been disastrous. This impassioned belief was fuelled by the over reaction of the British concerning the Easter Rising. It could also be argued that the complexity and intense problem caused by the Home Rule question meant that any peaceful negotiations would reach a stalemate, this exasperation with such means would lead to revolutionary activity. In this view, the taking up of arms was an inevitable consequence of a complex question.

In conclusion one can see that after the constitutional crisis and the Irish Nationalist support of the Liberals, it was inevitable that Home Rule would be introduced. The delay during the war was the ideal opportunity for the Irish to arm themselves whilst the Easter Rising of 1916 was an illustration of their turn towards revolutionary tactics. Tactics which continued until 1922 and beyond. The reasons for this militancy was a passionate belief in their respective causes, the over reaction of the British after the Rising which fuelled resentment and an exasperation with a problem which appeared to have no solution. All these causes led to revolutionary behaviour on behalf of the Republicans, Nationalists and Unionists.

## 2. TEACHER'S COMMENTS

Candidate A (?R)

Candidate B (RL)

# Addressing the syllabus

## 12. The demands of the syllabus

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD DELEGACY OF LOCAL EXAMINATIONS  
General Certificate of Education Advanced Level History  
Unit One (Core) Paper 9930/1

### THE UNIT

Time:	<b>One hour</b>
Marks:	<b>25</b>
Weighting:	<b>15 per cent</b>
Format:	<b>One structured question based on documentary source material</b>
Assessment:	<b>Traditional and Modular. Candidates may take the paper at the end of the A-level course or work papers in December, March and June to accumulate credits which can be aggravated at the end of the course.</b>

### DOCUMENT STUDY

**The focus of this unit is the study of an historical period or event through the use of documentary sources. Candidates should study how to interpret source material and assess its reliability, how to compare two or more sources, how to evaluate the standpoint of an author and how to investigate an historical problem through the use of contrasting sources. They will be required to use their knowledge of the topic as well as their historical skills, but historiographical knowledge will not be assessed.**

### ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES

**Candidates will be assessed on their ability to fulfil the following objectives:**

- |    |                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|----|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. | Knowledge                                | <b>The recall, selection and deployment of accurate and relevant historical knowledge.</b>                                                                                                                                    |
| B. | Understanding                            | <b>The presentation of historical explanations showing an understanding of relevant concepts, such as causation, continuity and change and the significance of individuals, ideas and events in their historical context.</b> |
| C. | Interpretation and Evaluation of Sources | <b>The interpretation, evaluation and use of a range of source material within its historical context.</b>                                                                                                                    |
| D. | Analysis and Evaluation of Arguments     | <b>The analysis and evaluation of historical evidence, accounts, arguments and interpretations so as to arrive at substantiated judgments.</b>                                                                                |
| E. | Investigation                            | <b>The investigation of historical problems and issues.</b>                                                                                                                                                                   |
| F. | Communication and Presentation           | <b>The ability to communicate in a clear, concise and relevant way, and to present logical and coherent arguments, taking into account the use of grammar, punctuation and spelling.</b>                                      |

## WEIGHING OF ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES

Assessment Objective(s)	Marks	%age
A and B	<b>9</b>	<b>5.4</b>
C and D	<b>11</b>	<b>6.6</b>
E	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>
TOTAL	<b>25</b>	<b>15</b>

## 13. Unit two : English history

Why did successive British governments fail to settle the Irish problem 1900-18?

This study unit will attempt to answer this question by raising three questions:

1. What was the 'Irish problem'?
2. What might have constituted success in settling this problem?
3. How were questions of success or failure interpreted/defended by the different parties trying to come settle the Irish problem?

WHAT CONSTITUTED SUCCESS?

For Unionists

1. The status quo maintained and all Ireland ruled directly from Westminster.

**PROBLEM:** *The majority of the Irish people did not want this. The Liberal Government would not agree.*

2. Ulster should be excluded from the Home Rule settlement.

**PROBLEM:** *Abandoning Home Rule would lead to violence.*

For Liberals

1. Push Home Rule through without change.

**PROBLEMS:** *Could result in civil war.  
Possible constitutional crisis regarding the Conservative party.*

2. Compromise by temporarily excluding some Ulster counties.

**PROBLEMS:** *Nationalists would not accept any partition of Ireland.  
Staunch Unionists and Conservatives would still be against Home Rule for the rest of Ireland.*

3. Political stability and an increase in popularity.

**PROBLEM:** *How to maintain peace in Ireland whilst ensuring that the Third Home Rule Bill becomes law.*

4. The end of dependence on the Irish and Labour parties.

**PROBLEM:** *Under Home Rule, Ireland would still be represented at Westminster. The Labour party increased its membership at the 1910 election and looked set for continued growth.*

For Republicans

1. Refuse to accept Home Rule and instead overthrow British rule in Ireland completely.

**PROBLEMS:** *The majority of Irish people supported the Home Rule Party and they did not want a revolution.  
The republican movement in Ireland was small and could not hope to defeat the British army.*

2. Accept Home Rule and see it as a stepping stone.

**PROBLEM:** *Militant supporters would not accept this compromise. They would see it as capitulation to British authorities. This could lead to a split in their ranks.*

For the Irish Parliamentary Party

1. Ensure the passage of Home Rule for all Ireland using every democratic means possible.

**PROBLEMS:** *Unionists may not be bluffing. This could lead to Civil War in Ireland. Conservative support of the Unionists could widen the conflict. 'All or nothing' stance could cost them everything.*

2. Allow part of Ulster to be excluded temporarily.

**PROBLEMS:** *Many Nationalists would be totally against partition of Ireland even for a limited period.  
Agreeing to this could mean losing the support of the militant Republicans.*

3. The Liberals defeated in the next election.

**PROBLEM:** *The Liberals had support for Home Rule from the IPP, the Labour Party and a substantial number of the electorate.*

WHAT STRATEGIES WERE UNDERTAKEN BY DIFFERENT GOVERNMENTS?

1. The Conservative and Unionist Party 1900-1905
2. The Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman 1906-1908
3. The Liberals under Asquith 1908-1916
4. Lloyd George 1916-1918

1. The Conservative and Unionist Party 1900-1905

**Policy:** *'Kill Home Rule with kindness'. Introduce social and economic reform in Ireland to invalidate the need for Home Rule.*

**Failed:** *Underestimated the strength of Nationalist feeling.*

The Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman 1906-1908

**Policy:** *Support Home Rule but 'step by step' approach to avoid confrontation.*

**Failed:** *Nationalists not prepared to accept the compromise Irish Council Bill. Unionist suspicious of the Liberals. Feared another Home Rule Bill.*

2. The Liberals under Asquith 1908-1916

**Policy:** Continued 'wait and see' approach but forced to introduce Home Rule because the Nationalists held the balance of power. Reluctant to move against Ulster.

**Failed:** Did too little too late.  
Lost the confidence of the Nationalists by seeking a compromise with Ulster and not moving the troops into Ulster.  
Antagonised the Unionists by introducing the Third Home Rule Bill.  
Not obtaining permanent exclusion for Ulster.

3. Lloyd George 1916-1918

**Policy:** Introduce Home Rule immediately with provision made for Ulster.

**Failed:** Promised the Nationalists that exclusion would be temporary; promised the Unionists that it would be permanent.

WHY DID ALL THE GOVERNMENTS FAIL?

1. Their policies were inept.
2. The handling of the situation was ill-judged.
3. The intrinsic contradictions in the problem making it insoluble.
4. Wrong to see all policies by all governments as failures. Some policies and some governments were more successful than others.

## 14. Unit three : social history : the role of women

What was the role of women in Irish political life?

### POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

It is possible to answer this question by analysing the role of women in the formation and policy making of the following organisations:

- The Ladies' Land League
- Inghinidhe na hEireann
- Shan Van Vocht
- The Patriotic Children's Treat Committee
- Cumann na nGaedheal
- Sinn Fein
- Bean na hEireann
- Militant Irishwoman's Franchise League
- Cumann na mBan
- Ulster Women's Unionist Council
- UVF Nursing Corps
- Loyalist Women of Ulster

### ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED

In answering the question, it is important to bear in mind the following:

- An awareness of the traditional nature of Irish society.
- Note that only a tiny minority of women were involved in political activity.
- These women came from more privileged backgrounds and were educated.
- Distinguish between political causes and exclusively feminist ones such as the Suffragette movement.
- Refer to the supportive role of women in politics.
- Contrast Nationalism, Republicanism and Unionism as causes for women to be involved in.
- Refer to women in low key positions as well as prominent ones.
- Comment on the tension that existed between those women who demanded equality of status and those who were content to perform unquestioningly whatever services were demanded of them.
- Masculine tradition of Irish Nationalism.
- Relations between feminist contemporaries often acrimonious because of the different strategies adopted to further the cause of women.
- Nationalists and Unionists were often reluctant to place the cause of women before the needs of the nation.
- Comparisons with the position of women in Britain and elsewhere.

## 15. Unit Five: investigating problems : the decline of the Liberals

What impact did Ireland have on party politics in Britain?

### THE UNIONIST AGITATION AGAINST HOME RULE

**What enabled Ireland to have a significant impact on party politics in Britain was the determination of Unionists in Ireland and Great Britain, to resist the demand for Home Rule and thus uphold the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, the Protestant cause, the Empire.**

1. They tried to undermine support for the Liberals by arguing that:
  - **Irish Unionists were fellow British citizens being forced to submit to Home Rule against their will.**
  - **If Home Rule were granted to Ireland it would lead eventually to the break up of the British Empire**
  - **If Home Rule were granted to Ireland it would lead eventually to complete independence with an Irish Republic.**
  - **Protestants would be discriminated against in a predominantly Catholic parliament in Dublin. ‘Home Rule is Rome Rule’.**
  - **Home Rule would be an economic disaster for Great Britain and Ireland.**
2. Their agitation revealed the limitations of the Liberal government’s policy and handling of events by
  - **forcing the government to consider a compromise on the Third Home Rule Bill, notably the exclusion of Ulster or part of Ulster from a Home Rule Ireland; and**
  - **organising, with the support of leading British Conservatives and Unionists, armed resistance to Liberal policy.**

### THE WIDER CONSEQUENCES OF THE ULSTER CRISIS

1. **Embittered political life.**
2. **Weakened the government at a time of crisis when a European war was looming.**
3. **Emphasised divisions between Lords and Commons and exacerbated the constitutional crises which led to the reduction of the power of the House of Lords.**
4. **Contributed to the long-term decline of the Liberals.**
5. **Embittered community relations.**
6. **Provided an example for other parts of the Empire to follow.**
7. **Diverted attention from the need for social reforms.**
8. **Weakened the economy.**
9. **Created tension between the government and the army.**
10. **Contributed to the rise of the Labour Party.**

- 11. Left a legacy of hatred and mistrust in Ireland that was to hamper Anglo-Irish relations to the present day.**
- 12. Brought the gun into politics and threatened the rule of the law.**
- 13. Set an example for other pressure groups to follow eg. The Suffragettes and the labour movement.**
- 14. Contributed to the rise of Republicanism.**

# Meeting the assessment objectives

## 16. Suggested teaching strategies

**This study unit has been devised to address directly the assessment objectives of the syllabus by suggesting a number of teaching strategies appropriate to the various objectives.**

**The teacher is responsible for organising and planning the course and at all stages of the students' individual and group work, the teacher advises, encourages and provides specialist information.**

**Work done at home and in class even that marked by fellow students is also re-marked by the teacher.**

**KNOWLEDGE (assessment objective a)**

- **Teacher's exposition**
- **Using a timeline on the Overhead Projector**
- **Directed private reading of photocopied articles**
- **Provision of books in the library**
- **Relevant films**
- **Pictorial evidence, for example, contemporary drawings, photographs and cartoons**
- **Documentary evidence**

**UNDERSTANDING (assessment objective b)**

**The teacher will select relevant concepts and indicate the significance of individuals, ideas and events in their historical context.**

**The student's understanding will be reinforced by private research into a number of key concepts and personalities.**

**The teacher will comment on each student's interpretation and, if necessary, provide a glossary.**

**INTERPRETATION AND EVALUATION OF SOURCES (assessment objective c)**

### ***Working with Documents***

- **The teacher explains strategies for examining documentary evidence by using summary checklists shown on an Overhead Projector**
- **Model answers will be given in the initial stages of the course to provide an example of good practice**
- **Students will be familiarised with examiners' comments on similar evidence work to prepare them for using good exam technique**

### ***Group work***

**The students will be given a selection of documents on a topic and asked to write exam style questions for them and to supply the answers.**

The students are given documents already organised with questions and asked to answer them for prep. They will justify their answers in class and exchange ideas on how to improve answers.

The class is divided into small groups. Each group is given some documentary and pictorial evidence on different themes. The material is interpreted by the students and presented by them to the class. The following themes could be explored:

- The different cases for and against Home Rule
- The case presented by the Irish Parliamentary Party
- A Southern Irish unionist view
- A Northern Irish unionist view
- An English unionist view
- The Fenian/IRB outlook
- The Irish Citizen Army
- Sinn Fein
- The Catholic Church
- The Protestant Churches
- The Gaelic League.

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF ARGUMENTS (assessment objective d)

Role Play (see next chapter for suggestions)

1. Balloon debate: The case for and against Irish self-government
2. Political discussions involving
  - Political meeting organised by the Nationalists
  - Political meeting organised by the Unionists
  - A secret meeting by the military council of the IRB
  - An inter-party meeting in 1914 to decide on Ireland's future
3. Dramatic reconstructions around the
  - The Easter Rising
  - The Union on Trial: The case for the Union versus Home Rule and complete independence

INVESTIGATION (assessment objective e)

*Key Questions*

The following could be investigated:

- Factors contributing to the Irish question
- The measures the British government took to deal with Ireland
- A consideration of the landmarks of the period
- The significance of Unionism
- The significance of Home Rule
- An Assessment of Parnell
- An examination of fenianism
- The Gaelic revival

*Class Discussion*

- Racism

Using pictorial and documentary evidence the theme of racial prejudice could be explored. Other minorities in Britain could also be examined eg. the Jews. The position of the poor in Britain, the philosophy of laissez faire and the role of women could also be mentioned.

■ **Nationalism**

**Irish nationalism could be placed in the context of European and British nationalism Imperialism.**

■ **Religion**

**The role of religion in nineteenth century political life. The religious ideas of political leaders such as Patrick Pearse. Attitudes of Unionists towards the pope especially the idea of papal infallibility and marriage to non-Catholics. The reasons for religious division in Ireland. Similar divisions elsewhere in Europe. The Catholic church's attitude towards Home Rule and physical force. The evangelical element in Protestantism in Ireland, leading to conflict within Irish Unionism.**

COMMUNICATION AND PRESENTATION (assessment objective f)

**The ability to communicate in a clear, concise and relevant way will be encouraged throughout the course in both written and oral work.**

**Mistakes in the use of grammar, punctuation and spelling will be corrected.**

**Students will be given opportunity through class discussion, group work and role play to present logical and coherent arguments.**

## 17. Role play

Analysis and evaluation of arguments (assessment objective d)

### BALLOON DEBATE: THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST IRISH SELF-GOVERNMENT

The following politicians put forward their views on Irish self-government in order to stay in a balloon. The one who makes the most effective argument stays and the others are thrown out.

- |                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| ■ John Redmond             | ■ Countess Markievicz   |
| ■ James Connolly           | ■ Herbert Henry Asquith |
| ■ Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington | ■ Andrew Bonar Law      |
| ■ Arthur Griffith          | ■ Edward Carson         |

The arguments must be based on historical speeches.

### POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS

Depending on the number in the class all students will participate or in a large group some members of the class could form a jury which will make notes on the participants speeches and come to a conclusion based on the arguments put forward.

1. Political meeting organised by the Nationalists to decide on the following issues:
  - To support the Liberal Party in 1910
  - To support Britain's entry into The First World War 1914
  - To react to the Easter Rising 1916
  - To accept partition in either 1916 or 1920
  - To fight a War of Independence in 1919
  - To try to end the Civil War 1922

A range of views must be presented and the arguments must be based on the student's research into the line the different characters took in the situation and explain why they took the line they did.

2. Political meeting organised by the Unionists to decide on the following issues:
  - The case to be presented to the electorate in the 1910 elections
  - To devise strategies to defeat the Third Home Rule Bill introduced in 1912
  - To consider the possibility of exclusion from the operation of the Bill for 4, 6 or 9 counties in 1914
  - To decide what line should be taken to deal with the insurgents of 1916
  - To give advice to the British government about how to deal with the War of Independence
  - To decide what line to take over partition as proposed by the Government of Ireland Bill in 1920
  - To react to the Anglo-Irish Treaty December 1921
  - To discuss how the new state of Northern Ireland could be made secure
  - To present a case to the Boundary Commission 1925.

3. A secret meeting by the military council of the IRB to decide on the following issues:

- The extent to which the IPP should be supported
- How to deal with the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force
- The policy to be taken when war broke out in Europe in 1914
- The planning of the Easter Rising
- How to conduct a war against Britain in 1919
- The line to take over Treaty negotiations 1921
- How to deal with the Treaty as agreed by the Irish and British delegates in December 1921

Alternatively, a number of these discussions could involve representations from all parties such as a simulated meeting in 1914 about Ireland's future.

4. An inter-party meeting in 1914 to decide on Ireland's future, including the following:

- Asquith
- Andrew Bonar Law
- James Connolly
- Edward Carson
- King George V
- Arthur Griffith
- Patrick Pearse
- John Redmond

The teacher will give each character a pack of biographical and documentary evidence round which the student can build a historical character.

It must be emphasised to the students that no such meeting took place. Comparisons can be drawn between the situation in 1914 and the current inter-party talks in Northern Ireland where there are problems of getting all parties together.

#### DRAMATIC RECONSTRUCTIONS

The students could be given the freedom to select their own scenario with the proviso that it is based on documentary evidence. The following are examples of what could be done.

1. The Easter Rising

The group could present a reconstruction of the feelings of a group of insurgents in the Post Office during the 1916 Rising.

The drama could be enacted *either* by the class working in pairs and producing a number of dialogues *or* a script being written involving different actors and several Acts.

Either way, the drama should highlight the following:

- Social and economic conditions of the time
- The different political parties ie Unionist, Nationalist and Sinn Fein
- The influence of the Gaelic revival and the Fianna
- The policy of the different leaders of Rising
- A case made for and against continuing fighting
- An explanation of why certain individuals came to be involved in these events

- Reference must be made to British political policy
- The impact of the European War and different attitudes towards it
- How British soldiers viewed the Rising - distinction made between men and Officers

- The reaction of the Dublin population

2. The Union on Trial: The case for the Union versus Home Rule and complete independence

**Witnesses will be called to defend the Union and to put the case for the various shades of nationalism.**

**The other members of the class will act as a judge and jury and come to a decision on Ireland's future based on the evidence heard.**

**The following will give evidence:**

***For the Union:***

- Edward Carson
- James Craig
- Andrew Bonar Law

***For Home Rule:***

- John Redmond
- Herbert Henry Asquith
- Winston Churchill

***For Complete independence:***

- Patrick Pearse
- James Connolly
- Eamon de Valera

**All arguments must be based on documentary evidence**

# Glossary

Act of Union	An Act passed in 1800 uniting the British and Irish parliaments
Anglo-Irish Literary revival	At the turn of the century there was a literary and dramatic revival. Poets such as W.B. Yeats and dramatists such as Lady Gregory and J.M. Synge helped to bring about an interest in the early legends and history of Ireland. The movement centred round the Abbey Theatre, Dublin
Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921	The treaty which ended the Anglo-Irish War/War of Independence 1919-1921
Anglo-Irish War/War of Independence	The newly formed IRA fought for complete independence with Britain
Annuity Payments (land)	Payments to Britain for loans made to tenant farmers in the late nineteenth century which allowed them to buy the land they worked
Ascendancy	The wealthy, educated people (usually of English descent) who considered themselves as much British and Irish
Black and Tans	Unemployed ex-soldiers recruited to reinforce the Royal Irish Constabulary in their fight against the IRA in 1920
Boycotts	Shunning people to isolate them. Used in the land wars and against RIC men to discourage them from co-operating with the British
Conservative Party	The British political party most closely linked to the unionist cause (also called the Conservative and Unionist Party). It tended to represent the landed gentry and the wealthy middle-class and strongly supported the Monarchy, the Established Church and the British Empire. The Conservatives strongly opposed Home Rule for Ireland
Constitution	The group of laws or principles on which the government of a country is based
Constitutional Nationalist	The Home Rule party which worked within the parliamentary system and avoided violence
Cumann na mBan	Founded 1914 by women whose fathers, brothers or husbands were already in the IVF to advance the cause of Irish liberty. Did not raise the question of women's rights because they did not want to undermine the nationalist cause
Dominion status	A self-governing country with connections to the 'mother country', Great Britain. It has a Governor General
Easter Rising 1916	A rebellion against British rule in which a small number of IRB and Irish volunteers proclaimed an Irish Republic. The rising was put down in 6 days and many of its leaders executed
Exclusion	Permitting Ulster counties to opt out or be excluded from the operation of Home Rule
Flying columns	Small groups of IRA volunteers which launched raids and attacks against the RIC and then disappeared into the community
Free State	The Irish state which was formed after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty
Gaelic Athletic Association	Founded in 1886 by Michael Cusack and Maurice Davin for 'the preservation and cultivation of national pastimes'. Boycotted 'foreign' games. Became a national movement and was thus a political force
Gaelic League	Formed 1893 by Douglas Hyde and Eoin Mac Neill to revive the Irish language
Government of Ireland Act 1920	The Act which partitioned Ireland into two states

Gun running	Both the Unionist UVF and the Nationalist IVF smuggled guns in from Germany to arm their organisations
Home Rule Party/Movement	A party set up to achieve local government of Ireland within the framework of the United Kingdom. It was started in 1870 by Issac Butt and became a strong party in the 1880s when Parnell was leader. It split after his downfall and death in 1891 and was re-united under John Redmond in 1900. The Party was against violence and believed in using constitutional means (working through parliament) to achieve its aims. Also known as the IPP or the Nationalist Party
Home Rule/Ulster Crisis	After the Liberal majority was reduced in the 1910 elections, the IPP held the balance of power. The reduction of the power of the House of Lords 1911 to a two-year veto meant that the Third Home Rule Bill introduced in 1912 could become law in 1914. The Unionists were determined to defeat Home Rule by all possible means. They had powerful and influential support in Britain and Ireland but the Nationalists were also determined to have Home Rule. This turned the situation into a crisis
House of Lords	Parliament comprises King, Lords and Commons. The House of Lords was made up of peers and bishops who were not elected by the people
Inghinidhe na hEireann (daughters of Erin)	Maud Gonne was President. Aimed to re-establish the complete independence of Ireland and promote things Irish. By the 1920s it was gradually fading away
Irish Citizen Army	Founded in 1913 to protect the workers against police brutality during the lock-out. Led by James Connolly in the 1916 Rising. Always small in number
Irish Republican Brotherhood	Believed that Ireland should be completely free from Britain and a Republic. The IRB did not have much success in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century because the Home Rule Party was so successful. However, many IRB men joined the Gaelic League and the Irish volunteers. The Brotherhood was prepared to use violence to achieve their aims. They were also known as the Fenians
Irish Republican Army	An organisation that grew out of the Irish Volunteers which took part in the 1916 Easter Uprising and which was ready to use force to create an Irish Republic
Irish Women's Franchise League	One of the many suffragette societies in Ireland in the early twentieth century. Its aim was to win the vote for women 'before all else'. Both Carson and Redmond were attacked by the IWFL for failing to support women's demands for the vote
Labour Party	This was a socialist party formed in Britain in 1900. In Ireland its main aim was to win the 'national and economic freedom of the Irish people'. It supported Home Rule for all Ireland but only as a stepping stone to complete freedom from Britain
Ladies' Land League	Formally instituted on 31 January 1881 by Anna Parnell and her friends to continue the work of the Land League while Parnell was in prison. Suppressed by Parnell later that year
Liberal Party	This party represented the professional and business classes. It was considered by many to be the radical party in that it wanted social reform and change. It had split in 1886 over Home Rule for Ireland and although it remained committed to the Irish cause it hoped to avoid the crisis which would be created if another Home Rule bill was introduced. The Liberals were in power during the period 1906 to 1915 and its leaders continued to rule in a coalition Government during the war. It was Led by Campbell Bannerman until 1908, by Asquith until 1915 and then by Lloyd George. After the 1910 elections the Liberals needed the support of the Irish Nationalists to stay in power so they were persuaded to introduce the Third Home Rule Bill in 1912
Loyalists	Those who totally reject any move away from the union and who have a tendency

	<b>to accept or use violence to maintain it</b>
Loyalist Women of Ulster	<b>An organisation formed by women to support the cause of the Union then under threat from Home Rule</b>
Nationalists	<b>Those who wished to see Ireland separated from Britain. The nature and extent of the independence they wanted varied</b>
Nationalist Party	<b>Name given to the IPP which wanted Home Rule for Ireland ie. a parliament in Dublin with limited power and Ireland to remain part of the British Empire</b>
Orange Order	<b>A Protestant organisation named in honour of William of Orange and dedicated to the continuation of British and Protestant rule in Ireland. They celebrate their hero's victory over the Catholic king James II on 12 July every year. Helped organise resistance to Home Rule</b>
Parliament Act	<b>Passed in 1911 by the Liberal Government to reduce the power of the House of Lords. They could no longer veto a Bill instead they could only delay it for two years. This Act was important for the future of Ireland because the Lords could not prevent Home Rule becoming law for longer than two years</b>
Partition	<b>The division of a country into separate states. In the case of Ireland the division was between the six counties which formed Northern Ireland and the twenty-six which formed the Free State (later the Irish Republic)</b>
The Patriotic Children's Trust Committee	<b>Children were to be given a free treat in honour of Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland in 1900. The PCTC organised a counter-treat. Maud Gonne was the president. She wanted women like herself in the organisation who resented women being excluded from national organisations</b>
Protestant Church	<b>Generally term given to all non-catholic Christian denominations but more precisely refers to the Church of Ireland. The largest sects were Presbyterian and Church of Ireland. Members of these churches tended to be wealthier than Catholics and held most senior military and Government posts. The vast majority of Protestants were Unionist</b>
Roman Catholic Church	<b>The Christian sect to which the majority of people in Ireland belonged. Feared by many non-Catholics because it acknowledged the Pope, a foreigner, as the Head of the Church. Many Protestants were convinced that under Home Rule a Catholic majority in the Dublin parliament would interfere with the way they worshipped and educated their children. Home Rule was said to be 'Rome Rule'. Resented the fact that children of mixed marriages should be brought up Catholic. Most Catholics supported the Nationalists</b>
Sectarianism	<b>Strictly speaking, adherence or excessive attachment to a particular sect or party, particularly religious or undue favouring of a particular denomination; but often used to explain why members of one group injure those of another group for no reason other than that they are perceived as belonging to the other side</b>
<i>Shan Van Vocht</i> (poor old women)	<b>A national literary magazine edited by Alice Milligan and Anna Johnson 1886-1899</b>
Suffragettes	<b>Women who wanted the vote</b>
Unionist Party	<b>It supported the Union between Great Britain and Ireland (1800). The party had support in all parts of Ireland but was strongest in Ulster where the Protestants were numerically stronger. Unionists believed that Home Rule was a threat to their civil and religious freedom and would be bad for industry and trade in Ireland. They were supported by the Conservative party in Britain which took the name the British Conservative and Unionist Party and by the Conservative majority in the House of Lords</b>

Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)	<b>Formally recognised in January 1913. It was established to show the British government how determined Ulster men were to resist Home Rule and was prepared to use physical force. In April 1914, it was armed with guns brought in from Germany</b>
Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) Women's Corps	<b>The women's branch of the UVF raised funds, trained as dispatch riders and nurses. Nearly a quarter of a million Ulster women signed a female counterpart to the Solemn League and Covenant. Generally they were cast in a subsidiary role but for many this was their first public role</b>
Ulster Women's Unionist Council	<b>Formed to promote the Unionist cause especially the current danger of Home Rule. Many women spoke in public for the first time and canvassed on behalf of men and raised funds for the cause. A minority were suffragettes</b>