UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLOMOUCI
Pedagogická fakulta
Katedra anglického jazyka

IVETA HROMKOVÁ
III. ročník - prezenční studium

Obor: Anglický jazyk se zaměřením na vzdělávání - Český jazyk a literatura se zaměřením na vzdělávání

THE MOST IMPORTANT PEOPLE AND EVENTS IN CREATING IRISH NATIONHOOD

Bakalářská práce

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OLOMOUC 2014

Prohlašuji, že jsem závěrečnou práci vypracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

V Olomouci 22. 4. 2014

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vlastnoruční podpis

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ABBREVIATIONS

cit.	Cited
c2006	copyright 2006
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
GL	Gaelic League
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
MP	Member of Parliament
n. d.	not defined
p.	page

ABSTRACT

The bachelor thesis studies birth and development of Irish nationhood, specifically the people and events that influenced it the most. First of all, the term nationalism is explained. Secondly, the overview of forming the Irish nation is provided stressing the most crucial elements. Finally, the core of the thesis is to determine the people and events contributing significantly to Irish national feeling and demonstrate why they were chosen.

INTRODUCTION

„I think being a woman is like being Irish. Everyone says you're important and nice, but you take second place all the same." [1]

As Iris Murdoch´s quotation suggests, Ireland is recognized as a charming country being generally famous for its lush green countryside. Then, one can ask what happened to that country that it always takes the second place; a nation whose national feelings are extraordinarily high. I asked myself and thought of the question when I was staying in Ireland. I was not able to solve it. So, I took my chance and asked an Irishman, why they do not use their wonderful language if they are proud of it. I was given the simple answer: "That´s what the English did to us." And from that moment, I started being interested in what the English did to Ireland.

The Anglo-Irish relationship was not easy one and it was that what influenced Ireland and let it considered as "the nation after Great Britain". Though there is a truth in Iris Murdoch´s note, the situation in Ireland may have been worse, if the Irish nationalists did not intervene.

The thesis has the following goals. First of all, the meaning of the term nationalism will be explained. It is not as simple as it might seem. It is caused by the fact that thousands of scholars have been researching this subject therefore there is not an agreement in terminology. The historical events also shifted its meaning from positive to negative, thus it is necessary to define in which sense the term will be used. Then, it will spotlight nationalism in Ireland. In this part, the overview of the Irish history will be provided to stress the milestones influencing Irish national feeling.

The main goal of the bachelor thesis is to find the most influential personalities and events that helped Ireland to raise its national consciousness. After examining primary and secondary sources carefully, the person or event will be chosen and then their contribution to it will be stated together with the historical context. Then, it will show why the person or event is the most crucial by demonstrating it on speeches, pamphlets, literature works, etc.

People or events will be mentioned chronologically as they appeared in Irish history because they affected each other. The chapters, concerning people or events, start with a summarizing sentence (usually a quotation) to introduce the issue. In Appendix the pictures depicting each person are attached.

Concerning the teaching process, it connects at least 3 major subjects, Social Science, Literature and History, thus it can be used as cross-curricular studies material. It is applicable to Social

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[1] Quotation by Alice Murdoch, Brainy Quote, c2001-2014

Science because it deals with nationalism movements in Europe. In a Literature class dealing with the Irish literature, essays from this thesis can be used. Finally, it is of course History because it concerns Irish history as well as the Anglo-Irish relationship. These are three main subjects but another can be added, for example Rhetoric because it deals with political speeches.

1. WHAT IS A NATION

1.1. Explanation of the term

The term nation and its related words such as nationhood, nationalism or nationality, has become a principal concern of many scholars in recent years. Many definitions of nationalism have emerged. The following text will concentrate on several definitions in order to explain the issue.

According to the simplest definition found in a dictionary "nationalism" represents *"the desire by a group of people who share the same race, culture, language, etc. to form an independent country"* (Hornby, 2010, p. 982). Similarly, the Macmillan Dictionary states the term as *"the wish for political independence of a group of people with the same language, culture, history etc."* (n. d. a). The same source defines "nationhood" as following: *"the fact that a place is a nation"* (n. d. b).

Concerning the complication of the term, these dictionary entries are clear and simple but unfortunately insufficient. If one looks closely at the matter, it might seem inappropriate. Do the people who form a nation really belong to same race? The history of Europe is affected by migration of tribes. As a result, it is unlikely that the nations form one race. In Ireland, for example the Celtic, Scandinavian and Norman origins can be spotted. The same is applicable to languages. For instance, in Switzerland four languages are spoken and hardly can we say that it is not a nation (Hroch, 2009).

The famous Czech historian Hroch (c1999-2007) spoke about the process of forming a nation in Europe as *"the product of a long and complicated process of historical development"* (Hroch, c1999-2007). The nation represented for him *"a large social group integrated not by one but by a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical), and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness"* (Hroch, c1999-2007). He emphasized three main entities. Firstly, the group has shared a common past. Its members are fully aware and proud of it (Hroch called it as a "destiny"). Secondly, it is *"a density of linguistic or cultural ties enabling a higher degree of social communication within the group than beyond it."* Finally, it is *"a conception of the equality of all members of the group organized as a civil society"* (Hroch, c1999-2007).

Ernest Renan, a scholar living in the 19th century and educated in law and theology, introduced the issue originally in his speech *What is a Nation* in 1882. According to him, the base of nationalism is none of the following: collective language, religion, interests, geography and race. In contrary, he claimed that *"a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present.*

One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form"(Internet Archive, c2001). He argued that it is very important that a nation has something to be proud of, for example the heroic acts, brave men and momentous events. If a group of people meets this condition, it is necessary to sacrifice the personal desires in order to obtain the great future together (Internet Archive, c2001).

1.2. <u>Origin</u>

In the previous text, the definition of nationalism was stated. The following part will examine the etymology and explain how its connotation has changed under the influence of historical events.

Adopted from French, the word "nation" has existed in English since the 14th century, though with simpler meaning stressing the racial aspect only. In the 18th century, the word "nation" included anyone who lived under one monarch. On the other hand, the term "nationalism" has emerged much later as a consequence of political purpose (Harper, n. d.).

In the 19th century, when the national movements emerged for the first time, "nationalism" appeared with mainly positive connotation. The nationalists tried to awake the features which the superior state almost killed such as language, culture, symbols. With the advent of the new century, "nationalism" transferred to political purposes with both positive and negative connotation. Then after the wars, especially the World Word II, Europe witnessed what nationalism had caused and could have caused, negative connotation was associated with it (Hroch, 2009).

Since that time, nationalism has had two faces - positive and negative - and has become the principal subject of many researches (Hroch, 2009). According to Balibar (1991), the positive one enables people to love a country and encourages them to a nation-building. Whereas, regarding someone's own nation as the only perfect while hating the other nations represents a negative point of view (Balibar, 1991).[2]

Recently, it has been suggested to use "*nationalism"* only with its negative connotation and find a new term which would depict its connotation precisely. For instance, patriotism can be used. As reported by Orwell (1965) *"patriotism is a devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world. It is of its nature defensive, both militarily and culturally* (Orwell, 1965, p.156). National thought, national belonging, national feeling are considered as the new equivalent of linguistic terminology although it is still not the

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[2] Taken from Hroch, 2009

exact term (Hroch, 2009). For purpose of the thesis *national feeling* will be considered as the positive one, while *nationalism* will represent a negative term.

1.3. <u>Phases of national movements</u>

Hobsbawm (1992) suggested that it is national feeling which forms a nation and then a state, not the other way round (Hobsbawm, 1992). As Orwell (1965) also stated, one does not have to be obliged to a government or a country. What is more, such authorities may not exist at all, but still they can provoke national feelings (Orwell, 1965). To illustrate, the example from Irish history can be stated. It was the Irish strong desire to have own state capable of ruling on its own without the interference from the British. Full awareness of their chequered history and love of the country encouraged them to fight and this led to the creation of an independent state, even though they did not have their own parliament.

It is arduous work to investigate in which period the nationalistic movements appeared for the first time. However, majority of the scholars have agreed that nationalism is a rather modern matter, solely emblematic of Europe, which firstly appeared some 200 years ago by momentous point in history - the French Revolution (1789 - 1799) (Hobsbawm, 1992). Albeit, Seton-Watson (1977) pointed that a nation is formed after the collapse of some larger units. After the fall of the Roman Empire, nations became aware of their national consciousness and the pre-nationalistic movement slowly crept to reach its peak at the end of the 18th century (Seton-Watson, 1977).

Three phases of national movements can be distinguished:

A. The first phase was developed due to the several intellectuals who were trying to find the principal constituents of national identity. Seldom did they come from the ethnic groups which they advocated. They expressed a deep interest and enthusiasm in the issue. Trying to define the national territory, standardize the language and learn history and customs was typical for them (Hroch, 2009).

B. The second phase starts when the enthusiasts spread the idea of national identity to the public. Firstly, the idea was transmitted in some intellectual groups and after that it influenced also the public. Their aims were usually cultural, linguistic, social and sometimes political (Hroch, 2009). In Ireland it was a group of young activists who formed around a journal *Nation*. At first they were meeting only to discuss the problems in society. Later, they started to issue the journal, which was full of highly nationalistic literary texts. Through this they won the Irishmen´s hearts (Whyte, 1996).

C. The starting point of the third phase is when the idea is supported by the masses. Political program is formed and differentiated. The movement is claimed to be successful when it

reached the political autonomy or independence (Hroch, 2009). Probably the first person in the Irish history who managed to gain public support to fight for the Catholics right and was Daniel O´Connell. He was followed by masses of people which admired him (Whyte, 1996).

2. NATIONALISM IN IRELAND

2.1. Celtic Nationalism

If one wants to study national feelings in Ireland a probe into Irish history is essential to see the motives, means and goals of the particular periods. Irish nationalism is tightly linked with Great Britain. Throughout history, Ireland was more or less connected with England; once more willingly, then less. Many battles were fought and the English tried to subjugate the Irish island. Also the Irish waged (Catholics or Protestants) to gain more autonomy or later independence.

Orwell (1965) gave this type of nationalism a special name - *"Celtic Nationalism"*. He also involved the Scots and Welsh in this group. Although different in culture, they have one common feature - anti-English feeling and belief that the Celtic people, their predecessors, brought influential past and, as they hope and wish, glorious future. They opposed that the English predecessors are not as marvellous as theirs (Orwell, 1965). But as Orwell (1965) highlighted: *"one symptom of it is the delusion that Eire[3], Scotland or even Wales could preserve its independence unaided and owes nothing to British protection"* (1965, p. 170).

Concerning these three Celtic nations on the British Isles, Ireland is the only one which gained independence. At the time of writing, the Scots have taken steps towards independence. They are going to be asked in referendum in September 2014 if they want to be part of the United Kingdom or not (Scotland´s Referendum, n. d.). In contrary, Wales has not taken any official steps to cease the coalition with the United Kingdom yet. Moreover, the statistics say that only 5 % of the Welsh want Wales to be autonomous (BBC News, 2014). The BBC´s survey from January 2013 in Northern Ireland suggests that the majority of Protestants want to remain connected with the union (BBC Spotlight, c2014).

2.2. Crucial elements in creation Irish nationhood

Examining Irish history, which is essential in researching nationalism, the process of national feeling can be spotted. The following text is not the overview of Irish history but rather highlighting of the elements which have influenced Irish national feelings. It answers the questions such as when Irish culture was created and what were the reasons for ceasing the union with Great Britain. The ensuing simple graph will help with orientation in the subject.

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[3] Éire - the Gaelic name of Ireland

Figure 1: Timeline of Periods in Irish History
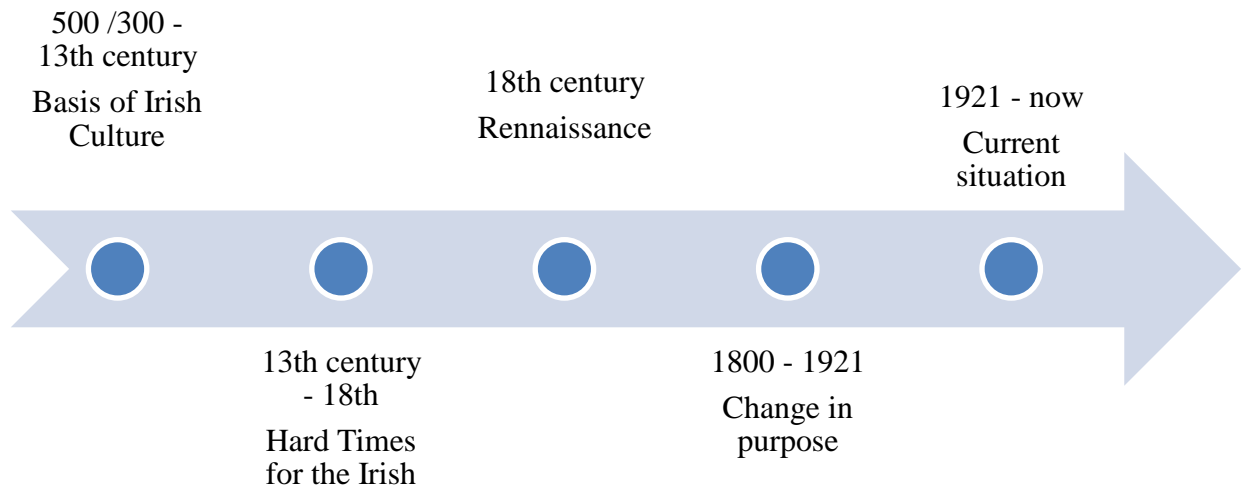
2.2.1. Basis of Irish Culture (500/300 BC - 13th century)

It would not be appropriate to call the people who lived in this period a nation because this term did not exist yet. However, they were extremely important in forming later Irish national feeling.

Little do we know about the people who settled on the island around 8000/7000 BC. The Celts are the first tribe of which we have reliable information. They emerged from the island around 600 BC and as a result they laid the basis of the Irish language and artwork, so typical for Ireland (Duffy, 2000). At this time, a hill of Tara became the place where the Irish kings were seated (Boyce, 1991). The Druids, representing a mystery because little is known about them, were the experts in law, languages, medicine and nature (McCullough, 2010). Christianity was spread in the 5th century mainly by courtesy of a British missionary St Patrick. It brought cultural development because the monks were studying, writing and copying the Christian texts in the monasteries (Ó Fiach, 1996). In this period the Book of Kells, a very famous religious book splendidly illustrated, was created (Duffy, 2000). In fact, the Irish monasteries were so advanced that the monks travelled around Europe to spread the Christianity monasteries were (Ó Fiach, 1996).

The 8th and 9th centuries are affected by the Vikings invasion. Although they were extremely cruel in battles, their legacy left in Ireland is not negligible. Some of the current towns (e. g. Dublin, Limerick and Cork) were set by the Vikings. Furthermore, they advanced farming and shipbuilding. The Viking era ended when they were defeated by a brave warrior and a king BrianBorú, who managed to unify Ireland (Duffy, 2000).

The far-reaching Norman invasion (started 1169) caused the end of reign of the Vikings. The English were soon aware of Ireland´s natural resources and advantageous position. As a result, the king Henry II´s vassal Strongbow conquered the island (1170) (Martin, 1996). After his death, the king´s son John was appointed to be Lord of Ireland. As a consequence, the Irish lost the over-lordship for seven centuries. The English lord is not the cause of Irish tragedy but the division of land among the King´s English supporters is. The English lords colonized land, giving the work to the Irishmen and also to the English labourers. In fact, the island began to be dependent on England (Smith, 2000).

All in all, it is obvious that Irish roots can be found in the distant past. In the 18th century, people searched for them in order to encourage national feeling and thus the Irish culture and identity was developing.

2.2.2. Hard times for the Irish (13th century - 18th century)

In this period, Ireland was shifted under English domination. It became an English colony. Furthermore, this period represents battles, violence and chaos.

The Statutes of Kilkenny (1366) prohibited mixing of the Irish culture with the English, for instance the English could not borrow Irish words or marry an Irishman. As a result, a great decline of Irish culture followed (Smith, 2000). However, a few remaining educated Gaelic families (e. g. the O´Neill´s) (Boyce, 1991), fought for the revival and due to their merit the language did not disappear (Smith, 2000).

During the Tudor period the disaster in the English-Irish relationship appeared (Gillespie, Lennon, 2000). *"Irish national feeling and national hatred was inextricably bound up with the religious schism"* (Seton-Watson, 1977, p. 32). The Tudors brought Protestantism to Ireland which the Irish hated and had no intention to follow. The more the Tudors forced them, the more the Irish national consciousness rose. Although Catholics were highly discriminated or were nicknamed "barbarians" by the English, they remained loyal to the old faith (Seton-Watson, 1977). A Confederacy of Kilkenny in 1641 brought hopes for the Catholics. The aim was at least to stop their persecution. Unfortunately, Oliver Cromwell signed the end of it by his atrocious raids (1650) (Seton-Watson, 1977).

The country was divided into two parts after six nobles from Ulster (among them Hugh O´Neill) (McCullough, 2010), together with their families, hastened from Ireland. This is known as The Flight of the Earls (1607). The English confiscated their land and Ulster became its colony (Gillespie, Lennon, 2000).

The Battle of the Boyne (1690) constituted the end of hopes for the Catholics because the Protestant king William of Orange defeated the Catholic king James II (Gillespie, Lennon, 2000).

2.2.3. Renaissance (18th century)

This period begins with literature work of a distinguished writer and politician - Jonathan Swift, the founder of Irish national movement. The end is defined by the Act of the Union in 1800.

Even though Jonathan Swift disliked Ireland as well as Catholics, he revealed damage which the English had caused. This helped to raise Irish national feeling. In the middle of the 18th century, the Irish economy dropped to its lowest point culminating with The Famine of 1740-1741. Therefore it did not have any other possibility than to grow (McCullough, 2010).

In this era, Dublin represented the city of thought. But every cultural event was held in English due to the Anglo-Irish upper-class. This period is influenced by the great people who were not afraid of fighting against the British authorities, for instance Henry Grattan, inspired by American War of Independence, Wolfe Tone, inspired by the French Revolution and many others. In 1782, they managed to establish an Independent Irish Parliament (Seton-Watson, 1977).

2.2.4. Change in purpose (1800 - 1921)

Ireland was granted more power by the Act of the Union in 1800 uniting the Kingdom of Great Britain with the Kingdom of Ireland and the struggle moved from political to religious. It was still impossible for Catholics to sit in the Parliament. They were also forbidden to become, for example, lawyer or doctor. Usually they were tenants on fields and were forced to pay high rents. As a result, Catholics fought to survive every day because they had nothing to eat or nowhere to live (Kelly, 2000).

A dominant person in the beginning of the 19th century was Daniel O'Connell, who gathered his rhetorical talent and forced the Parliament to pass the Emancipation Act, which changed positively the situation of the Catholics (Whyte, 1996).

The Great Famine in the mid of the 19th century completed the Irish hatred towards the British because Great Britain did not intervene appropriately (Kelly, 2000). The organizations fighting for the prosperity of Ireland (Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Feninans) awoke the British awareness of political actions in Ireland (Seton-Watson, 1977). The milestone is also the foundation of the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association. Both of them promoted the Irish Celtic past. Slowly it brought the Irish language back to life and even to schools. Literature

also flourished as a consequence of writers William Butler Yeats and J. M. Synge´work (Doherty, 2000).

Inspired by the revolutionary nationalism in Europe, people started to share a wish to end the union with Great Britain. As a result, many minor riots appeared to show dissatisfaction with it. Also some secret societies emerged, for instance the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and the Fenian Brotherhood (Seton-Watson, 1977).

The beginning of the 20th century is connected with establishment of Sinn Fein. This period is marked by the Home Rule bill, which should have separated the British Parliament into the British and Irish, and soon became the question number one. But before it could be ratified it had to be suspended because of the World War I (1914). Sadly enough, the Easter Rising launched series of cruel fighting between the Irish and English. The Irish fought for independence and they demanded to create a republic. The Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921) founded the Irish Free State but the riots continued. The problem was with the north of Ireland which wished to stay under the British control. The fighting finally ended in 1925. Since this time, Ireland is undisputedly divided into two parts: Northern Ireland (part of United Kingdom) and Republic of Ireland (Doherty, 2000).

2.2.5. Current Situation

National feelings are deeply integrated in hearts and souls of the Irishmen. The majority of population is proud to be Irish and they have invested great deal of time and effort to maintain their traditions. The example can be seen in the existence of many folklore groups (dancing, singing), aiming to awake love of Irish culture in children. Worth of mentioning is the band U2 or the dance group Riverdance. Both are known worldwide.

Irish language is promoted and is very important if one works in a public resort (teacher, politician, etc.). Irish language is taught at schools, though it is not the first language. Nevertheless, there is also a chance of attending a monolingual Irish school or a bilingual Irish-English one. Every public statement is written both in Irish and English.

3. JONATHAN SWIFT

"I know only one thing, when a hen dies of hunger, there will be no more golden eggs".[4]

After the collapse of Oliver Cromwell´s regime (1659), so called Williamite Revolution troubled Ireland. Irish Protestants felt nervous when Catholic King James II became the king (1685). Irish and English Protestants felt threatened thus they pleaded the James´s son-in-low William of Orange, who was a Protestant, to fight against James to gain the English throne. Hence, James run to Ireland and assembled an army in Ireland ready to fight against William. The Battle of the Boyne (1690) was the peak of the wars, in which Catholics were definitely defeated and William became the King William III of England. As a consequence, Protestants strengthened their position in Ireland at the expense of Catholics (Gillespie, Lennon, 2000).

In that time, Jonathan Swift was raised. Being born (1667) into an English Protestant family in Dublin, he had the advantage of a good education. Later, he became the dean of the Patrick Cathedral in Dublin. He did not consider himself an Irishman, nor he felt great love for Ireland but he revealed damage caused by the English. He fought with an immensely powerful weapon - a pen and paper (Gillespie, Lennon, 2000).

3.1. Copper Dispute

It sometimes happens, when one is concerned with something that appeals as a minor problem, suddenly reveals the essence of bigger one. Exactly this happened to Jonathan Swift when he started advocating the Irish problem of minting the copper coins. The situation was simple. England did not want Ireland to mint coins on its own, but rather left this important work to English merchants (for example William Wood) who would have a profit. This would lead to prestige and economical losses (Jackson, 1951). Swift was outraged that even the Isle of Man, such a small island, could mint its own coins (Swift, 1935).

As a result, the argument between England and Ireland emerged. Swift fought through way which was well known to him - via writing. He wrote seven pamphlets, under the pseudonym Drapier, which were called *The Drapier´s Letters to the People of Ireland against receiving Wood´s Halfpence.* In the first letter, Swift warned that due to the English politics, the value of the Irish coins was decreasing. The letter caused such reactions that the Irish Parliament could not be deaf and blind to the problem. Unfortunately, neither could the English Parliament (Jackson, 1951).

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[4] Swift, 1967, p. 62

Thus, Swift issued the third letter, which is highly patriotic. He opened the question whether there was any point in owning the Irish Parliament, provided England could not hear it. Because if something was agreed in the Irish Parliament it was dismissed by the English. In his fourth letter, which is addressed to the people of Ireland, Swift tried to calm the Irish and support them in the dispute (Swift, 1935). "*´Tis true indeed, that within the Memory of Man, the Parliaments of England have sometimes assumed the Power of binding this Kingdom by Laws enacted there*" (Swift, 1935, p. 79). Though the Irish Parliament was full of the Irish lords, in fact they did not have much power because it was a lord lieutenant appointing by the English Cabinet who was in charge. As a result, despite the Irish Parliament rejected a law, it could be passed effortlessly by the Westminster (Jackson, 1951).

Publishing the dispute, Swift was able to win it and the coins were not minted in England. He has been praised in Ireland for being the first person who showed that the Irish were oppressed by the English and that it should have been changed.

3.2. Irish Trade

It was obvious that Ireland was a poor island, despite the fact it had more natural resources than England. Swift was certain that England was rich because money was flowing to England without any effort of the English. And naturally, he was afraid, how long it might have continued (Swift, 1967). He used this proverb: *"I know only one thing, that when the hen dies out of hunger, there will be no more golden eggs"* (Swift, 1967, p. 62).

The official English colonial policy was to eradicate the concurrency of the colonies. No goods were allowed to enter England unless it was brought by the English ships. It other words, the colonies were only producers of goods without the possibility of using their ships to export it. Furthermore, they were forbidden to trade with other countries. These restrictions influenced the Irish flourishing trade enormously (Jackson, 1951).

To illustrate this, the Irish production of wool was one of the best in Europe. Noticing this, England increased customs duties on woollen goods. In addition, England was also aware that Irish wool is highly valued in other European countries and they preferred trading with Ireland to England. As a result, England forbade any export of wool from Ireland to any country except England itself (Jackson, 1951).

Swift described it as an act of jealousy. He stated that England issued the law only because of the English merchants´ lamentation that the Irish woollen trade robbed them of profit. But in fact, Ireland traded mostly with Scandinavian countries and in exchange for its wool it was paid in

rare silver. Then, silver got to England and the English merchants could trade with other countries. On the contrary by prohibiting this, no benefit was brought to England, as the craft declined. The English were not skilful enough to remain production (Swift, 1967).

3.3. The Irish and Land

Another problem which Swift advocated was land tenancy. The owner of the Irish land was an Englishman, so called absentee because he did not reside in Ireland. He hired land to a person from the Irish upper class (usually a Protestant) and the person divided it into smaller pieces and hired them to the Irish tenants. The tenants built a house and cultivated land to grow potatoes and corn. The given field barely fed a tenant´s family and he often had to work extra hours to be able to pay to the landowners (Jackson, 1951).

However, almost everybody wanted to farm (at least) a small piece of land. It was the only way to survive. The landlords knew it and set inequitable conditions, for instance short-term tenancy, cruelty or extremely high price. The tenants were discouraged and unwilling to work properly. The labourer knew well that if land will be cultivated properly, in the next term it will be much more expensive. As a result, he rather tried only to survive; to feed his family, instead of working for further development, for instance cultivating land more effectively, inventing new techniques of farming etc. (Swift, 1967).

Therefore, the Irish people were rather poor surviving on crop production. In case of any crop failure, the majority of population would have suffered from hunger. Swift wrote even nowadays known *Modest Proposal* (1729) proposing a solution for the situation of the poor: to feed the English with the Irish children. He wrote: "*Young healthy child well nursed is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout. (…) A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter*"(Renascence Editions, c1999).

Jonathan Swift claimed that this method had several advantages. Firstly, parents would have less trouble to feed their children. Secondly, even the poorest people would have money from selling their children. Thirdly, abortion would stop. Finally, the men would stop using violence against a pregnant woman to abort (Renascence Edition, c1999). Of course, this proposal is highly exaggerated and meant metaphorically but Swift drove attention to the matter of starvation in Ireland and introduced it to the public.

3.4. Swift´s Contribution

Jonathan Swift is said to be the "father of Irish nationalism". His intention was not primarily nationalistic though. He only saw damage which the English colonial policy made and tried to draw public´s attention to the issue. He was extremely dissatisfied with the fact that the Irish people were dying of hunger living in such an affluent country and that England was damaging itself as well because it may have profited from Ireland more, if there was better economy. What is also important at this time, the aim was not to separate from England but to equalize them. He said: *"Loyalty will never be called in Question for not suffering our selves to be Robbed of all that we have, by one obscure Iron-Monger"* (Swift, 1935, p. 68). His opinions are full of sarcasm and hyperbole and also shocking granting him public discussion of the Irish problems.

4. DANIEL O´CONNELL

„Here am I calling for justice to Ireland.“[5]

Daniel O´Connell has become a controversial person of Irish history. Some recognize him as the Liberator; some criticize him for his non-violent policy. It is true that on both of the views is something true. Daniel O´Connell was the first person in Irish history who gained enormous popularity among masses of people. Poor Irish Catholics admired him and had all hopes for him. Hopes that they will live in Ireland in which Catholics will have the same rights as Protestants. Daniel O´Connell´s legacy lies in the emancipation of the Irish Catholics and also in fighting for the Repeal of the Union, in other words to stop being part of the Great Britain (Whyte, 1996).

Born (1775) into a Catholic Irish family, he was in connexion with Irish culture. Not having any chance to study at university in Ireland or England, he was sent to France to study. After the revolution erupted in France, he was forced to return to Ireland. After releasing prohibition (1792) for Catholics, he was able to become a lawyer (Ó Corráin, O´ Riordan, n. d.).

Soon after, he enthralled the public. It is said, that he was extremely handsome man with typically Irish features. He loved telling jokes and his strong voice, which was extremely pleasant to listen to it, soon found many sympathizers. The poor Irish people admired him and followed him with hope (Buckland, 1988).

4.1. Historical Background

The question of the Irish Parliament was important in Irish history. But possessing a parliament is one thing; the other is what power it has in reality. Officially Ireland had had its own parliament for four centuries. In fact, the situation was slightly different because the Irish Parliament was still dependant on England as it was already pointed by Jonathan Swift (McDowell, 1996).

The American War of Independence and the French Revolution inspired Ireland to fight for equalization (McDowell, 1996). England was about to have a war with France, in addition it was forced to fight in American colonies. Therefore, England was afraid of another revolution in Ireland. As a result, it answered the Henry Grattan´s powerful speeches and granted more rights for the Irish Parliament. Moreover, the Irish Catholics were granted the right to vote. But Ireland did not receive it for free. In exchange people were forbidden to associate in volunteer groups and also to organize masses gathering (Walsh, n. d.).

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[5] Daniel O´Connell in his speech *Justice for Ireland*

Besides the problem with the Irish Parliament, the Irish Catholics still were not equalized with Protestants. Catholics allied with the French and managed to organize several uprisings in the last decade of the 18th century. This was rather unsuccessful and concluded with one point - the Irish matter was a real problem - because they still could not hold the position of e. g. doctor, judge or army and parliament member because as Catholics they were not worthy of it (McDowell, 1996).

The Irish Protestants who were in minority were afraid that the Irish Catholics, who in contrary were in majority, will gain the power and thus become more powerful than Protestants. The English politician William Pitt tried to solve it by his proposal of unification of the English and Irish Parliament to create one. By this the Irish Protestants minority joined the English Protestants majority, while the Irish Catholic majority would have changed into minority. But he did not take into consideration Irish strong national feeling, the essence of which was to have its own parliament (Walsh, n. d.).

As a compromise could be seen the Act of Union, signed in 1800. A year later, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was born. Though this raised strong protests in the Irish Parliament and the majority of the members vote against it, it passed. From the beginning the Irish Catholics had hoped that it will bring them equalization with Protestants, but this utopia never happened and in fact little was changed (Walsh, n. d.).

4.2. <u>Catholic Emancipation Act</u>

O´Connell knew well that if he wanted to help to the Irish poor, he must have obtained a seat in the Parliament in London. To do this, he founded the Catholic Association (1823) to gain popularity. It was solely a political association which united Catholics from whole Ireland. Its main purpose was to fight for Catholic emancipation. It meant to make Catholics equal with Protestants in public sphere (possibility to study, be politically involved, etc.) The genial point of this association was based on two ideas. Firstly, everybody could join the Association because only a little contribution was paid and even the poorest people could afford it (Whyte, 1996). To illustrate this, a report will be quoted: *"As it is desirable that the proposed New Catholic Association should combine Irishmen of all religious persuasion, it is expressly declare, that no person proffesing any of the forms of religions faith, allowed or tolerated by law, shall be excluded therefrom; but on the contrary Christians of all denomination are invited to become members thereof"* (Wyse, 1829b, p. xli,). Contributing financially, they felt to be more part of the Association and thus more loyal. Secondly, it was the priests who collected money from people because people trusted them. This enabled even the priests to be part of the plan and

helped to persuade people to join it. All the steps earned huge amount of money as no association before (Whyte, 1996).

In 1826, the first free elections to the British Parliament were held in Ireland. Previously, the Irish Catholics did not have a privilege to vote. Then, at the end of the 18th century the situation changed, they could vote but usually they voted the person who their landlord ordered to. Under the Daniel O´Connell´s leading, people participated in election and as a result in four counties some parliament former members had to resign to be replaced by another person. It was a Protestant, of course, but a Protestant who sympathized with Catholics. This was the first Daniel O´Connell´s victory (Whyte, 1996).

And the second one was about to come. Only three years after that, a new election to the English Parliament was announced in county Clare. The chief person was William Vesey Fitzgerald, a Protestant Member of Parliament (MP) for many years and very popular landlord among the tenants. No candidate felt strong enough to challenge him, so the Catholic Association nominated Daniel O´Connell as his opponent (Jackson, 1951). In 1828, Daniel O´Connell delivered a speech addressing the electors of the county:

"It is true, that as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will take the oaths (...) but he authority which created these oaths - the parliament - can abrogade them: and I entertain a confident hope that, if you elect me, the most bigoted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his king and to his country" (Wyse, 1829a, p. clxxii).

And as a result, something unthinkable became a reality. Every tenant voted for Daniel O´Connell and he beat Fitzgerald. After that, enormous exultation broke among the people and Daniel O´Connell was treated as a national hero (Whyte, 1996).

As he promised he did not take the anti-Catholic Oath till the Parliament passed the Emancipation Act (1829) which guaranteed equalization of Catholics. Daniel O´Connell thus became the first Catholic who won the seat in the English Parliament (Whyte, 1996).

4.3. <u>Repeal of the Union</u>

Having been elected to the Parliament, Daniel O´Connell supported the Liberal Party of which he thought is the best for Ireland. From time to time he forced it to issue some law to help to his country (Whyte, 1996).

However, after a while it was clear that the Union from 1800 will not change the situation in Ireland. Thus, O´Connell delivered a speech, called *Justice for Ireland*, in 1836 in the House of Commons, in which he called for the Irish Catholic rights. He pleased the other Members of Parliament not to reform only in words but also in action. Knowing that in the House of Commons are people (in name Robert Peel, Lord Stanley) who strongly disagreed with the equal treatment, he criticized them (The History Place, c1996-2014).

The situation climaxed in 1841 when the Conservative Party came to power. It was more than clear that they have no sympathy for Ireland. Having had this idea in his mind long before 1841, O´Connell decided to take the action against it. His aim was to repeal the Union. As a result, the Repeal Association was founded, which worked on similar principle as the Catholic Association (Jackson, 1951). The main aim was to win back the Irish Parliament but the rest of the country will be loyal to the queen. As O´Connell mentioned in his speech in 1843: "*We will be obedient to the queen, joined to England by the golden link of the Crown, but we must have our own Parliament*"(Bartleby, c1993-2014).

He decided to fight for repeal also because a new phenomenon rose in Ireland - a magazine *Nation.* It was founded by three young Irishmen - Charles Gavan Duffy, John Blake Dillon and Thomas Osborne Davis. They all were talented in writing and admired O´Connell deeply. Writing strongly national themes understandable for everyone, the magazine became extremely famous and had the potential to influence masses. Though *Nation* was loyal to O´Connell, they were young and had slightly different ideas - more radical. While O´Connell fought for repeal or a good government, *Nation* was for repeal or separation from the union with England (Jackson, 1951).

As its name suggests, *Nation* was highly nationalistic. They searched Irish history and made an effort to find the best examples that Ireland has long and great history. As a consequence, they wanted to revive Irish old tradition and culture, for example, they demanded Irish history to be taught at schools, bring back Irish music, etc. (Jackson, 1951).

A new point of the Association was to organize mass gatherings. Learning from the past, Daniel O´Connell knew that the Irish could be strong only when they are united. The meetings were usually organised in the location which was accessible to everybody therefore thousands of people attended (Jackson, 1951). The most famous mass gathering of 1843, held in Tara, was an enormous success (Whyte, 1996). As Thomas Davis wrote:

"I need to say I was not at Tara: but John O´Hagan tells me it was a transcendent sight. I hear that if ever a million of people assembled it was there, at least, if measurement of the ground

could support a good guess. (...) O´Connell´s reception was royal. John O´Hagan says they literally made a road for his carriage to pass through the crowd" (Duffy, 1890, p.168).

The English government was strongly against the end of the Union. Its situation was immensely difficult then. Having refused to pay tithes, the Irish could as well refuse to pay rent to a landlord. What is more, America and France claimed support to Ireland if England attacked Ireland. Moreover, they were frightened of the masses which O´Connell managed to assemble (Jackson, 1951).

Daniel O´Connell had all potential for winning the dispute but 66-years-old O´Connell forgot that times have changed since his last victory. Ironically, it was Daniel O´Connell himself who lost this fight. Having been preparing for months, the mass meeting at Clontarf (Jackson, 1951), where Brian Ború defeated the Danes in 1014 (Duffy, 2000), should have been the turning point in the dispute. Indeed it was, but rather in different way than Daniel O´Connell supposed. Fearing this very much, the government forbade the meeting by law, if not cancelled, the military troops would bring the order. Daniel O´Connell faced the unenviable decision. Either he let the meeting run and took the risk that it might have erupted into bloodshed, which he had tried to avoid his entire career, or he cancelled it but it would mean submission to the English desire and in fact defeat. Fortunately or not, O´Connell chose the second option (Jackson, 1951).

The young generation (formed around a journal *Nation*) disagreed strongly. O´Connell tried to advocate himself that it was the best solution which he could do and another steps would be made in order to win but everybody knew that this was his last decision (Whyte, 1996).

4.4. <u>Daniel O´Connell´s legacy</u>

Everybody makes good and bad decisions in their lives. Daniel O´Connell was not an exception. His major contribution to the Irish nationalism is evident. Sympathizing with the poor Irish Catholics, he gained enormous support and managed to get a seat in the House of Commons, despite being a Catholic. Of course, this brought many relaxation of restriction for Catholics. What is more, he proved that if the oppressed Catholic majority is united; it is strong enough to fight against the Empire. Daniel O´Connell was the first to prove it.

Daniel O´Connell´s main policy was to gain the rights through non-violent way. In his first campaign (Catholic Emancipation) this method was proved to be highly successful.

"To both Catholic and Protestant friends I would recall to mind that we achieved emancipation in the most peaceful, loyal, and constitutional manner. We committed no offence, we were guilty of no crime, we destroyed no property, we injured no man´s person" (Wyse, 1829a, p. cccxlvi).

Thus, he did not have the reason to accept help from America or France as he stated in 1843:

„America offered us her sympathy and support. We refused the support, but we accepted the sympathy; and while we accepted the sympathy of the Americans, we stood upon the firm ground of the right of every human being to liberty; and I, in the name of the Irish nation, declare that no support obtained from America should be purchased by the price of abandoning principle for one moment, and that principle is that every human being is entitled to freedom. (…) I want not the support of France; I want not the support of America; I have physical support enough about me to achieve any change; but you know well that it is not my plan—I will not risk the safety of one of you" (Bartleby, c1993-2014).

Though, it seems to be a rather proud decision, Daniel O´Connell knew that if he accepted his non-violent condition would have been destroyed. He was sure that France had obtained freedom through violence and thus it could not help to the other European nation (Bartleby, c1993-2014).

However, the situation was not the same 14 years after that when the same tactics of non-violence did not bring any use and in fact caused his defeat at Clontarf in 1843. On the other hand, one probably could not blame the 68-years-old man for not leading the crowd, which was waiting for it and would have done it with pleasure, into the arms of the English troops. If he had done it, he would have denied all what he fought for all his life - non-violence.

He was very naïve in his confidence that the Union will be repealed. In his speech he claimed that the Irish House of Common would be in power within 3 weeks (Bartleby, c1993-2014). In fact, Ireland had to wait for it for almost 100 years.

During the time of repeal, a journal *Nation* was born which is probably the only benefit of the fight for the repeal of the union. The young generation, which was contributing to the journal, brought a new view on the Irish nation. They highlighted the most significant events in Irish history and their aim was to strengthen national feeling. Their contribution has had positive consequences far into the future. They are known as revivalists of national feelings (Whyte, 1996). Although they admired Daniel O´Connell they also blamed him for his non-radical attitude (Whyte, 1996).

All in all, Daniel O´Connell did great things for Irish nationalism. He managed to organize Catholics and together they drew the English attention to their unjust treatment. Owing to him, a journal *Nation* appeared and highlighted the Irish past which almost nobody did before.

5. IRISH FAMINE

„Here are a few things to go on with ,Brother, and I'll soon put you in a way to earn your own living". [6]

The following event was a mix of the most unfortunate coincidences. It was a crucial catastrophe which stroke Ireland in the year 1845 and lasted for nearly 6 years and influenced the Anglo-Irish relationship forever - the Great Famine (Green, 1996).

Prior to this, it was clear that the O´Connell´s effort of the repeal of the union was impracticable. Only little did the Irish Catholic situation improve. They still did not have any land, nor work. In the 19th century Protestants cultivated 95 percent of the land (Gavin, n. d. b). English policy turned Ireland into an agricultural country. In 1841, the majority of people were employed in agriculture. The linen industry was developed only in the north of the island, in the Protestant territory (Kelly, 2000).

There was also a dramatic rise in number of population. Ireland was a scarcely inhabited island before the 19th century. As stated in the Census Report from 1841, the number of 8 million people living in Ireland was the highest in Irish history. In comparison with the situation in 1821, it was less than 2 million (Killen, 1995c). It can be explained by the lack of disastrous events. At that time, Ireland did not suffer from any disease, which could bring an outbreak of plague. It was also a peace time when no troop was destroying a harvest and killing people (Green, 1996).

In addition, the Irish discovered that the potatoes were to their advantage. Originally from Peru, potatoes were brought to Ireland at the end of the 16th century. Obviously it was a perfect crop for such a stony and infertile land. It could be harvested on a small part of land without demanding laborer's hard work. Moreover, its nutrition was higher in comparison with corn. Few potatoes could feed a large number of people with less work. Soon, the Irish became fully dependent on potatoes and butter milk (Gavin, n. d. d).

In this situation, a fungus attacked the Irish potatoes. Having appeared in the east coast of America, it was soon spread by wind to England and then to Ireland. Started in September 1845, spreading was enormously fast. The plants blackened or whitened within few days. Strangely enough, the potatoes seemed to be normal after digging but later they turned to be uneatable (Gavin, n. d. d).

Ireland was suffering from number of famines during history, but the Famine of 1845 was totally different. It usually struck only some counties and did not last long. Losing a whole potato

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[6] Text: Bull, J. Drawing: Doyle, R.

harvest was undisputedly a tragedy for Ireland, which was depended on the potatoes (Green, 1996). Nonetheless, if England had not made the situation worse, it might have been different. The following text will concentrate on British Parliament intervention which had the significant effect on the growth of Irish national feeling and hatred towards England.

5.1. <u>British Intervention</u>

1) When news of fundus destroying the potatoes in Ireland reached England Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, took some necessary steps. At first, he appointed a special committee which task was to investigate what had caused the potatoes harvest failure. Sadly enough, the committee was absolutely wrong in judging the roots of the fundus and as a consequence wrong steps were made in curing the plants. Secondly, Robert Peel ordered an extra corn from America with intention to control the market. This did not meet with sympathy from the English. Majority was certain that the Irish were to blame for the potatoes crop failure and strongly disagreed to help to Ireland (Gavin, n. d. c). To illustrate, a cartoon[7] is showing Sir Robert Peel, representing Sisyphus, pushing a great stone ball up to the hill. The stone ball is titled Ireland (Doyle, 1844).

2) The Government appointed the Relief Commission, located in Dublin, and many others all around Ireland. Their purpose was to gather money from the landowners to participate in refunding the amount of money given by Britain. However, the landowners did not have any money because their tenants did not pay them. Another task of the Relief Commission was providing help to the poor to find a job. The Government did not provide money to people directly because it could demoralize the society, as it was believed. By creating needles jobs, such as building roads leading nowhere and bridges over the non-existing rivers, they made starved men without any strength work unsocial hours for a minimum wage. He could not feed himself not to mention his family with this wage. Supposing the weather was rainy, they could not go to work, of course, because most of the work was run outside (Gavin, n. d. e). In the newspaper *Cork Examiner,* from January 1847, an anonymous exasperated man showed his anger that another man died: *"Yes, Sir, a poor fellow, named Courtney, after working a few days on the public road, badly fed and worse clothed, caught cold. Little though his earnings were, 10d. a day"*(Another Victim of Whig Administration). With this wage a worker could afford to buy approximately 200 g of flour (Another Victim of Whig Administration, n. d.).

3) Unfortunately for Ireland the Whig party came to power, after the Sir Robert Peel abdicated. It was known that the Whigs were highly conservative and had no sympathy for Ireland. A new Assistant Secretary of the British Treasury, Charles Edward Trevelyan, who was responsible for

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[7] see Appendix 4, p. 51

material help to Ireland, was a supporter of the idea that the Government should have not interfere in the economic problems (laissez faire policy) because it was able to recover by itself. Thus the Whigs agreed that if the potato harvest had failed again, they would have let it to its own destiny (Green, 1996).

4) Meanwhile the Prime Minister Peel secretly ordered extremely cheap Indian maize. This was distributed to the Relief Commission and people could buy it for little money. But this maize was of poor quality and caused the digestive problems and diarrhoea. Despite this, the Irish would have died to get maize and soon after the supply was exhausted and Trevelyan did not make an effort to replenish it (Gavin, n. d. d).

5) Contrary to expectations, the potato harvest declined again in 1846 and in 1847 as well. What is more, in the same year, Ireland witnessed the severest winter in history. Being famished, living in huts made of mud without any furniture (it was sold in order to buy food) in cold winter people soon suffered from numerous diseases. Thereupon, the Government admitted that the laissez faire policy had not worked for Ireland as expected and Ireland had needed direct help. As a result, the Soup Kitchens were established, where people could get a soup for free. Although feeling highly intimidating by standing in a long queue to get a bowl of soup a day, the Irish undertook this step. But again soup was prepared from inferior food and caused digestive problems (Green, 1996).

6) In fact, it was only the potatoes which suffered from fungus, not corn. Corn was still producing in Ireland but it was determined for the export to England. As reported in *Nation* "*In every province of Ireland there is considerably more ground under corn crops than ever there was before. (…) We have already twice proved in THE NATION that, even last year, without the potatoes, there was still food enough for us all: and we were then eight millions*" (Killen, 1995a, p. 145). When the furious crowd of famished Irishmen tried to stop the carriages leaving the hunger-suffering country, the Government responded by force of arms (Green, 1996).

5.2. The Impact of the Famine

Considering all intervention which the British Government made, anti-English feeling grew rapidly. They were aware what the British Government did and what may have done to help to Ireland. The young generation which immigrated to America blamed Britain for everything (Gavin, n. d. a). As John Mitchel stated Great Britain was growing richer, while taking from Ireland and now in the times of need Britain owed Ireland something (Mitchel, 1882, p. 105). Such ideas he proposed in the journal *Nation* together with his evidence of suffering and the public listened to it very carefully. An article appeared with these words in *Nation*: "*Hear how

they have made the Queen speak of the famine which they have created: "The loos of the usual food of the people has been the cause of severe sufferings, OF DESEASE, and of greatly increased mortality among the poorer classes." (…) Ah! Most gracious Madam, beware of lying councillors! The "disease" is sheer Hunger - the "increased mortality" means that thousands of strong and healthy men and women have been slaughtered more cruelly, more surely, more hideously, than if your Royal troop." (Killen, 1995b, p. 101).

As a consequence, a journalist John Mitchel claimed in *Jail Journal* (1845) that if before the Famine some Irishmen were doubtful about the Repeal, after the Famine almost no one could be found who would disagree with the separation from England. Inspired by the French Revolution (1848) and claiming France a republic, young generation called for a republic too. According to them monarchy was old-fashioned and not suitable for modern Europe (Irish History Links, 2014).

Ireland was famishing for long 6 years. Of course, this signed the future history of the island. Nothing would be the same again. It is arduous to investigate how many people in fact died, it is estimated that about 1 million. A million of people immigrated to America including the Irish intellectuals (journalists, writers, etc.). The economic situation was wretched (Green, 1996). But the most important was what footprints the Famine left in the Irishmen´s hearts - deep scars full of bitter memories.

6. GAELIC REVIVAL

"ceasing to be Irish without becoming English"[8]

In the second half of the 19th century, Ireland tried to wake up after the Great Famine. During these 50 years Ireland was becoming more and more nationalistic. The political aims remained the same. First goal was to solve land problem. It was believed that this problem was the cause of the Famine. The second was to gain the parliament back (McCartney, 1996).

At that time, the leader, who fulfilled the requirements for leading a new fight, was Charles Stewart Parnell. Undisputedly, he was a great leader, who managed to gather masses of people once again, but his tactic was strikingly similar to the O´Connell´s. He also supported non-violent policy, masses gathering, etc. He was successful in his attempts. After the so-called Land Wars (1879 - 1882), which goal was to change the system of land tenancy by tenant´s boycott, the tenants were treated more fairly. But the most significant point was that the British Parliament was fully aware of the problem and took some actions leading to the possibility to purchase land by the tenants (Moody, 1996).

Meanwhile the Irish political sphere was fighting to achieve its goals, Irish culture was undergoing crisis. The situation was not pleasant for Irish culture after the Great Famine. It dropped to the bottom and in fact Irish culture was shattered and almost destroyed. It was caused by Irishmen´s immigration and deaths (McCartney, 1996).

However, there were some enthusiasts who revived it. Hence, in the late 19th century national feeling grew enormously due to two nationalistic associations. The first was the Gaelic League and the second the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). The former´s aim was to revive the Irish language and the latter to bring back the Irish sports. Both of them had in common few points. Firstly, to revive the Irish culture, secondly to be absolutely free from the political efforts, although their thoughts influenced many political groups (e.g. Sinn Féin) (McCartney, 1996).

6.1. Language and Literature

The Irish language has been spoken for a long time on the island. Sometimes it was oppressed by the English more, sometimes less. Before the Famine almost everybody was fluent in Irish. Most of the Irish speakers were centred in the west part of the island because the English tentacles were not willing to reach the poor and infertile land. After 1951, 2 million of people disappeared, either because they died or immigrated with them the language. By 1961, Irish was spoken as a primary language in some small areas only. What is more, knowledge of Irish

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[8] Hyde, 1892, online

mythology, legends and history almost disappeared from the Irish consciousness (Kelly, 2000). Fortunately some enthusiasts appeared and fought for bringing the Irish culture back.

6.1.1. W. B. Yeats´s movement

William Butler Yeats´s family had distinguished Anglo-Irish origins. Although his relationship with father was tough, the father influenced William intellectually by reading him classical writers. Yeats was told the Irish stories by the family´s servant when he was a boy. Furthermore, he met and fell in love with Maud Gonne, a woman who believed and promoted Irish nationalism. All of these had a strong influence on him and he soon became a nationalist. In fact, Yeats did the early nationalistic actions in order to impress Maud Gonne. He was engaged in number of political, cultural or literature movements and at the age of 20 he was fully recognized as a gifted poet. Furthermore, he was the person who helped to found the Abbey Theatre in Dublin which became the centre of nationalistic playwrights (Peterson, 1982).

He demanded to create literature which would be as influential as was the ancient Greek. Literature could help to Ireland only if the writers would write literature of high standard though ordinary people might find it difficult to understand. But popular literature which copied the other European pieces of writing did not bring anything new for Ireland (Yeats, 1995).

In the spirit of these thoughts, his movement revived the old Irish legends. Yeats claimed that Ireland´s best times were at the times of old Celtic tribe. Since that time, Ireland was under dominance of Normans, Vikings and English. For that reason, he drew inspiration for his stories from the Irish ancient past. Thus, in 1893 a collection of short stories *The Celtic Twilight* was published. The book was highly praised by the public leading to a revival of interest in the Irish mythical past (Čadrnová, 1996).

6.1.2. Gaelic League

More important than the Yeats´ group was another movement - the Gaelic League. In comparison with W. B. Yeats, its intention was not to revive the Irish Celtic past but rather to maintain the Irish language which was disappearing rapidly. The founder, Douglas Hyde, was a strong nationalist. His aim was to create the Irish nation which would be admired by the whole world. Because Ireland had very rich cultural past, he was certain it had potentiality to achieve it (McCartney, 1996).

But a nation cannot be created without its own language because the language is the base of national identity. His aim was to strengthen the position of the Irish and then brought it to schools and finally to become fully used language. Persuading the public that there is no

necessity to be ashamed of Irish was his great contribution. Because of the English oppression people considered Irish as an inferior language. As Hyde stated in his speech (1892): "*I knew fifteen Irish workmen who were working in a haggard in England give up talking Irish amongst themselves because the English farmer laughed at them*" (The Gaelic League of New England, n. d.). While Hyde, as one of the first, argued that Irish was researched by foreign scholars. He saw the success in writing the pieces of literature in Irish, in issuing the own periodicals (The Gaelic League of New England, n. d.).

He often talked about De-Anglicising the Irish nation. Although he did not deny value of the English culture, he advocated the importance of driving the English elements out of Irish lives. He criticized that even though the majority of the Irish felt strong hatred against the English they still tried to copy their style by, for example, translating their Irish names into English (The Gaelic League of New England, n. d.). Hyde was curious *„how Irish sentiment sticks in this half-way house -- how it continues to apparently hate the English, and at the same time continues to imitate them; how it continues to clamour for recognition as a distinct nationality, and at the same time throws away with both hands what would make it so"* (The Gaelic League of New England, n. d.).

The Gaelic League had far greater significance than mere linguistic associations. Organizers were responsible for holding old Celtic traditions such as feiseanna (dancing and music celebrations), oireachtas (meetings in the old tribe tradition), etc. They also created and performed plays in theatres. Owing to them, the Irish books were printed and promoted. Soon, Ireland changed from non-reading nation to bookworms (McCartney, 1996).

The League supported national self-respect and national feelings. It was spread to all sectors of life. Not only did it influence cultural life, but also had importance on the political, industrial and economical life (McCartney, 1996).

6.2. <u>Sport</u>

Another means in supporting national feeling, was a sport association the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). Ireland is not the only nation which encouraged national consciousness through the sport activities, for instance a sport group called Sokol was founded in Prague in 1862 (Oficiální webové stránky České Obce Sokolské, c2007). The GAA was established by a teacher Michael Cusack in 1884. The idea was to get the Irishmen spend their pastime with something meaningful and purely Irish. This is evident in the original name: "*Gaelic Athletic Association for the Preservation and Cultivation of national Pastimes*"(GAA, n. d.). As a result, the typical Irish sports games, such as hurling and camogie, were played regularly (National

Library of Ireland, c2006). Cusack said: *"Irish athletics will be revived and that the incomparable strength and physique of our race will be preserved"* (National Library of Ireland, c2006, p. 4).

Majority of the athletes playing Irish games were nationalists and their aim was to uplift the Irish past but also to remove it from the English influence. For that reason, any member of the GAA was forbidden to play the English games (cricket, rugby). This remained until the 1960s (Couch, n. d.). Couch stated in of his newspapers articles: *"We tell the Irish to take the management of their games into their own hands to encourage and promote every way every form of athletics which is peculiarly Irish and to remove with one sweep everything foreigner and iniquitous in the present system"* (National Library of Ireland, c2006, p. 4).

GAA raised men who were strongly patriotic. Not only did it suggest the idea of national identity, but it also trained this generation in physical strength and organizational skills. Many of the athletes participated in the 1916 Easter Rising. Also the political movement the Fenians profited from the GAA by persuasion the athletes to take part in risings (National Library of Ireland, c2006).

6.3. Gaelic Revival Contribution

The contribution of the Gaelic Revival is evident. At the beginning, the Irish culture was declining and almost disappeared. Luckily, some nationalists helped to revive it and owing to them the Irish culture flourished. Moreover, it motivated the Irish to think of their past and try to avoid the English pressure. The movements showed that it is pointless to follow the English model provided the Irish could create its own based on their past. Many of them had crucial effect on the upcoming events, such as the Easter Rising. If had not been these movements the Irish language and culture would have disappeared and with it the Irish identity.

7. MICHAEL COLLINS

"We have to learn that freedom imposes responsibility."[9]

Undergoing the phase A and B[10] (Hroch, 2009), Irish national feeling advanced to the third phase of national movements. It was not necessary to raise national feeling in the Irishmen because the bulk of the population was fully aware and proud to be Irish. The fighting moved to a new purpose - to establish a free Irish state. To achieve it, it was necessary to start political campaigns. The aim was to convince the public that the idea is extremely beneficial to all (McCartney, 1996).

Beginning in the 20th century, the political campaign for independence dominated in Ireland. It was led by number of capable and talented personalities (Patrick Henry Pearse, Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, etc.). They usually came from movements which appeared in the late 19th century such as the Gaelic Athletic Association (McCartney, 1996).

As a result, a new political party Sinn Féin (1905) was founded by Arthur Griffith. The main ideas of Sinn Féin were simple enough. Firstly, Arthur Griffith was certain that the Act of Union from 1800 was unconstitutional and thus every Irish MP in Westminster behaved unconstitutionally. Provided the Irish MPs would resign from their positions in the Parliament, the assembly could be founded in Ireland without English government intervention. This idea was believed to be supported by the electors. And as a consequence, secondly, Ireland will be economically independent (Lynch, 1996).

Unfortunately, the idea of having Parliament in Dublin was strongly opposed by the north of Ireland, Ulster. They feared that their superior position would be lost hand in hand with friendship and all benefits taken from the British Empire (Jackson, 1951).

Despite this, a parliament was almost given to Ireland but due to the beginning of the World War I (1914), it had to be postponed. Many Irishmen fought at the side of Britain in the War. In fact, they believed that if they offered help, their bravery would be treated as an advantage once it comes to negotiation with Britain (Doherty, 2000).

In that time Michael Collins grew up. Michael Collins, nicknamed the Big Fellow, is considered to be one of the most influential men of the 20th century. As a young he became politically involved although his mother strongly disapproved (Green, 2004). As a teenager he became a member of many political (e.g. Irish Republican Brotherhood) and nationalistic groups (e. g.

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[9] Collins, 1922, p. 26

[10] see chapter 1.3

Gaelic League). His dream was that Ireland would be free from the British influence (Soodalter, 2014).

7.1. <u>The Secret System</u>

Some strong nationalists could not wait for the end of the World War I and so in 1916 the Easter Rising erupted in Dublin. An army of volunteers occupied the General Post Office. Their aim was to point that the Irish question is still not resolved. Henry Pearse, a leader of the rebellion, delivered a speech in which he declared the Irish Republic (Thurles Information, 2011). Great Britain did not approve this rebellion and intervened cruelly and as a result, many of the Irish rebels were arrested among them also Michael Collins. All the leaders, where killed without a trial (Green, 2004).

The execution of the leaders was the British crucial decision as speaking for Anglo-Irish relationship. The Irish were shocked and from this point even hesitating ones called for an independent state which had to be free from the British supremacy forever (McCartney, 1996).

Michael Collins learned a lesson from this incident. After he was realised from prison, he became politically involved again. Eamon de Valera, the President of Sinn Féin, appointed him as one of the Executives of Sinn Féin. He was also appointed to lead the IRB (Green, 2004). The Easter Rising showed him, that it is impossible to defeat British army, because it was such a strong one. Instead, he concentrated on the following two aims (Soodalter, 2014).

Firstly, the British spy system was needed to be limited. Michael Collins knew that the British spy system was to blame for failure of Irish attempts of any uprising. The British had spies everywhere thus the Irish attempts of rebellion were abolished by the British authorities before they could start. In fact, he spied on the British spies and he was successful. Soon, he owned a team of informants in Dublin Castle, the place from which the British controlled the Irish (Green, 2004) and thus he received much valuable information (Soodalter, 2014).

Secondly, he was in charge of creating a special secret group known as *The Squads* or the *Twelve Apostles*. It was him who trained them and was responsible for their activities. Their purpose was to assassin the members of the British secret systems (known as "G" division). The Squads were successful and in a short time they paralyzed the British system (Green, 2014).

This group was not approved by some Irish but The Squads did not kill people arbitrarily. Contrarily, the rules inside the group were extremely strict. No killing for revenge was approved and tolerated; the only reason for killing an enemy was planned in advance, thus it purpose was

strategic and political (Soodalter, 2014). It is said that he controlled the members all the time. He owned their house keys and thus controlled their personal lives (Green, 2014).

7.1. Anglo-Irish War for Independence

Started in 1919, the Anglo-Irish war was a series of violence from both sides Irish and British. Michael Collins was a head of Irish Republican Army (IRA) an army which intention, at this stage, was political - to have the Irish parliament in Ireland. The IRA attacked the British policemen to let them know that they are not welcome in Ireland and to demonstrate that Ireland wanted to be independent from Great Britain. Michael Collins stated that it was not a crime to find and destroy an enemy (a spy, police man) during the war times (Soodalter, 2014).

The British answered to this violence with unfortunate intervention. At the time when people longed for peace, the British sent an army called the Black and Tans to bring order in Ireland. This army consisted of soldiers which were used to fight in the wars. Not feeling any love to Ireland, their tactics were extremely cruel. If a British policeman or a spy was killed in Ireland they would answer by shooting to windows in the streets without following any particular target (McCullough, 2010).

In must be stated, that Michael Collins was destroying systematically the British secret spy system in Ireland in order to provoke them to an action. He knew that if the British did not intervene, it would be easier for the Irish to start peace negotiations. But if the British intervened they would be seen as the oppressors by the world (Soodalter, 2014).

By the 1921, both sides were tired of the endless fighting and it was offered by the British Prime Minister Lloyd George to start the piece negotiation. Thus, Michael Collins achieved something what nobody did in Irish history - to make the British respond the Irish desire to be free (Soodalter, 2014).

7.2. Anglo-Irish Treaty

After months of bargaining, the representatives were sent to London to finish peace negotiations with Britain. These representatives, among others, were Arthur Griffith and surprisingly Michael Collins. He protested that he is not a statesman but rather a soldier. Considering the fact of terrible violence in Ireland, they signed the controversial Anglo-Irish Treaty (December, 1921). It was controversial because it did not establish the republic, which every Irishmen longed for, but it gave dominance to Ireland (The National Archives of Ireland, c2002). *"Ireland shall have a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace order and good government of Ireland*

and an Executive responsible to that Parliament and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State" (The National Archives of Ireland, c2002).

Nobody knows today why Michael Collins was sent to such important meeting because he did not have any experience concerning this topic. It is rumoured that some heads of the political campaign knew very well that it is impossible to negotiate a republic. Hence, Michael Collins was chosen to go to the pre-lost battle and came back as a defeated and thus lost his enormous popularity (Green, 2004).

The mission fulfilled their forerunners wish and after 700 years the free Irish Parliament was again in Dublin. Though Ireland was given huge autonomy, it was still more or less bound with Britain. For example, Britain remained some Irish harbours, dockyards, towns. In addition, the country was split into the south and north (Green, c 2004), because 6 counties in the north of the island were strongly against a coalition with Ireland. This alternative did not meet with approval form the majority of the Irish, who required only the republic. Collins and Griffith were strongly criticised for not fulfilling the mission (Doherty, 2000). They countered that they did not manage to negotiate the republic, but they had brought peace (Houses of the Oireachtas, c1997) and if Ireland is patient, it could become the republic soon. (Lynch, 1996). Collins stated that the Treaty was *"the bedrock from which the Irish status springs"* (Collins, 1922, p.37). But from the current point of view, they could not do more at this time, as it was rather soon for such a courageous plan.

Griffith advocated the delegation´s decision in one of the Debate on Treaty with following words: *"That is what we have brought back, peace with England, alliance with England, confederation with England, an Ireland developing her own life, carving out her own way of existence, and rebuilding the Gaelic civilisation broken down at the battle of Kinsale.(…) I ask then this Dáil to pass this resolution, and I ask the people of Ireland, and the Irish people everywhere, to ratify this Treaty, to end this bitter conflict of centuries, to end it for ever, to take away that poison that has been rankling in the two countries and ruining the relationship of good neighbours"* (Houses of the Oireachtas, c1997).

The Treaty was ratified by the Irish assembly; subsequently the Irish Civil war emerged. It was another series of cruel attacks between the pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty supporters. Finally, the anti-Treaty supporters were defeated but, unfortunately, many of them did not reconcile with the division and they are heard to be responsible for some violence even nowadays. Unfortunately, a person killed during these struggles was Michael Collins (Lynch, 1996). His assassination is a mystery even today because little is known about it.

7.3. Michael Collins´ contribution

The 20th century turbulent events completed Irish national movement by the merit of the Irish nationalists, among them Michael Collins. By creating a spy system which aim was to spy on British spy system he managed to dismantle it. The British lost their confidence and valuable information without them their control of Ireland was almost impossible. Then he was a brilliant leader of the IRA during the Anglo-Irish war. He managed to bring the Irish question to the British Parliament, though by force, and he directly participated on the treaty negotiation of the Irish Free State.

CONCLUSION

Ireland was connected with Britain for centuries. In one period it was granted more autonomy, in other less. At first the Irish supported the idea to be part of the imperium, but realizing that the British political system is not fair they demanded independence.

The journey to it was not easy one and lasted for a long time. In fact, what preceded was eternal work of the Irish people who were not satisfied with the situation. The aim of the thesis was to find people and events who indicated rich Irish history. People fighting for the thought that Ireland is a country which deserves fairer treatment from the sovereign state Great Britain. People contributing to the fact that their countrymen were no longer ashamed to be Irishmen but instead began to be immensely proud of it. In addition, the crucial events changed the Irish attitude towards British treatment. It was demonstrated why they are considered to be the most significant.

The goal was achieved by choosing the following personalities and events. First of the chosen personalities is Jonathan Swift, the Father of Irish nationalism, as he was one of the first person who pointed to English oppression of the Irish. The second person, Daniel O´Connell managed to unite the Irish Catholics to fight together leading to their equalization of with the Protestants. What is more, he also inspired the young generation to be pride to be an Irishman. Then, the Great Famine in Ireland confirmed hatred towards the British and simultaneously Irish national consciousness raised. Creation of the nationalistic organisations (such as Gaelic League and Gaelic Athletic Association) drew the public attention to chequered Irish history and eliminated feeling of shame. Last but not least are the turbulent events of the 20th century which were influenced by leadership of Michael Collins. He managed to dismantle the British spy system and gather an army fighting against the British. Likewise, he participated in the piece negotiation resulting in creation of Irish Free State.

In my opinion, each of these people or events is the most important. Regardless to the period of history in which they appeared. Their contribution to nation building is obvious. They helped to raise national pride, beginning with Jonathan Swift ending with the 20th century politicians. Thank to them, Ireland became a republic.

For the further research with regard to teaching process, I would recommend to create a methodical plan explaining two faces of nationalism illustrated on Irish history to teenagers. The example of positive and negative nationalism from Irish history would be presented. Then, it would stress its positive and negative impact on society. It would be necessary to search Irish history to find the examples and then the practical part would provide the teaching instructions.

When the theoretical materials are complete, it should be empirically verified in class. This methodical plan could be used, for instance, in Social Science. I believe that teaching children two sides of nationalism is vital in order to prevent its negative face.

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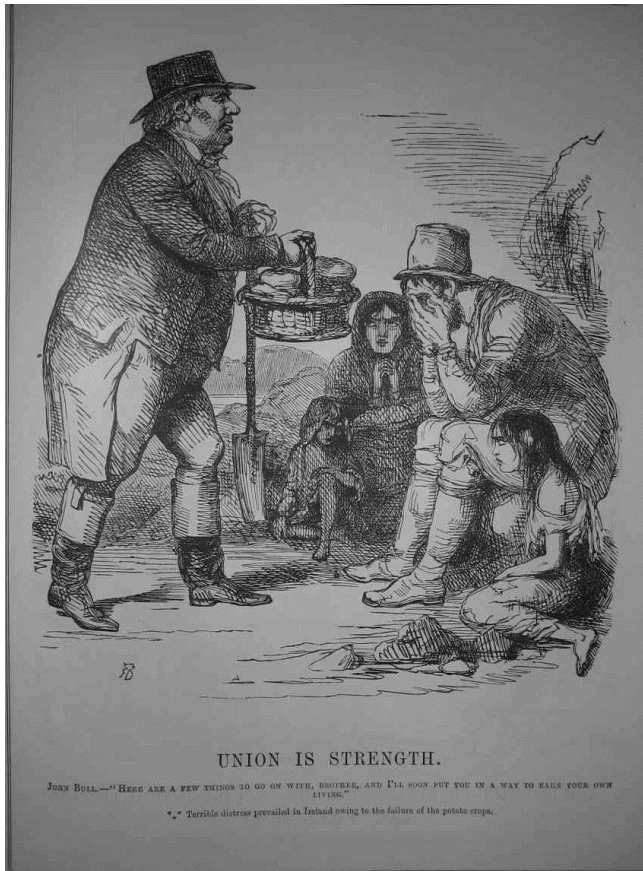http://www.nndb.com/people/360/000098066/.

APPENDICES
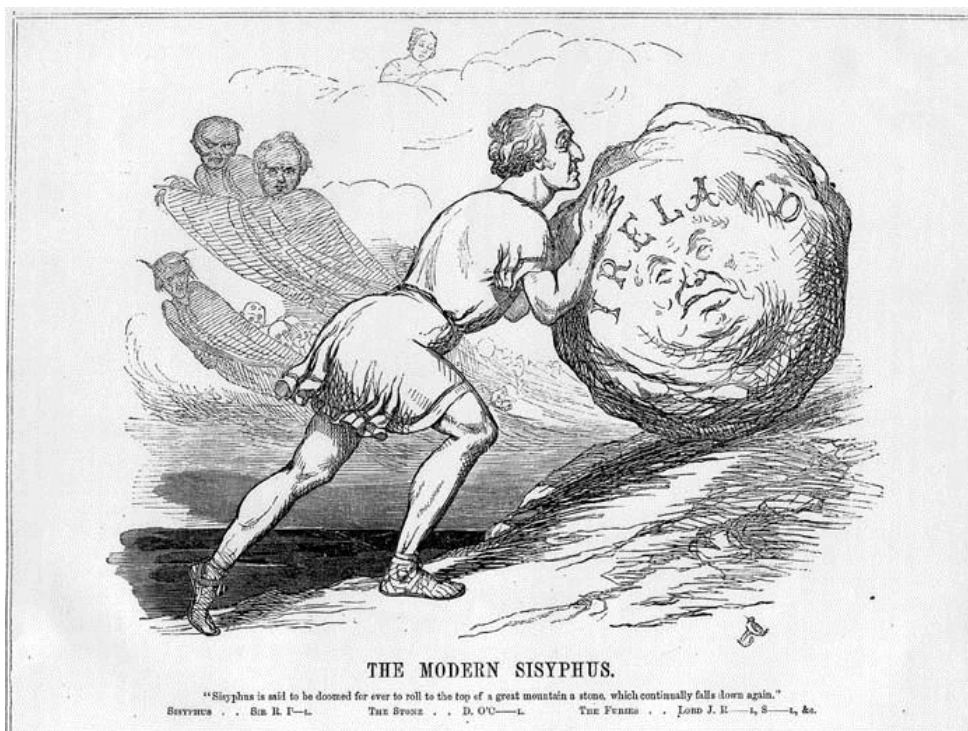
Appendix 1: Jonathan Swift

Appendix 2: Daniel O´Connell

Appendix 3: Union is Strength, 1846 ("*Here are a few things to go with, Brother, and I'll soon put you in a way to make you earn your own living*".)

UNION IS STRENGTH.

JOHN BULL.—"HERE ARE A FEW THINGS TO GO ON WITH, BROTHER, AND I'LL SOON PUT YOU IN A WAY TO EARN YOUR OWN LIVING."

, Terrible distress prevailed in Ireland owing to the failure of the potato crops.

Appendix 4: The Modern Sisyphus, 1844 ("*Sir Robert Peel, representing Sisyphus, pushing a great stone ball up to the hill (Ireland), which continually falls down*".)

THE MODERN SISYPHUS.

"Sisyphus is said to be doomed for ever to roll to the top of a great mountain a stone, which continually falls down again."

SISYPHUS . . SIR R. P——L. THE STONE . . D. O'C——L. THE FURIES . . LORD J. R——L, S——T, &c.

Appendix 5: William Butler Yeats

Appendix 6: Michael Collins

RÉSUMÉ

Závěrečná práce popisuje vznik irského národního cítění. Analýzou primárních a sekundárních zdrojů byly vybrány nejdůležitější osobnosti a události, které ovlivnily a stály u zrodu irského národního cítění. Dále bylo demonstrováno, jak tyto osoby a události přispěly k problematice a proč jsou právě ony těmi nejdůležitějšími. Byly vybrány tyto osoby a události: Jonathan Swift, Daniel O´Connell, irský hladomor (19. stol.), hnutí Gaelic Revival, Michael Collins, Velikonoční povstání a Anglo-Irská dohoda.

ANNOTATION

Jméno a příjmení:	Iveta Hromková
Katedra:	Katedra anglického jazyka
Vedoucí práce:	PhDr. Světlana Obenausová, MLitt, Ph.D.
Rok obhajoby:	2014

Název práce:	Nejdůležitější osoby a události při vzniku irského národního cítění
Název v angličtině:	The most important people and events in creating Irish nationhood
Anotace práce:	Tato bakalářská práce vysvětluje termín nacionalismus. Uvádí nejdůležitější události z irské historie, které vedly ke vzniku irského národního cítění. Dále popisuje nejdůležitější osobnosti a události, které formovaly irského národního cítění, a vysvětluje, proč jsou právě ony těmi nejdůležitějšími.
Klíčová slova:	nacionalismus, národní cítění, irské národní cítění, Jonathan Swift, Daniel O´Connell, Irský hladomor, hnutí Gaelic Revival, W. B. Yeats, Michael Collins, Velikonoční povstání, Anglo-irská dohoda
Anotace v angličtině:	This bachelor thesis explains the term nationalism. It provides the most important events of Irish history which influenced Irish national feeling. Then, it describes the most important people and events which formed Irish national feeling and states why these are the most important.
Klíčová slova v angličtině:	nationalism, national feeling, Irish national feeling, Jonathan Swift, Daniel O´Connell, Irish Famine, Gaelic Revival, W. B. Yeats, Michael Collins, Easter Rising, Anglo-Irish Treaty
Přílohy vázané v práci:	6 příloh + 1 CD
Rozsah práce:	54
Jazyk práce:	Angličtina