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**МИНИСТЕРСТВО ВЫСШЕГО СРЕДНЕГО И СПЕЦИАЛЬНОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ
РЕСПУБЛИКИ УЗБЕКИСТАН**

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INTRODUCTION

*“A dense population, in extreme distress, inhabit an island where there is an Established Church, which is not their Church, and a territorial aristocracy the richest of whom live in foreign capitals. Thus you have a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church; and in addition the weakest executive in the world. That is the Irish Question.”*¹

British Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881)

The Irish problem had enormous importance in Anglo-Irish relationships and distinguished by its complexity and specificity. For a long time Ireland have had serious social, national and religious contradictions, which had influenced on the development and history of the country and Anglo-Irish relations.

Today, international relationships have an enormous influence on establishing peace and tranquility in the world. Especially, in the conditions of those difficult processes happen in the world, those ambiguous changes in the global and regional alignment of forces, progressing in the difficult post-crisis period of the world economy, the radicalization of situation and the aggravation of the conflicts and contradictions, as the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan said².

"The Irish question" as a part of history of the Great Britain makes it possible to understand thoughts and political views of that period.

In the present thesis the importance of the international relation, one of the complex issues of historical science, is being researched.

On daily basis the government of any country has to deal with state regulations, interstate relationships, disputes on nationality basis and other issues

¹ The State of Ireland, Hansard, 16 February 1844

² Из речи Выступления Президента Республики Узбекистан Ислама Каримова на заседании в узком составе Совета глав государств СНГ от 28.10.2013, <http://uza.uz/ru/politics/25822/>

which nowadays became urgent topic of any country. We can observe similar problem in the Great Britain not only in history, but also in present days. For instance, in 2014 Scottish people are going to vote for independence of their country³

The research made in the present paper **is aimed** to show historical relevance of Anglo-Irish relations and “the Irish question” and to analyze policy of England concerning the Irish question in the second half of XIX century. The British political thought was developed during that period, English lawyers carried out reforms in judicial, parliamentary system of the country, made amendments in the constitution of the country regarding the voting right of the people.

The analysis of tendencies and regularities of the Irish economy of the first half of XIX century confirms the fact that economic weakness of Ireland was the result of quite accurate and stable policy of England in its first white colony. The mechanism of pressure of England in various sectors of Ireland’s economy finally led to unprecedented outcome, equaling to national tragedy for the Irish people.

During this period the attention to the Irish trouble has increased in England. Parliament was intensely looking for the solution to the “Irish problem” putting forward different ways to solve the issue, thus causing high interest of the press and the general public. Parliament made decision to support financially, particularly, by supporting governing board of London in Ireland and suppressing any counteractions arising from the Irish people, supplying food to Ireland, and creating community works during bad harvest and hunger, and also with the growth of migration from the island.

The following **main objectives** are set in this thesis:

– to analyze the policy of liberal and conservative parties of the Great Britain related to the Irish troubles of XIX century;

³ "Scotland to hold independence poll in 2014 – Salmond". BBC. 10 January 2012. Retrieved 10 January 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-16478121>

- to reveal the extent of the impact of the Irish problem on public political life of England;
- to define key problems, on which periodic editions of that time paid special attention on the basis of the retrospective analysis of materials of the British press (such as history of Ireland; its conquest by England; relationship between England and Ireland; economic and social situation of the Irish people; religion, etc.);
- to define main tendencies in Irish national movement in the second half of XIX.

The subjects of the research are the history of England, its relation with Ireland in the second half of XIX century and “The Irish question” in the politics sphere of Great Britain.

Scope of the study is a problem of settlement of Anglo-Irish relationships in history and the troubles of solution of the Irish question.

Chronological framework of research covers the period from 50th of the XIX century till the beginning of XX century. It is defined that for England the second half of XIX century was the major stage in the history of relation between two countries. During those times the whole Ireland was a part of the United Kingdom and in fact it was as a part of an English colony.

The significant events, which took place in the second half of XIX century, connected with fights of the Irish people against their discrimination on the basis of national and religious origin which are: movement of Fenian in the late fifties - the 60th, adoption of statute about the Irish church in 1869 by the UK parliament, the land reform of 1870, activities of the largest national organizations of Ireland in the years of 70-80th – The Land League, The Home Rule League, National League. In the second half of XIX century the Irish national liberation movement was headed by its great representatives - Charles Parnell and Michael Devitt. Some part of the research concerns with the beginning of XX century, because in 1903 British parliament adopted the land bill which logically finished process of reforming the system of the

Irish land tenure, launched in XIX century. While the land bill was being reviewed the attention of England to the Irish problem significantly increased. Higher echelon was intensely looking for the solution for Irish question, what was causing keen interest of the press and general public. The Anglican clergy, being afraid of strengthening of Catholicism influence over State Anglican Church's position in Ireland, had a special view of the Irish problem.

Source of information. The major sources on history of England and its policy in Ireland are official British publications. Since 1758, in London there had been published annual review of the major events in the UK - "Annual Register"⁴. The Irish problem was regularly reported in it. History of parliamentary debates on the Irish question, the discussions the concrete laws concerning Ireland retrace by "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates"⁵. They contain rich materials on all aspects of policy of the Great Britain, also reflect a position of parties in the course of development and adoptions of bills, discussions of governmental statements.

The special reference medias disclose information about English parliament, texts pre-election manifestos of political parties. The collections of parliamentary acts of the Great Britain of the considered period served as an important source.

Valuable source corresponds speech of the English and Irish political figures of the last century, like J. Russell, J. Bright, W. Gladstone, B. Disraeli, R. Salisbury, J. Chamberlain, Ch. Parnell and etc. Also, in the range of the sources there can be included brochures devoted to the Irish question. Their authors were Irish politicians M. Davitt⁶ and W. O'Connor⁷.

Attitude to the Irish problem of the British queen in details reflected in "The Letters of Queen Victoria". In this edition, there were published not only the letters

⁴ Annual Register: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year.

⁵ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. V. 1-156 (1830-1891).

⁶ Davitt M. The fall of the feudallism. L., 1903

⁷ O'Connor W. Morris Present Irish Questions. L.,1901.

of Queen, but also the letters of prime ministers and other politicians addressed to the queen, from Victoria's diary⁸.

The extensive material contains in publications of the British and Irish press. The British press covered the main aspects of the Anglo-Irish relations, and showed public opinion of the country on the Irish question. It belongs to the oldest English newspapers like "Times", the magazine "Punch" and "Saturday Review" and the Irish newspaper "United Irishman".

Historiography of the Irish question and Anglo-Irish relationships presents the voluminous literature. There are a lot of works of English, Irish, American and Russian historians, which are devoted to this subject.

One of them is "Modern Ireland"⁹, book written by the Irish historian Foster R.F. In this book author analyzes social and economic, political and cultural features of development of the country. The publication of J. Beckett¹⁰ has general appeal, such as consumer issues, history. T. Jackson's¹¹ book gives the detailed analysis of the Irish history.

Economic history of Ireland is shown in A New Economic History¹² O'Grada. The book offers a fresh, comprehensive economic history of Ireland between 1780 and 1939, which is mould-breaking in its methodology and unparalleled in its broad scope and comparative focus.

Large number of works are devoted to research of "The Great Famine" in Ireland. The work¹³ of British historian - Cecil Woodham-Smith has made an individual contribution to the Irish history. Her thoroughness in research, compassionate fair-mindedness, and gift of narrative are all again in evidence. The

⁸ The Letters of Queen Victoria. Second Series. L., 1928; Third Series. L., 1930.

⁹ Foster R.F. Modern Ireland, 1600-1972. L., 1989.

¹⁰ Beckett J.C. The Making of Modern Ireland, 1600-1923. L., 1966.

¹¹ T. A. Jackson 'Ireland Her Own'. London's Cobbett Press, 1946

¹² O'Grada. Ireland. A New Economic History. 1780-1939. Oxford, 1995.

¹³ Woodham-Smith C The Great Hunger. Ireland 1845-1849. N. Y., 1962.

analysis of the tragedy of hunger years presents in the collection of articles under edition R.D. Edwards and T.D. Williams¹⁴.

The first Russian researcher of the Ireland history was P.M. Kerjensev. He wrote a several books¹⁵ about the history and independence of Irish nation.

Moreover, works of another Russian scientist, E. B. Cherneck¹⁶, supplemented history of Ireland with detailed and deep research about one of the most important events of the Irish history - revolutionary movement of "United Irishmen". In treatise there are used the English and Irish press, documents from funds of the British museum, pamphlets, memoirs, correspondence of eyewitnesses of events. In the book, there is analyzed in detail course of the Irish revolt of 1798, and also revealed communications which existed between the "United Irishmen" and revolutionary circles of England and Scotland.

The practical significance of the study is that it can be used to fill gaps in the study of the history of Ireland, the Irish question and British foreign policy.

The results of the research can be used to train of personals and experts in the sphere of the international relations. Besides the materials of the thesis, can be used for the preparation of general works on the history of Ireland, the UK, international relations and foreign policy. Teachers, students and pupils of educational organizations can apply the research materials in their study.

Research Structure. The work is contained introduction, 3 chapters, conclusion, appendix and list of the bibliography. Each chapter is divided in to the paragraphs, in order to research each question separately.

¹⁴ The Great Famine. Studies in Irish History 1845-1852 / Ed. R.D. Edwards, T.D. Williams. N.Y., 1976.

¹⁵ Керженцев П.М. Революционная Ирландия. М., 1918. // Керженцев П.М. Ирландия в борьбе за независимость. М., 1936.

¹⁶ Черняк Е.Б. Массовое движение в Англии и Ирландии в конце XVIII - начале XIX в. М., 1962

I. ORIGIN OF “THE IRISH QUESTION”

1.1. Historical background of “The Irish Question”

Colonization of Ireland by the English settlers began in 1172 when knights of the king Henry II landed in the east of the country. The conquest of the lands were held the fact that the construction of powerful castles, abbeys and the cities which became outposts of the British in Ireland. But influence of the English on the west of the country was weak. Up to the end of the XVI century, Ireland remained conservative and was lawless to English laws. Therewith the Catholic religion did not separate the British from local population.

In the middle Ages the English administration did not adopt a policy with due attention to Ireland, as the cares connected with France and other countries. London appointed governors of Ireland from representatives of the largest Irish-Norman families which possessed extensive lands and adopted Irish laws, language and customs.

At the same time, replacing each other administrations tried to establish a ban on the Irish language, clothes and habits. Especially in Peyle – a small part of Ireland which was subject to England.

In the period of governing the Tudors dynasty the policy in Ireland was changed. After the Reformation the importance of such changes became necessary. From the first years of the XVI century were made attempts to bring English laws into the towns in deep part of the country. At the beginning these attempts were unsuccessful. Under Philip and Mary were founded two new counties for the English settlements. This counties were situated near Peyle and named in honor of the king and queen, with the main towns Filipstaun and Maryborough. Others attempts of colonization were made in east Ulster and in Munster. At the same time the English colonized Virginia and in other regions of America.

The colonization was suspended at the end of the XVI century because of The Nine years' war. However the problem of colonization of Ireland still stayed open. Some of ruling groups advised to send Irish to America, in order to control them.

The colonization of Ireland, town building passed more slowly than it was supposed. Situation in Ireland was near-critical. Disadvantaged Irish waited for opportunity to return that they lost. After the accession to the throne of Charles I dissatisfaction with governmental policy gradually captured all social circles. Thomas Wentworth (in the future - the Earl of Strafford), arrived to Ireland as the deputy in 1633, he achieved establishment of the cruel government and increase of income of the state treasury. Under the influence of this events T. Wentworth became the enemy to Presbyterian colonists of Ireland within Anglican church policy of the government.

Ireland rose in sanguinary rebellion in October 1641, which led to more bickering between King and Parliament, this time over the raising of an army. Any hope that Strafford's death would avert the coming crisis soon vanished: Wedgwood quotes the anonymous protest "They promised us that all should be well if my Lord Strafford's head were off, since when there is nothing better"¹⁷.

However, Catholic groups in Ireland watch English parliament closely. The native Irish of Ulster were the most radical among these groups which in 1641 made attempt to capture the residence of the Irish government - Dublin castle, and also other basic government points. In Dublin their plans of attack failed, but revolt was developed in Ulster under the leadership of Phelim O'Neil who rose to protect the king from parliament.

Shortly after the rebels established control over the most part of Ulster, next they moved to the south, to Dublin, besieged Drogheda's fortress. To the insurgents joined inhabitants of the Central plain. The Catholicism became the main basis of

¹⁷ C.V. Wedgwood, Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, London, 1961

joining all of these forces. At the end of 1642 in Kilkenny there was convened Catholic parliament.

The Irish revolt was suppressed by Cromwell in 1652. The land of Irish was confiscated and transferred the ownership to the English barons, also to the Protestant colonists from England and Scotland.

The national identity of the Irish nation was developed under the influence of the British colonization on the island. As well the formation of national morale was as reaction to the Reformation. It should be noted that is not accidental many historians define the Anglo-Irish conflict as a religious. Not only in religion was difference between colonists and the native population, but also in language, laws, customs, economy, art and a way of life.

The restoration of Charles II in 1660 just altered Cromwell's "land management" in Ireland. The greater part of the native population was deprived of the land, and a part had to leave their home. Others were waiting, hoped that in the future would appear opportunity to force out settlers and to return the lands.

The restoration of the Stuarts wasn't encouraged by Irish Presbyterians. That gave hope to the Catholics, admonished the Protestants. After ascending the throne Charles' brother the king James, convinced Catholic, in 1685 alarms of the Protestants were went up. In 1687 the king appointed as the general - governor Catholic Richard Talbot, the duke Tirkonnell. Talbolt was the opponent of preservation of existing system of the land possession. He took in army many Catholics from over all country, and replaced Protestants with Catholics on the key posts.

The duke of Tirkonnell ruled in Ireland acted in interests of the king James, even when the king was dethroned by William III of Orange at the end 1688. Resistance of the cities: Londonderry and Enniskillen, meant that the Protestants of Ulster deprived James of the support in Ireland. The Protestant settlers allowed the king William III of Orange to use Ulster as the basic base in the summer of 1689.

With that time Orange's most resolute Protestant supporters received the name of "Orangemen".

On July 12, 1689 at the river Boyne met the armies of James and William. James' army was defeated and went away to Dublin. Within the glory of the Orangemen were enlarged land confiscations in Ireland. By the end of XVII century almost all lands of the island were in hands of the new owners, and former land owners, the Catholic British and the radical Irish were expropriated. In their using there was only 1/5 part of all land in Ireland.

Protestant colonization became a subject of discord. Ireland remained divided into two hostile camps, as the majority of local population was deprived of all main political and civil rights in favor of newcomers. These newcomers and their descendants, making in the country a support of the government and demanded full prevalence in the rights. Thus, all laws which were adopted in Ireland, were exclusively in favor of colonists. The Protestant church occupied ascendant position. According to the English politician John Bright, a number of laws, which was adopted in Ireland "reached such distinguished cruelty what any couldn't present legislation of modern times"¹⁸.

These laws impose a ban on the Catholics to take part in parliament; to be judges, lawyers, jurors, police officers, members of corporations, teachers, foresters; to serve in army and fleet; to go to the university; to contain schools; to ship the children for education to the foreign countries. They couldn't carry the weapon and own a horse worth over 5 pounds sterling. Dwellings of Catholics always had to be opened for the possible search.

Any Catholic hadn't rights to buy the land or to receive it by inheritance. The Catholic peasants were only allowed to rent the land. The right of rent was limited for a period of 31 years, and if the tenant increased the income from a rented site over a certain percent, it was obliged to bring an additional fee to the landlord. Otherwise

¹⁸ Избранные речи Дж. Брайта по вопросам политической жизни. СПб., 1873. С. 329.

the landlord could take away rent. Owing to it farm productivity in Ireland was considerable decreased.

In this case it should be remembered that in Ireland "the social and economic relationships coincided with national and religious, while national and religious distinctions between colonists and local population strained under the influence of the social-economic situation"¹⁹.

Soon English and Scottish immigrants in Ireland represented "the classical boundary society"²⁰. Colonists depended on the metropolitan country, which protected them from attacks of Catholic Irish. In addition they favored the development of English economic influences and strengthening Protestant religion in Ireland.

In the XVIII century the Scots - Presbyterians of Ulster Province were ruthlessly persecuted. Escaping from persecutions, the considerable part of Presbyterians emigrated to America.

By the end of the XVIII century there were two main approaches to the decision the Irish national problem, on the one hand - violent, revolutionary, on the other hand - reformative, based on peace ways of achievement of the purpose.

The revolutionary way became a product Irish social and economic, ideological and political and psychological phenomenon. Not less significant factor for the Irish society there were impressive examples of two epochal revolutions of the XVIII century in America and France. Though all classes of Ireland under their influence didn't become revolutionary, in minds of authorities of national public opinions of political release were approved, realized by means of the armed fight.

All this led to activation of mass liberation movement in Ireland which in the spring of 1798 turned into the armed revolt of "The United Irishmen". This movement

¹⁹ *Polyakova E. Yu.* North Ireland: national aspects of conflict/ Britain and Russia.. M., 1997. C. 165.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

was headed by the lawyer Protestant from Dublin Wolfe Tone. Under Wolfe Tone, the United Irishmen (who consisted of Protestants and Catholics alike) declared their belief in a peaceful future for Ireland in which Protestants and Catholics could live together in peace and with equality. They wanted to set up a French-styled democratic republic in Ireland, which was independent of Britain. They quickly gained support, although some, most notably the newly-formed Orange Order which was set up to preserve loyalty to the monarchy, were against them²¹.

In 1798, the British began attacking known United Irishmen, and murdering large numbers of Protestant and Catholic members. Tone realized that if they were going to have their rebellion, it would have to be now or never, before the British destroyed them. So a large rebellion began in the spring concentrated in counties Down, Antrim and Wexford. Several bloody battles took place at Antrim, Ballynahinch and Saintfield. The United Irishmen were finally defeated at the Battle of Vinegar Hill in County Wexford. Almost all the several hundred United Irishmen were slaughtered.

Although the rebellion had been put down, it was clear that Republicanism in Ireland could not be ignored and serious changes were needed in the way Ireland was governed to ensure that such violence did not occur again.

The reactionary policy of the king George III lead to the Act of Union of 1801, which annexed Ireland to England as the province. The parliament of Dublin was liquidated, and in exchange Ireland received 100 places in the House of Commons and 32 places in the House of Lords of the British parliament. Thus, Ireland lost its political independence.

Thereafter the political division in Ireland began was held on the "Protestant-Catholic" line which remained until now in Northern Ireland. The Protestants stood on positions of imperial patriotism also supported preservation of the Great Britain

²¹ 1789 - 1800: The United Irishmen and the 1798 Rebellion,
<http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/past/history/17891800.html>

and Ireland union. The Irish began fight for the national self-determination which was conducted under a banner of Catholic religion, and Catholicism became the major making element Irish nationalism.

The hated penal laws were still in force in Ireland in the early 1800s. These discriminated against non-Anglicans, principally Catholics and Presbyterians. It had been promised that they would be abolished with the Act of Union. However, this did not happen and it took the actions of Daniel O'Connell to lead a campaign for emancipation that captured the English public's imagination and led to the necessary legislation being passed in 1829. The importance of emancipation to the Irish people was recognized when the main street in Dublin was re-named after O'Connell after independence in 1921.

O'Connell's promoted an amicably way of the equalizations of rights of Catholics. He considered that "The altar of liberty totters when it is cemented only with blood"²². He campaigned for Catholic Emancipation—including the right for Catholics to sit in the Westminster Parliament, denied for over 100 years—and repeal of the Act of Union which combined Great Britain and Ireland.

The Catholic Emancipation campaign led by O'Connell served as the precedent and model for the emancipation of British Jews, the subsequent Jews Relief Act 1858 allowing Jewish MPs to omit the words in the Oath of Allegiance "and I make this Declaration upon the true Faith of a Christian".²³

²² Written in his Journal, Dec 1796, and one of O'Connell's most well-known quotes. Quoted by O'Ferrall, F., *Daniel O'Connell*, Dublin, 1981, p. 12

²³ Jews Relief Act, 1858 <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/21-22/49/enacted>

1.2. The Irish national liberation movement in the 1840s

Throughout the XIX century "The Irish question" remained one of the most important for British society. In the second half of the 40th of the XIX century, it had intensified with the rise of the national liberation struggle of the Irish, led by a group of radical intellectuals and nationalists. This group settled mainly in Dublin and consisted mainly of bourgeois origin individuals, many of whom were Protestants. They believed that Daniel O'Connell vain appeals to Catholics alone. This direction in the Irish national liberation movement is usually called "The Young Irelanders" by analogy to the societies operating at that time in other European countries. The name Young Ireland was originally used in a disparaging way to describe the group of young Repeal Association members who were associated with The Nation newspaper.²⁴

In the same time at the initiative of O'Connell "Repeal Association" which had set the target of repealing the English-Irish union of 1801 was established. The association assumed to achieve union destruction by strictly legal means. Repeal Association hoped to repeat the experience of the Catholic Association O'Connell. Here and there they started suit the courts where the population could address, passing court English. Then came the idea of "Council of three hundred".

It was decided to elect three hundred deputies from different districts of the country in a special council which was supposed to be located in Dublin. Repeal Association hoped that this council could become further authorized parliament of the country. O'Connell said in one of his speeches: "Three hundred gentlemen from the several counties in Ireland would assemble in Dublin and would form the framework of an Irish Parliament; the mere form of attaching a bit of wax to a piece of parchment being all that was required to give them plenary power"²⁵. However, this project was

²⁴ *Sir Charles Gavan Duffy*, *Young Ireland*, London. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. 1880, p.291

²⁵ *Ibid.* p 312

not realized. Activists of The Young Irelanders sought to attract broad community, insisted on the alliance with the Chartist movement, supporting the Irish national requirements. On the other hand, they were inspired by the traditions of Irish antiquities, which were very popular at that time.

Since 1842, The Young Irelanders started publishing the weekly "The Nation", the pages of which propagandized the ideas of national revival of the Irish people, sought to lift his consciousness, to restore the traditions of the Irish culture, significantly undermined in years of colonization. The weekly "Nation" wrote, for example, that their first great object is " Nationality — a Nationality which will not only raise their people from their poverty, on securing to them a Domestic Legislation, but inflame and purify them vrith a long and heroic love of country. It would establish internal union and external independence".²⁶

The weekly "Nation" paid attention not so much to policy, as on the development of national literature, and music. "The restoration of Irish Independence, – wrote "Nation"- has been advocated too exclusively by narrow appeals to economy, and sought by means which neither conciliated nor frightened its opponents. We shall try, and God willing we shall succeed in arraying the memories of our land, the deep, strong, passions of men's hearts, in favor of our cause".²⁷ The "Nation" printed set of ballads, poems, stories, devoted primarily to the heroic past, history of the liberation struggle of his people. These works evoked pride and inspiration for those who could not reconcile to the image of the past of Ireland as the barbarous country civilized as a result of an English conquest.

The Young Irelanders united the people with different political views, and soon dissention broke out in it. The position "foggy nationalism" was opposed by the left part of the organization which was headed by John Mitchell - a talented publicist and speaker. He was born in 1815 in a family of the priest in which deeply honored national traditions. John's father was a member of the movement "United Irish," and Mitchell grew up a staunch Republican. In the works of Mitchell, along with

²⁶ *Sir Charles Gavan Duffy*, *Young Ireland*, London. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. 1880, Pg.80

²⁷ *Sir Charles Gavan Duffy*, *Thomas Davis: The memoirs of an Irish patriot 1840—1846.*, London, 1890

"nationalist romanticism" another thought was also met which was got a deep response from Irish people who survived the great famine: "If a huge portion of the people of any country was powerless to prevent his death from need, and millions of people die (or even thousands or hundreds), then there is no more property, but only a murder and a robbery. Property - is a public institution, and not the Lord grant to be allocated to the will of heaven; society has the privilege to manage how to use it and for whom to trust the property; public authority may be recognized or expropriation. But when there is so intolerant situation what already exists long ago in Ireland, the society itself is in a condition of decomposition already."²⁸

The second half of the XIX century in Ireland developed national morale, which criticizing the developed land system. That times "Young Ireland" refused constitutional ideas of O'Connell, they tried to use the force. John Mitchell considered that in order to overthrow of domination of British, any way was good, even using the weapon.

Misfortune overtook in Ireland, 1845, a natural disaster - bad harvest of potatoes - the main food product of millions Irish people. The first failure of the potato crop took place in 1845, and between September and December of that year 515 deaths from hunger were registered, although 3,250,000 quarters of wheat and numberless cattle had been exported. From that time until 1850 the famine spread, and the exports of food continued. Thus in 1848 it was estimated that 300,000 persons died of hunger and 1,826,132 quarters of wheat and barley were exported. Typhus fever, which always follows on the heels of hunger, struck down as many as perished directly of famine, until at last it became impossible in many districts to get sufficient laborers with strength enough to dig separate graves for the dying.²⁹

Cecil Woodham-Smith, considered the preeminent authority on the Irish Famine, wrote in *The Great Hunger; Ireland 1845-1849* that, "...no issue has provoked

²⁸ *Лиэм де Пеа*. Расколотый Олстер. М., 1974. с. 72.

²⁹ *James Connolly* Labour in Irish History. New York. 1919. p. 106.

so much anger or so embittered relations between the two countries (England and Ireland) as the indisputable fact that huge quantities of food were exported from Ireland to England throughout the period when the people of Ireland were dying of starvation".³⁰

One of the most remarkable facts about the famine period is that there was an average monthly export of food from Ireland worth 100,000 Pound Sterling. Almost throughout the five-year famine, Ireland remained a net exporter of food.³¹ In total, over three million live animals were exported from Ireland between 1846-50, more than the number of people who emigrated during the famine years.

When Ireland experienced an earlier famine in 1782-83, ports were closed in order to keep home grown food for domestic consumption. Food prices were immediately reduced within Ireland. The merchants lobbied against such efforts, but their protests were over-ridden. Everyone recognized that the interests of the merchants and the distressed people were irreconcilable. In the Great Famine, that recognition was disregarded.

During the worst months of the famine, in the winter of 1846-47, tens of thousands of tenants fell in arrears of rent and were evicted from their homes. With potato cultivation over because of the blight, tenants could pay no rents. Sheep and cattle could pay rent, so landlords decided to give the land over to them. "In 1850, over 104,000 people were evicted".³² "A nationwide system of ousting the peasantry began to set in, with absentee landlords, and some resident landlords as well, more determined than ever to rid Ireland of its 'surplus' Irish"³³.

³⁰ *Cecil Woodham-Smith*, *The Great Hunger; Ireland 1845-1849* Penguin Books, London, England, 1991. p.75

³¹ *Ranelagh, John O'Beirne*, *A Short History of Ireland*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, Second edition, 1994. p.115

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Gallagher, Michael & Thomas*, *Paddy's Lament*. Harcourt Brace & Company, New York / London, 1982. p.44

In 1847 situation became worse. Mass of people, especially in the West and the Northwest, died of hunger, typhus and cholera epidemics. (see appendix 1.1)

In December, 1848, Cholera began to spread through many of the overcrowded workhouses, pauper hospitals, and crammed jails in Ireland. On April 26th, 1849, Lord Clarendon wrote to Prime Minister Russell: "...it is enough to drive one mad, day after day, to read the appeals that are made and meet them all with a negative... At Westport, and other places in Mayo, they have not a shilling to make preparations for the cholera, but no assistance can be given, and there is no credit for anything, as all our contractors are ruined. Surely this is a state of things to justify you asking the House of Commons for an advance, for I don't think there is another legislature in Europe that would disregard such suffering as now exists in the west of Ireland, or coldly persist in a policy of extermination». No advance was granted.³⁴

By the beginning of the hunger the country had about 8,5 million people, and in 1851 the population was reduced almost to 6,5 million and continued to reduce until the end of XIX century. In 1847, "black '47", 250,000 died of fever; 21,770 of starvation.³⁵ Between 1845 and 1855, nearly two million people had emigrated from Ireland to America and Australia, and another 750,000 to Britain. The Poor Law Extension Act, which made landlords responsible for the maintenance of their own poor, induced some to clear their estates by paying for emigration of the poorer tenants. Although some landlords did so out of humanitarian motives, there were undoubtedly benefits to them, especially those who wanted to consolidate their land holdings or change from the cultivation of land to beef and dairy farming.³⁶

The poverty and threat of starvation was the reason for the growth of crime. In these conditions the "Young Irish" declared the creation of The Irish confederation. The leading power of the confederation were Smith O'Brien, Gavan Daffi, Thomas

³⁴ Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger; Ireland 1845-1849* Penguin Books, London, England, 1991. p.381

³⁵ James Connolly *Labour in Irish History*. New York. 1919. p. 106.

³⁶ Campbell, Stephen J., *The Great Irish Famine*. Famine Museum, Strokestown Park, County Roscommon, Ireland p. 40

Meagher, John Dillon, John Mitchel, etc. By the end of 1847 The Irish confederation consisted of about 11 thousand people uniting in 17 clubs.

In the Confederation there was no unity on the purposes and fight methods. At meeting of the Dublin confederates, February 1848, O'Brien offered a number of resolutions, which reflected the point of view of a moderate wing. The whole point was the following:

- "The Irish confederation" is formed exclusively for the purpose of protection of national interests, that force of belief and cooperation of all classes to achieve the legislative independence of Ireland.
- "Confederation" refuses any the intentions, threatening to involve the country in civil war...
- "Confederation" unconditionally condemns councils to peasants about refusal from payment of taxes or rent...
- "Confederation" categorically objects to appeals to the weapon, considering it as condemnation the people on disastrous consequences for it.
- "Confederation" is created for to achieve parliament of all classes, working in the constitutional framework³⁷.

This program was opposed by more radical direction, within F. Leylor, J. Mitchell, Rayleigh, etc. They considered that implementation of these requirements would mean preservation the landlord system. Mitchell suggested to call the population for non-payment of the imposed tax in favor of the poor. It caused to the conflict of Mitchell with the editor of "Nations" - Daffi. Mitchell left edition and based the newspaper "United Irishman".

Mitchell explained the disagreements with the "Nation": "Therefore, I had come to the conclusion that the whole system ought to be met with resistance at every point ; and the means for this would be extremely simple; namely, a combination amongst

³⁷ «United Irishman». 12 February 1848, # 1

the people to obstruct and render impossible the transport and shipment of Irish provisions ; to refuse all aid in its removal; to destroy the highways ; to prevent every one, by intimidation, from daring to bid for grain or cattle if brought to auction under "distress" (a method of obstruction which had put an end to church tithes before); in short, to offer a passive resistance universally; but occasionally, when opportunity served, to try the steel».³⁸

The ideological inspirer of revolutionary democracy of Ireland was James Fintan Lalor. The slogan "Ireland for the Irish", he wrote, "first of all, it means that the land has to be returned to the real owners - peasants". "Ireland her own, - Lalor spoke —and all therein, from the sod to the sky. The soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland, to have and hold from God alone who gave it — to have and to hold to them and their heirs forever, without suit or service, faith or fealty, rent or render, to any power under Heaven. From a worse bondage than the bondage of any foreign government — from a dominion more grievous and grinding than the dominion of England in its worst days — from the cruelest tyranny that ever yet held its vulture clutch on the body and soul of a country"³⁹.

Despite of all the Confederation rejected tactics of Mitchel and Lalor. They condemned the ideas of civil war, non-payment of taxes and rent.

The Irish revolutionary democracy apprehended the February revolution of 1848 in France as a signal to actions. Mitchel acted with propaganda for the independent republic of Ireland. The slogan "Agitate and vote" had to be replaced with the theory and practice of civil war, as the only really reliable method for revival Ireland "⁴⁰, - was written by Mitchel.

When the Republican Government, which came into power in Paris after the revolution February, 1848, recognizing that it owed its existence to the armed working

³⁸ *John Mitchel*. The Last Conquest of Ireland, 1872. p. 157.

³⁹ The rights of Ireland. *J. F. Lalor* (From the first number of the Irish Felon, June 24th, 1848). <http://theunitedirishman.blogspot.com/2012/10/jf-lalor-rights-of-ireland.html>

⁴⁰ «Northern Star». 1848, № 534

men, and that those workers were demanding some security for their own class as a recompense for their bloody toil, enacted a law guaranteeing "the right to work" to all, and pledging the credit of the nation to secure that right, Mitchel joyfully hailed that law as an indication that the absurd theories of what he rightfully styled the "English system," or capitalism, had no longer a hold upon the minds of the French people.⁴¹

On the numerous meetings speakers urged to follow to "the French example" and to begin fight for liberation of Ireland. Even that part of the Confederation which took out resolutions against arms, now offered to not limit the regulating by peace.

The confederates received a powerful backing from England. The left wing of Chartists which was headed by Julian Harney and Ernest Jones. In many English cities were created the clubs of Irish confederation, which were supporting chartist. Representatives of the Irish confederation were present at meetings of Chartist Convention.

At the end of 1847 the executive committee of the National Chartists associations decided to begin propaganda for the third national petition; mass meetings, on which chartists, along with requirements gathered Charters, put forward also the slogan of liberation of Ireland from English domination. The Irish armed and prepared for revolt. Over the all country there were created political clubs. The same clubs were formed among the workers in England. At the same time Mitchel's supporters created in the Irish cities Chartists organizations.

Mass demonstrations were appointed to April 10, 1848 in London and other cities in support of the petition, which this day had to be handed over to the House of Commons. However O'Connor, who has to submit the petition, persuaded out of demonstration. Soon the parliament rejected the petition with over 5 million of signatures.

⁴¹ *James Connolly Labour in Irish History*. New York. 1919. p. 115.

"I believe, - said Mitchel, - that English chartist will learn a lesson from this to April 10, also will never submit any more petitions... When democrats of any country seek to overthrow the aristocracy, they don't need neither petitions, nor vote; there is an only thing means - the weapon"⁴².

However the majority of "Confederation" still acted for the agreement with England, seek to avoid the armed fight.

O'Brien in his speech in the House of Commons on April 1 of 1848, spoke: "Our purpose consists in legislative independence of Ireland, in strengthening the social system"⁴³. In March of 1848 on meeting in Dublin he said : "If the English government agrees on creation of independent Irish parliament, we promise to remain faithful citizens of the British crown"⁴⁴. As a result, council of "Confederation" refused to support Mitchel and he left the organization.

Though, O'Brien called up all men for military service. However this appeal meant not the revision of position, but intention to repeat experiment of 1780 - 1782. From the point of view of O'Brien, in 1848 the similar situation was created. Hoping for war between England and France, he considered that in this case the National Guard could play a role of the volunteer groups of 1782: the mass arms of the people had to force the English government before threat of general revolt to go on concessions. The active role was assigned to be the Council of "Confederations", the armed people had to play a role of the supernumerary.

At the same time heads of "Confederation" trusted in possibility of the help from France. "Now not time for long speeches, - said T. Meagher, - the game is in your hands, at last, and you have the partner in the game on whom you can rely on... Didn't France proclaim as the patroness of the weak nations?"⁴⁵.

⁴² История Ирландии. М., 1980. С. 202.

⁴³ Parliamentary debates. 1848. V. 98. Col. 76.

⁴⁴ «United Irishman». 1848, № 6.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

The plan of the Council of Confederation was consolidated to the directing to the Queen the requirement to call the Irish parliament, referring on mass arms of the Irish people, on need to prevent the revolt. The threat of the armed fight had to force England to make necessary concessions, they suggested.

The delegation of the Confederation was sent to France, which was supposed to get from Lamartine agreed to provide armed assistance to Ireland. In case of refuse of the Queen fulfil a requirement the French army had to help Irish to achieve the cancellation of the Union. Revolt was seen as the most extreme measure, admissible only in case of the French landings appear in Ireland.

O'Brien, Meagher went to France in the capacity of delegates of the Irish Confederation. But Lamartine refused in the help to the Irish delegates. O'Brien addressed to the Irish living Paris Clubs in France. There O'Brien got a warm welcome, and he promised to bring with himself 50 thousand of the French who ready to help Irish⁴⁶. This statement forced the English government to order to the all customs office of the Irish harbors to examine carefully the ships coming from France, not to allow transportation of the weapon and military supplies.

Mitchell and his supporters didn't cherish any hopes for possibility of the help from France. Mitchell declared: "We have to count only on own forces, we don't want 50 thousand of the French, any Frenchman"⁴⁷. In the spring of 1848 the left wing of the Irish Confederation openly declared of the beginning the armed fight. In the Irish cities there were new clubs – offices of the Confederations, which became the centers of preparation of revolt. There was bought and distributed the weapon, took place the military trainings.

Mitchell and his colleagues planned the revolt for September, after the harvesting. On the meeting in Drogheda Mitchel spoke: "In order to win the rights, the

⁴⁶ «Northern Star». 1848, 15 апреля.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Irish people have to repeat the action that the France democrats have made... Organize clubs, arm. Only then we will be able to follow "the French fashion"..."

The preparation of revolt went absolutely openly. The "United Irishman" published a detailed plan of attack to Dublin. In each number there were the weekly notes about the preparation and recommendation course, in order to better prepare for the armed fight. Mitchell and his supporters were convinced that only the wide publicity would allow to involve broad masses in movement.

Preparation to the revolt caused natural alarm in the ruling circles of England. The press demanded "A Massacre of St. Bartholomew to the confederates", "not to allow any half measures", etc. On May 12, 1848, John Mitchel was arrested. News of his arrest stirred up all Ireland. With his arrest the people looked for immediate revolution, so did the Government, so did Mitchel himself. All were disappointed. John Mitchel was carried off to penal servitude in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) after scornfully refusing to sign a manifesto presented to him in his cell by Thomas Francis Meagher and others, counselling the people not to attempt to rescue him. The working class of Dublin and most of the towns were clamoring for their leaders to give the word for a rising; in many places in the country the peasantry were acting spontaneously. Eventually news reaching Dublin in July, 1848, that warrants were issued for the arrest of the chiefs of the Young Ireland party they determined to appeal to the country. But everything had to be done in a "respectable" manner ; English army on one side, provided with guns, bands and banners; Irish army on the other side, also provided with guns, bands and banners, "serried ranks with guttering steel," no more proletarian insurrection, and no interference with the rights of property. When C. G. Duffy was arrested on Saturday, 9th of July, in Dublin, the Dublin workers surrounded the military escort on the way to the prison at Newgate, stopped the carriage, pressed up to Duffy and offered to begin the insurrection then and there. "Do you wish to be rescued?" said one of the leaders. "Certainly not," said Duffy. And the puzzled toilers fell back and allowed the future Australian Premier to go to prison. In Cashel, Tipperary, Michael Doheny was arrested. The people stormed the

jail and rescued him. He insisted upon giving himself up again and applied for bail. In Waterford Meagher was arrested. As he was being taken through the city guarded by troops the people erected a barricade in the way across a narrow bridge over the River Suir, and when the carriage reached the bridge someone cut the traces of the horses and brought the cavalcade to a standstill. Meagher ordered them to remove the barricade ; they begged him to give the word for insurrection and they would begin then and there. The important city was in their hands, but Meagher persisted in going with the soldiers, and the poor working class rebels of Waterford let him go, crying out as they did so, "You will regret it, you will regret it, and it is your own fault». Meagher afterwards proved himself a fearless soldier of a regular army, but as an insurgent he lacked the necessary initiative.⁴⁸

On 22 of July news came to Dublin that since July 24 the action of The Habeas Corpus Act* would be cancelled on all Ireland.

It was necessary to decide what to do. At the meeting of leaders of the Confederation Dillon suggested to proclaim independence of Ireland and to call the people to the weapon. The plan was approved. Smith O'Brien, John Dillon, Meagher and others parted to carry on propaganda in the provinces.

In Ballinger to the meeting with at the head of O'Brien came the police. The crowd of protesters began to throw the stones into the police. The police began to shoot off. Two men were killed. O'Brien was arrested. In Killenaule were built barricades, but there weren't armed conflict.

The English authorities severely punished all participants of movement. O'Brien was sentenced to the quartering, then replaced with the eternal exile. Lalor exhausted with a prison mode, soon died. Several of the rebel were sent from Ireland. A lot of emigrated.

⁴⁸ *James Connolly Labour in Irish History*. New York. 1919. p. 108-109

* **The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679** - is an Act of the Parliament of England passed during the reign of King Charles II to define and strengthen the ancient prerogative writ of *habeas corpus*, a procedural device to force the courts to examine the lawfulness of a prisoner's detention.

The failure of attempt of revolt of 1848 distinctly showed a distance between desire of revolutionaries and ability of masses to make revolution. The ailing condition of the nation was the continuation of hungry years. The length of Great Hunger and its awful consequences set a purpose above the population - a survival⁴⁹.

After the utter defeat of movement of 1848 weakened Ireland, lost as a result of immigration and hunger about 2 millions of people, seemed to the British government as harmless. The "Times" noted that "the country never was in a condition of bigger tranquility".

1.3. The Irish immigration to the USA

The second half of the 40th years of the XIX century was the critical period in the history of Ireland. The greatest economic and political shocks these years for long decades determined the way of development of the country.

The events of the 40th of the XIX century led to the considerable demographic shifts in Ireland. The number of small tenants was sharply reduced. Besides, with cancellation of high duties for import of foreign grain in 1846 sale of the Irish grain in the English market lost the benefits. The economy of Ireland was in awful condition. People lost their lands, they lost their home and their income. Even the British industry didn't provide employment of all expelled Irish, and for many of them there was only one way out -to move across the ocean.

At the beginning of the XIX century in Ireland were lived 5 319 867 people, by 1841 the number of population reached 8 222 664 people, and by 1866 fell to 5,5 million, almost to level of 1801(see appendix 1.2).

Mass emigration from Ireland scaled up in famine years, but it was in progress even after the years. Only since May 1851 till December 1866 Ireland was left by

⁴⁹ *Мирошников А.В.* Альтернативные пути к ирландской независимости в XIX веке: реальности и иллюзии. Воронеж, 1985. С. 27.

over 1 700 thousand people. Two thirds of emigrants from the United Kingdom were the Irish. No country in Europe has been as affected by emigration over the last two centuries as Ireland. Approximately ten million people have emigrated from the island Ireland since 1800.⁵⁰

The main emigratory direction of the Irish were the USA and Canada. In 1860 the Irish made 38,9% of all emigrants in the USA⁵¹. It was the largest of immigration ethnic groups. (see appendix 1.3)

The majority of the Irish immigrants in the USA was in poor condition. In the large cities — Boston, Chicago, etc. arose the Irish quarters in insanitary conditions. Irish emigrants didn't lose communications with the homeland. Many of them continued to be interested in the events of Ireland, seeking to make the contribution to fight for the independence.

At the beginning of the 50th of the XIX century center of the Irish liberating movements moves to emigration. Initiators of its revival were participants of events of 1848, belonging to a radical wing Irish confederation.

In 1853 in the USA there was a secret organization under the name "Emmet Monument Association". The name of the organization came from Robert Emmet's words, the executed initiator of the Irish revolt of 1803.

Activity of the Irish revolutionary emigrants promoted to establishment of interest to the Irish affairs not only among public of England, but also in other countries. In the conditions of the intense diplomatic fight in Europe and in the conditions of the aggravation of contradictions between England and Russia the Anglo-Irish relations got for Russian societies special value. Aspiration of the Irish people to achieve national release and requirement of its social development considerably coincided with interest of Russia in weakening of England. For this

⁵⁰Irish Emigration History, UCC 2014, <http://www.ucc.ie/en/emigre/history/>

⁵¹ The history of Ireland, M., 1980. C. 209.

reason the Russian government saw in Irish revolutionary emigrants of the allies in the fight against England.

By 1858 both in the U.S. and in Ireland, finally, Fenian organization was formed. The word Fianna or feinneda, in opinion celticists, meant soldiers who served one of the ancient kings of the island. Eventually as "fenians" began to call mercenary army were on service of the Irish kings.

In the Irish monuments of the ancient right the fenians were the free members of clans. John O'Makhoni knew the "fenians" cycle legends and assumed this name to the organization.

In the documents of the organization originally was absent any official name. There was written "our movement", "society", "brotherhood". Only in the mid-sixties approved the name Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood (IRB). Many participants of movement deciphered these letters as the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

At the Irish and American branches of the Fenians brotherhood were independent leaders. The head of the American fenians was O'Mahoni. Though the American and Irish fenians had the common goal — liberation of Ireland, in the character and forms of their activity were available essential distinctions. In the conditions of the USA activity of the Fenians was considerably legal. They arranged public meetings, convoked the assembly, discussed the affairs in the press. The main tasks were assistance to liberation of Ireland by collecting the monetary funds, supplying of its participants by the weapon, etc. In Ireland the fenians worked generally in underground.

When in April of 1861 in the USA began the Civil war, thousands of the Irish went as mercenary soldiers to the army of North. There were created the separate Irish divisions. The Civil war was favorable to the fenians development.

In the years of the Civil war there was propaganda of the American fenians for liberation of Ireland. The number of members of the organization quickly

increased. In order to give to movement more mass character the American fenians convened the meeting in October of 1863 in Chicago. Sixty- three circles were represented the Brotherhood. In this congress discussed not only the question of the legality of the organization in the U.S., but also support of the Pope. James Stephen said: "Reverential gratitude and filial respect towards his Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth, for his paternal solicitude in the cause of Buffering Poland, up in arms for her liberty, and for the anxious care with which he offers up to Heaven his ardent aspirations for her success, and recommends her brave sons, battling for 'right against might,' to the prayers and support of the Catholic world"⁵²

After the congress the Fenians brotherhood went on developing quickly. Its departments arose in Australia, British Columbia, Canada, etc. In 1865 in the USA worked about 613 local organizations of the fenians, with 184 000 members. At the congress of the fenians in 1865 attempt to construct the organization for a sample of a state system of the USA, but soon this idea was refused by American fenians.

The main care of the American organization was the gatherings. By words of O'Leary, during 1858-1864 years the Irish received from the American fenians 1500 pounds sterling, in 1864-1865y - 28500 pounds, in 1866 - 2500 pounds. In total for these years by the organizations of America and Canada were collected near 100 thousand pounds sterling⁵³. Thus, financial support was rather solid.

Except the financial support the American fenians supplied Ireland with the weapon and literature. Till 1863 the fenians press was published only in the USA. Besides, from America went to Ireland the military instructors who have passed fighting school in the Civil war in 1861- 1865.

Besides, the fenians supposed that they were able to take without effort the part of less populated territory of Canada. The project of invasion into Canada was

⁵² *Savage J.* Fenian Heroes and Martyrs. Boston, 1868. p.59.

⁵³ *O'Leary.* Recollections ets. V. I. P. 135.

supported by the vice-president of the organizations - Roberts. O'Mahoni was strongly against of the invasion. On this soil there was a split as a result of which arose Canadian and Irish parties of the fenians.

Though the project of the invasion was failed, and with this activity of the American fenians was stopped, and the organization stood.

II. IRELAND IN THE XIX CENTURY

2.1. Fenians movement, social and political situation

Since the end of the 50th years of the XIX century "the Irish question" became aggravated again. English conservatives said that laws in Ireland the same, as in England, however, usage of these laws was unequal. So, in the 60th years when already passed about forty years since the equalization of rights of the Catholics and the Protestants, the Catholics didn't have any paramount positions, neither in England, nor in the Ireland.

All of this rocked the boat in Ireland. By 1858 in the USA, and in Ireland the organizations of the Fenians were finally issued, which began preparation to the armed revolt for the purpose of release from English domination.

Nowhere, in all the annals of the history of Ireland have the elements of discord more prominently and forcibly exhibited themselves, and retarded her nationality, than in the great Fenian movement. The yoke of British oppression had become so wincing and burdensome to them, as they for centuries have claimed, as to culminate in organizations for relief in Ireland — first designated under the local names of the "Phomix Society", "Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood" and "Nationalists" but better known as Fenians⁵⁴.

Since March, 1858 all across Ireland started the organizations of fenians. The centers of the movement were especially strong in the South of Ireland: in Cork, Limerick, Tipperary. Departments of the organization were equated to regiments. The main goal of all groups was to keep in secret the information from the police. The head of the organization - James Stefens had some nicknames.

Soon after a newspaper called the "Irish People," began to be published in Dublin, growing out of which, was a riot at a public meeting in Dublin, Feb. 23, 1804, from which A. M. Sulivau, a loyalist, was forcibly ejected by the Fenians. This

⁵⁴ *Edward A. Sowles*, History of Fenianism and Fenian raids in Vermont, 1880, p. 3

somewhat aroused the apprehensions of the British authorities, and emboldened the Fenians in their open declarations in both countries, of their intentions of liberating Ireland⁵⁵.

Since 1865 English political year-book "Annual Registers" more often had reported about the fenians. The government of Great Britain was concerned on the succession of events in Ireland. In 1865 the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Woodehouse, wrote to the minister foreign affairs that in Ireland was growing the unrest to the English government. Also he said that the newspaper of the fenians "The Irish people" were read by the peasants.

In September, 1865 the British authorities began the prosecution of the fenians. The main leaders of the movement were arrested: Steffans, Labi, O'Leary, Rossa. The newspaper - "Irish people" was closed, and its property was confiscated. At the same time in Cork there were arrested twenty more person. By the end of 1865 the English newspapers called a fenianizm as the "premature movement", but it showed only their insufficient awareness.

The fenians organized production and weapon purchase in Ireland and England, developed the revolt plan. In February, 1866 the action of the Habeas Corpus Act was cancelled, and began arrests of new "suspicious". The Minister of Internal Affairs declared in the House of Commons that the police had lists 500 suspicious and data on three factories of the weapon only in Dublin⁵⁶.

On March 19, 1866 in the House of Commons both chambers of parliament with 364 voices against 6 adopted the act of introduction in Ireland the state of emergency.

Ad interim the fenians continued revolt preparation. Some thousands of the fenians had to seize fortress of Chester, to take the weapon and immediately to sail to Ireland. Performance was appointed to March 5, 1867. However attack on the Chester

⁵⁵ Ibid. p.6

⁵⁶ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. 17 February 1866 y. p. 678.

didn't happen, as the government was warned and the protection was strengthened. In some provinces Fenians managed to gain partial success. So, "in the province Limerick 200 of the Fenians seized the city, besieged the barracks, searched all houses and took away the weapon"⁵⁷. Large battle occurred near the city of Cork. Generally, revolt captured in 11 provinces and had been quickly suppressed by the police and army. 169 people were condemned, only 7 people were acquitted; half the condemned were sentenced to the penal servitude.

After defeat of the revolt of 1867 many of the Fenians hid in England. It was necessary for the government of conservatives as soon as possible to relieve the tension, besides the movement of Fenians coincided with lifting of the labor movement in England. So Disraeli achieved from the cabinet members agreement to the parliamentary reform. "Representation of the People Act 1867" was signed by the Queen and became the law on August 15, 1867.

Reform Act of 1867 (or the Second Reform Act) provided an electoral right to owners or tenants of the separate houses or apartments if the rent made not less than 10 pounds sterling a year. These measures, gave results. If on elections of 1866 only 514 026 citizens had the right to vote, in 1869 it had already 1 203 170 people. The number of city voters increased on 689 144 persons that made 134%. In counties the rural electorate significantly didn't increase. Thus, rural voters became more on 249 283 or for 45%. As a result of the reform the general increase in electorate of England since 1866 by 1869 were 938 427 of people or 88%.

Parliamentary reform was quite explainable and justified in the conditions of 1866-1867 years in England. Robert Blake wrote about Disraeli's role in 1867: "For what he did... he deserved to go down in history as the ingenious politician, the magnificent improvisator who doesn't have competitors in the parliamentary fights, but not as perspicacious statesman, democrat or educator of the party".

⁵⁷ Керженцев П.М. Ирландия в борьбе за независимость М., 1936. С. 75.

City authorities began hunting on the fenians. Five of them were arrested and were sentenced to death. Reaction of public opinion to execution was extremely rough. In Ireland was declared the national mourning. Everywhere took place meetings, demonstrations and mass memorial services. In three weeks after the execution of fenians was made attempt to blow up a wall of the prison where contained two members of the organization. 12 people were killed, more than hundred were injured, some neighboring houses collapsed. This answer to the Manchester execution shook popularity of the fenians.

On January 22, 1868 in Bristol Tories gave a big banquet to the honor ministers. From the members of the cabinet on a banquet were the Minister of War John Pakington, Minister of Internal Affairs Gatorn Gardi and the Foreign Secretary lord Stanley. In the spotlight there was "the Irish question".

Lord Stanley anxiously stated: " We should solve unusually difficult task, and, I believe, there was no time yet, when British of all parties and all classes would be ready to give the reasonable satisfaction to requirements of the Irish... "58

Stanley opposed the requirements of liberals and recognized that questions of the land and church in Ireland were opened. Stanley recognized, that "the Irish question - the main issue of the present"⁵⁹ but suggested to postpone its decision until convocation new parliament which would be elected according to the reform of 1867.

So, on The Bristol banquet the British ministers carefully treated requirements of Ireland. The position of the Tory was expressed and in the speech of Gardi. At this time English liberals had absolutely other opinions about Ireland. They believed that, first of all, they had to give up operation of Ireland in favor of England.

John Bright, whose activity in many aspects promoted the acceptance of the Parliamentary reform of 1867, now begun the propaganda of the Irish question. In the speech before the voters in Birmingham on February 4, 1868, Bright declared:

⁵⁸ Вестник Европы. 1868, апрель. с. 878.

⁵⁹ Ibid p. 880

"The Irish question will be source of considerable explosion of passions until its solution. This question, most likely, will serve as the reason of falling of ministers and, perhaps, - parliament dissolution"⁶⁰.

Bright then told about issues of land and church problems in Ireland: "These two questions are the beginning and end of all the Irish crisis"⁶¹.

Well-known philosopher and publicist John Stewart Mill from liberal positions disclosed his opinions about the "Irish question". In the brochure under the name "England and Ireland" (1868), he accused the English government in inability to manage of Ireland, denied primary importance of a church question, which "the liberals look away England from the true reason of the disastrous provisions of Ireland - an agrarian problem".

Thus the given various opinions of British concerning the decision the Irish problem showed that Liberal party of the Great Britain by the end of the 60th of the XIX century was in favor of the concessions on church and agrarian questions of Ireland. In the same time the conservatives also made no resistance to the requirements of the Irish people.

The social movements in protection of fenian-prisoners made the government agree on parliamentary inspection of their situation and announce an amnesty.

2.2. The Irish church and Irish education

In a speech in the House of Commons, in 1844, Disraeli sought to define the Irish question. "One says it is a physical question; another a spiritual. Now it is the absence of the aristocracy; and now the absence of railways. It is the Pope one day and potatoes the next."⁶² He attempted a definition of his own. "A dense population

⁶⁰ Избранные речи Джона Брайта С. 370.

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² The State of Ireland, Hansard, 16 February 1844

in extreme distress inhabit an island where there is an Established Church which is not their Church, and a territorial aristocracy, the richest of whom live in a distant capital. Thus they have a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, an alien Church, and in addition the weakest Executive in the world.⁶³”

The penal laws against Roman Catholics had been dead by 1866. The Anglican Church in Ireland was the Church of little more than ten per cent, of the nation, yet it was richly endowed, and its annual revenue amounted to more than £600,000, of which over £200,000 was drawn from the rent of estates. There were rich livings of about £ 1,000 a year whose incumbents had only some two hundred Protestants in their parishes, while the Roman Catholic inhabitants numbered from six thousand to seven. In 1869, Gladstone, in perhaps the most masterly of all the Acts which he introduced, at last disestablished and disendowed the Irish Church, though not without bitter opposition in Ireland, and not until after a severe struggle with the House of Lords in England. In virtue of the disestablishing clauses of the Act, Irish bishops ceased to sit in the House of Lords and ceased to be appointed by the Crown. By the remaining clauses of the Act a revolution was wrought in the finances of the Irish Church.⁶⁴

The size of the capital of property of the Church was calculated in the sum of £16,000,000. About a half of this sum was assigned for the future of Episcopal Church. Other sum of £370,000 was appointed instead of an annual grant before paid the government in Catholic College of Maynooth which was established and provided by Parliament in 1795, and whose annual grant was increased by the Peel in 1845. The sum of the rest - about £7,000,000 - was bypassed for simplification of public failure and suffering; and it was applied with 1869, mainly, to that object though it also was used to support intermediate education and to make fund for pensions of teachers. One of provisions of the Irish law on church allowed tenants of church states, by means of the state which promised to advance part of the price, to buy their assets;

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ *Ernest Barker*, *Ireland in the last fifty years (1866-1918)*, Oxford, 1919, p.35

and to 1880, 6 000 from in total 8,500 tenants bought their farms. The provision is remarkable as the first step in the direction of the Irish purchase of land.

No provision was made by the law of 1869 for the payment of Catholic clergy (Roman). At the beginning of the nineteenth century the British Government had suggested to undertake payment of priests instead of the veto on the nomination of bishops. The offer was considered favorably by Papacy, but it wasn't pleasant the Irish bishops, and it was eventually dropped. The support given to Maynooth, continued to be the only form of public gift of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. But if the Government had thus gave a little, financial support, it in any case gave absolute religious tolerance. Irrespectively religious animosities within the Ireland the British government was completely impartial.

Priests were free to have influence in policy; and they had no insignificant influence for last fifty years, more especially during the concerned period with 1880 to 1890. The only action which was ever undertaken by the government, took the form of negotiations with the Roman negotiations based on hope that the Papacy could be caused to have decreasing influence on extraordinary forms of the political activity accepted by part of the Irish clergy. In the most important of all spheres – the education - the power of Catholic clergy was deprived of any check or limitation. There were in Ireland a large number of sectarian elementary schools managed by religious orders, such as the order of Christian Brothers which were free from the State control. Public elementary schools were nominally non-sectarian; and religious instruction is given outside school hours, and separately to each denomination.

The Irish education were disfigured by religious intolerance. It is sometimes said that it was distorted by racial prejudices: English – the instruction language, and the tone of the instruction English; the teaching history was English history, and the studied literature was literature of England. It is rather right that instruction language, down to 1900, was almost completely English. Of course it was not result of any policy of suppression of Gaelic language. It was rather that Gaelic language, before days of the Gaelic League, was little spoken and still less written.

But it should be remarked that the text-book was not only Nationalist, but also Roman Catholic, in tone, and that it thus ran counter to the neutral and non-sectarian policy which the Government has always followed in Irish schools. The new University of Dublin had already made the Irish language a compulsory subject in its matriculation examination ; and as soon as it encourages Irish history, the influence of its encouragement would be felt all over Ireland.

The most serious charge against Irish education was not - that of national prejudice, but that of inefficiency. Primary education in Ireland has long been backward, though the same accusation might with equal truth be brought against primary education in England. National schools were established as long ago as 1831 ; but attendance was not compulsory except under local option, which had established it in three-quarters of the towns and one-half of the counties in Ireland. A Board for Intermediate Education was created in 1878, and vested with a capital of £1,000,000, drawn from the Irish Church Fund, from which it was empowered do make grants to secondary schools; but it had not achieved any considerable measure of success⁶⁵.

In the system of universities in Ireland was many serious defects, until the Irish Universities Act of 1908. There was Trinity College, Dublin; there was the Royal University of Ireland created in 1879 - but it was only a commission of experts which checked candidates from the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway (created in 1845), and from the Catholic University College of Dublin.

It was the big step in advance when created two new universities – one in Belfast which consisted of the old Queen's College of Belfast, reconstructed and overprovided; and one in Dublin, federal body, containing the old Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, and new Capital College in the Dublin, after the Act of 1908.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p 38-39

The need of Ireland - formation of an educated and rational public opinion which could look at many problems of the country, economic and political, in the light not of inherited and partisan prejudice, but of critical understanding.

III. ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONSHIPS IN THE END OF THE XIX – IN THE FIRST HALF OF XX CENTURY

3.1. The agrarian problem in Ireland and Liberal land legislation

The liberals, who had come to the power in 1869, were succeeded in passing the laws, which stabilized a situation on the rebellious island. On this way they used opinions of the public concerning Ireland. The considerable part of fenians was amnestied and the statement for the forthcoming restoration of the action of the Habeas corpus Act in Ireland.

The subsequent attempts of the British government to resolve "the Irish issue" were closely connected with activity of the leader of Liberal party of England – William Gladstone.

On 1 December 1868 Gladstone was felling a tree at Hawarden, his family estate, when a messenger arrived with a telegram from Windsor announcing that General Grey was bringing a message from the Queen. He put down his axe. He handed the telegram to a friend beside him, remarking "very significant", and then resumed his work. Shortly he stopped and with great earnestness said – "My mission is to pacify Ireland."⁶⁶

When Gladstone was returned to power after the General Election of 1868 as Prime Minister of a Liberal administration, he began his great crusade — which lasted for the remaining 25 years of his political career — to solve the Irish problem.

Gladstone said "The Irish Establishment was the worst enemy of the established church and a religion which appropriated the revenue of a national church to provide services and sacraments for themselves, was taking the surest way to make

⁶⁶ Gladstone and The Irish Church Act – 1869, the Lurgan Ancestry, <http://www.lurganancestry.com/1869.htm>

itself hated."⁶⁷ On March 1, 1869 Gladstone introduced in the House of Commons the Irish Church Bill. He meant depriving the Church of Ireland of its endowment wealth and its legal title to tithes. As some compensation, the Church was allowed to retain about half its assets of about £20 million, the remainder being put to financing various social and economic purposes, such as agriculture, fisheries and education. In administrative and political terms, the Church's bishops were reduced in number and their role as public figures limited to that of religious leaders. The Irish bishops lost the places in chamber of lords, and church courts in Ireland stopped the activity. The Irish Church Bill was introduced in March 1869, in May the Bill was adopted by the House of Commons in the third reading by the majority in 114 voices, and in spite of strong conservative opposition in the Commons and Lords became law in July.

Gladstone's own evaluation of his achievement was this: "I see the discharge of a debt of civil justice, the disappearance of a national reproach and relief to a devoted clergy from a false position"⁶⁸. Thus a Protestant Anglican Church, representing a small percentage of the Irish population, no longer enjoyed status and wealth denied to the bishops, clergy and members of the Roman Catholic Church.

Another problem of the rebellious island was the agrarian one. The problem of the land was still a problem when Gladstone came into office in 1868. Dispossession, as Sir Horace Plunkett says, was still nine points of the law for Irish tenants. "What was chiefly required for agrarian peace land – a relic of the tribal days – to which the Irish mind tenaciously adhered." That recognition Gladstone gave : at first, in 1870, somewhat scantily and indirectly; afterwards, in 1881, more liberally and more directly. The Act of 1870 sought to stop eviction by the indirect method of making it costly for the landlord. If he arbitrarily dispossessed his tenant, and thereby dissolved a virtual copartnership, he was bound to pay for the dissolution, and the tenant had a right to be compensated for the "disturbance" he suffered.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ *Ernest Barker, Ireland in the last fifty years (1866-1918), Oxford, 1919, p.52*

At the beginning of 1870 Gladstone prepared the project of an agrarian reform also asked the Queen to open parliament immediately to start to discussion of the land relations in Ireland. Gladstone didn't meet the strong oppositions neither in the press, nor in society, nor in parliament: majority politicians were a little familiar with essence of the Irish question. Gladstone pointed at that time to this lack of information.

One of the few members of the cabinet, understanding that the source of the Irish poverty and excitements was the agrarian question, was John Bright. Bright had seen the solution of an agrarian question only in one, exactly - in "gradual transformation of tenants into owners of land".

In the project of the agrarian reform in Ireland was supposed, firstly, to give to prosperous farmers freedom in making the long-term contracts with landlords. Secondly, in case of exile the tenant from the land he was required to compensate every improvements and constructions on a farm, and also the moral damage.

Thirdly, it was recommended to provide to all farmers the right to become owners of the land occupied by them if the landlord expressed desire to sell the property. And, finally, to found the arbitration courts for considerations of all disputes between farmers and landlords. Besides, the bill provided the obligatory help from the state treasury those tenants who would like to buy the land in property: the treasury gave out to the farmer under percent to two thirdssite costs.

The Act of 1870 thus recognized two different principles – the principle of partnership between landlord and tenant (or tenant right), and the principle of land purchase, or, in other words, of the substitution of peasant proprietorship in lieu of tenancy. But the recognition was inadequate in either case. The Bright clauses proved insufficient to achieve their objects; and the recognition of tenant right

was almost equally ineffective. In the first place tenants were only protected by the Act provided that their rents were not in arrears. In the second place the amount of

compensation given for 'disturbance' was not enough to debar landlords from evictions. In the third place, while the Act attempted to give fixity of tenure-not directly, but by the indirect method of debarring landlords from eviction-it failed to make any provision for fair rents, and fixity of tenure without fair rents was a dubious boon to Irish tenants. As a matter of fact, rents continued to rise for some years after the Act. Agricultural prices were rising; and farmers preferred to pay increased rents rather than suffer eviction and receive an inadequate compensation for disturbance.⁷⁰

Though this reform didn't cause too sharp changes in the agrarian system of Ireland, the value of this law in the history of the Irish agrarian question is quite great. The bill of 1870 was an undoubted step forward as for the first time brought the principles which had assigned to farmers the known rights who didn't admit until then the doctrine of the absolute rights of the owner in the English legislation. That is why many representatives of the English public were inclined to recognize the revolutionary value behind the land law of 1870. It was welcomed even by the political opponent of Gladstone English historian William Lecky who in 1872 published the work "The leaders of public opinion in Ireland"⁷¹. John Morley went further away Gladstone. He suggested to enter the rule by which rent size for the land would be appointed by the arbitration courts, instead of landlords at discretion into the Bill. But Gladstone didn't begin to convince in it the parliament. "For this purpose ten more years of the Irish propaganda were required" — Morley noted.

The Bill passed in both chambers and on August 1, 1870 and was legalized.

Summing up the results of activity of Liberal party in the direction of the solution of the Irish problem in 1870, Gladstone noted: "It is said that we have failed in Ireland. I do not admit failure. I admit the success to be incomplete. If I am asked how it is to be made complete, I say by patient perseverance well doing, by steady adherence to the rules of Justice. Then we shall not depend upon the results of the

⁷⁰ *Ernest Barker*, *Ireland in the last fifty years (1866-1918)*, Oxford, 1919, p.52-53

⁷¹ *Lecky W.* *The leaders of public opinion in Ireland*. London, 1872.

moment. It will not be what today may say, or what tomorrow may say; it will rather be what fruits we are to reap in the long future of a nation's existence, and with that we have a reckoning which cannot fail. Justice, sir, is to be our guide. It has been said that love is stronger than death, and so justice is stronger than popular excitement, than the passion of the moment, even than the grudges, the resentments, and the sad traditions of the past"⁷².

Gladstone's land legislation of 1870 aimed at curbing the rights of Irish landlords and transferring more rights to tenants. In doing so, it has generally been regarded as a 'good thing', going some way to solving the problems that had retarded Irish agricultural development and prompted Irish unrest. However, it is doubtful whether Gladstonian land policy was really in the best interest of Ireland and Irish agriculture as a whole.

After 1870 Ireland for some time left from the field of vision of politicians and the public. The attention of Europe these years was engrossed by events on the Balkans, beginning from revolts of the Balkan Slavs and finishing the Berlin Congress. In the 70th of the XIX century Ireland was forgotten because of quiet tranquility.

⁷² Some of Gladstone's speeches. Thames Star, Volume XXX, Issue 9082, 31 May 1898, Page 4

3.2. Movement for “Home Rule”

The 70-90th of the XIX century was eventful period of the history. This thirty years brought the great changes for all nations and the people. There were revolutions, old frontiers were broken, ancient customs, traditions and habits disappeared, and the shape of society in most cases changed. In England and in its colony – in Ireland there were also deep changes during this period.

After the adoption of the Bills of 1869 and 1870 position of Ireland didn't improve especially. Bases of the landlordism remained here and after the Act of 1870. The land was in property of 12 thousand landlords, among which there were largest land magnates; 1400 landlords owned 3 millions of acres of the land. The Bill didn't completely destroy the small and the smallest rent. From half a million tenants of 145 thousands had plots no more than 5 acres, and 119 thousand - from 5 to 15 acres⁷³.

Despite the law of 1870, size of a rent and rent terms still depended only on landlords. There were continued violent eviction of farmers from the land: from 1871 till 1874 – 5 641 tenants were moved, from 1875 till 1878 – 8 438 tenants, from 1879 till 1882 - more than 10 thousands of the tenants.

The Irish liberals were afraid of grass-roots agrarian movement and aspiring to the constitutional methods of fight, put forward the program of the autonomies of Ireland (the Home rule). On May 19, 1870 on the meeting in Dublin was adopted the resolution. Soon there was based "The Home government Association of Ireland". The Association declared that it would use "all legal means of influence on public opinion of Great Britain and Ireland" and aspire to "the consolidation of the Irish of all beliefs and classes in one national movement in interests of implementation of the great national tasks".

⁷³ The history of Ireland, M., 1980. C. 238.

The principal persons involved were George F. Shaw, a prominent fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; Major Knox, editor and proprietor of the Irish Times; E. R. King Harman from a leading landlord family; and Isaac Butt, a prominent barrister and politician. They were afraid that values, structures, and the heritage united by the Union, were being endangered by weak-kneed parliament of the United Kingdom. The new association aimed to preserve this political heritage by establishing a determined Home Rule Protestant-led parliament in Dublin. Among its sixty early members were Protestants and Catholics, landlords and tenants, Conservatives, Liberals and Fenians.

But the Home Government Association didn't want to see return to pre -1800 situation of the Protestant domination. The leaders of Association recognized that the stream of reform was irreversible and that Irish Protestants had to accommodate themselves to changing ideas and situations. They saw the chance to to reconcile Irish Protestantism with reform and to guarantee a long role of the Irish Protestants in the Irish political leadership in Home Rule. Among some of the leaders of the Association there was a real sympathy for those in the separatist republican Fenian movement who were most hostile to continued union with the Great Britain.

Most clearly were illustrated these complex and sometimes contradictory motivations by Isaac Butt. In 1843 he opposed Daniel O'Connell in the main debate in Dublin Corporation on the issue of Repeal of the Union. O'Connell was impressed by the young Butt. He had sat in parliament as the Conservative representative of Youghal in 1852-1868. He certainly shared the unease felt by Irish Protestants at the direction taken by government reform in Ireland from the late 1860s onwards. Butt's own financial mismanagement and gambling had left him insecure: he needed to participate in some sort of public activity to recoup his fortunes. What was equally important was that Butt (perhaps initially for financial reasons) had become involved in the defense of Fenian prisoners in the late 1860s and had come to believe quite sincerely that changes in the political position of Ireland were essential. Political

reform might help stem the rising tide of militant separatism which had encouraged young men to become involved in the Fenian movement⁷⁴.

Fenian sympathizers began to give the Association guarded support and behind-the-scenes agreements between the two groups were made at election time. Then in 1873 the Home Government Association and the Catholic Church moved closer as the latter's initial hostility to the largely Protestant make-up of the former gave way to the belief that the two sides needed one another politically. In November 1873 a meeting between the two sides was held in Dublin and from it emerged a new body to replace the old Home Government Association. This new organization was the Home Rule League, a far larger body than its predecessor, and one with considerably more political clout.

Although its main objective was the achievement of limited self-government for Ireland through the re-establishment of a parliament in Dublin, its leaders realized that a more practical program was needed if the widest possible popular support was to be gained. Thus, considerable emphasis was put on the demand for a Catholic University to parallel the largely Protestant Trinity College Dublin. This demand was geared particularly to win the support of the Catholic bishops who had been campaigning for this for over thirty years. It was also aimed at winning the support of the wealthy Catholic middle classes who had benefited politically from the reforms of the previous decades and who saw university education as a means of furthering their children's advancement. But the Home Rule League also courted the farming classes by campaigning for agrarian reform, and it kept links open with the Fenians by continuing to support the movement for amnesty (or release) of Fenian prisoners. An attempt was made in 1878 to bring the three distinct but overlapping groups of Fenians, Home Rulers and campaigners for land reform together in a 'New Departure'.

⁷⁴ Movements for Political & Social Reform, 1870–1914.

http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/Home_Rule

Butt's political imagination and intuitive judgment were remarkable and they enabled him to identify Home Rule as a national objective. The majority of Irish people responded with clear enthusiasm to the idea of Home Rule and were to promote it as a solution to the Irish question for close on half a century. However, they had other pressing concerns. Isaac Butt, though politically astute, lacked the drive, organization, and ruthlessness necessary to give the strong lead needed to turn a catch-all movement into an effective political machine. The average supporter, depending on social status, was interested in better employment, land reform, or a Catholic University. Besides, there were tensions between the constituent groups—tensions that threatened to wreck the fragile unity of the movement from time to time. The Catholic Church, for instance, still distrusted the Protestant element in the leadership. Urban working class supporters of Home Rule had little time for the farming element that appeared to be more interested in the practical issue of land reform. Above all, there were tensions between the Fenians on the one hand, and the Church and moderate Home Rulers on the other.

The other main problem was leadership. Butt was challenged by prominent and up-coming members of the movement. Chief among these were the obstructionists led initially by Joseph Gillis Biggar, a Fenian and member of the Supreme Council of the IRB, and later by Charles Stewart Parnell. Obstructionism involved holding up parliamentary business by making very long speeches about minor issues, a technique that, as one historian put it, would hasten the advent of Home Rule by goading the London parliament into 'wishing that the Irish had a parliament of their own'. Although obstructionism was considered a most ungentlemanly technique, it certainly succeeded in forcing the British public to take notice of Irish affairs and of the Home Rule Association's demands, and parliament was convinced that there was an unresolved and bitter Irish question. It is said of Biggar that no member of parliament with such poor qualifications ever occupied more of the House's time. It has also, however, been argued that Biggar's

obstructionist activity made constitutional politics acceptable to many physical force nationalists in Ireland.

The Obstructionists had their eyes on the leadership and began to criticize Butt's style and tactics. On its own, this challenge might not have been serious, but coupled with the internal tensions and weaknesses in the movement it meant that by the end of the 1870s the Home Rule movement was about to shake off the old leadership and, much to the dismay of its founders, become a powerful popular movement with a new charismatic figure at its head.

Butt died 5 May 1879. His successor, William Shaw, a wealthy Protestant banker from Cork, was elected chairman of the party. He proved to be an undistinguished and short-term leader. The general election, March 1880, was a triumph for Charles Stewart Parnell. He contested and won three seats including Cork, which he chose to represent for the rest of his political career. On 26 April 1880 Parnell was elected leader defeating Shaw by twenty-three votes to eighteen. The displacement of Shaw led to a new stage in the development of the Home Rule Party. Parnell was a far more pragmatic politician than Butt and he was willing to use methods considered unacceptable by Butt⁷⁵.

In reality, Parnell's leadership style was quite authoritarian. He saw himself as the ultimate authority in the party, he was frequently in conflict with local party activists and, despite his democratic style, his social attitude was elitist. Some historians argue that even his participation in Home Rule politics, frequently ascribed to an anti-Englishness inherited from his American mother and his own bad experiences in an English public school, was really due to his belief that his own landlord class should reclaim its rightful place in Irish political and social leadership.

Parnell's undoubted social elitism was matched by his political shrewdness. He was pragmatic enough to make a most unlikely alliance for an Irish Protestant

⁷⁵ *O'Connor P.* The Parnell Movement. London, 1889

landlord with the land agitation emerging in the West of Ireland in late 1879 and which would spread rapidly through much of Ireland over the following two years.

Even more significant in showing the pragmatism and the organizational ability of Parnell was his formation of a highly centralized and disciplined party, bound by a pledge which ensured that the individual parliamentary representative was subject to the combined will of the party and its leader. The Irish National League, formed in 1882, prioritized Home Rule and put 'land law reform' in second place. The movement looked democratic, as if its policies were shaped by the wishes of the wider population. This impression was particularly cultivated in Parnell's public speeches when he visited the different parts of the country. He used down-to-earth language; he tailored his words to appeal to all social groups; and he made sure to meet personally with representatives of different groups—farmers, trade unionists, and clergy—to hear their grievances and opinions.

His other unlikely and very beneficial alliance was with the Catholic clergy, a group for whom he had little natural liking. Both sides needed one another. Parnell needed the local leadership and political know-how of the Catholic clergy to spread the Home Rule organization, particularly in the rural areas⁷⁶. He needed the approval of the Irish hierarchy to put the stamp of respectability on his politics. For their part, the Catholic clergy and hierarchy needed the support of an astute and pragmatic political leader who could push their demands in Westminster. This mutual need was best expressed in the mid-1880s when an understanding was reached between Parnell and the Irish Catholic bishops whereby the bishops agreed to back the Home Rule campaign as long as Parnell pushed in parliament for the establishment of a Catholic University as a counterbalance to the Queen's Colleges to whose non-denominational character the bishops objected.

Parnell's political career spanned the period from the late 1870s to 1890 and he succeeded in weaving together the twin causes of land reform and Home Rule. He

⁷⁶ *Walsh*. A memorial volume to Ch. St. Pamell. New York, 1892

also kept the support of more hardline nationalists in the Irish Republican Brotherhood who had little time for either Home Rule or land reform, but aimed ultimately to make Ireland a republic completely separate from England. While Parnell did not necessarily agree with their aims, he respected many of their leaders and, just as in his pragmatic relationship with the land agitators and the Catholic clergy, he made sure not to alienate any of them by condemning their methods or their objectives. In one of his first speeches in Westminster in 1876 he defended the Fenian 'Manchester Martyrs' and declared 'I do not believe, and never shall believe, that any murder was committed at Manchester'. Parnell distanced himself from the Fenians after the Phoenix Park murders and as a result their influence waned and they became a spent force for over twenty years.

By the end of the 70th Home Rule acted as organized political force. They were supported by well-founded layers of the Irish emigrations in the USA, and in the Ireland - prosperous city and rural population, and also part of liberally adjusted land owners.

Parnell succeeded in persuading Gladstone, the greatest parliamentarian of the age and the leader of the largest party in the House of Commons, of the merits of Home Rule. When Gladstone committed himself to Home Rule he used Butt's ideas and the example of Canada, to construct the Home Rule Bill which he introduced on 8 April 1886. It was, however, defeated on 8 June by 343 votes to 311 in the House of Commons. He had failed to persuade all of his Liberal party to support it. The radical section of the party, led by Joseph Chamberlain, and the Whigs on the right wing of the party, led by Hartington, voted with the Conservatives to defeat Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill, in 1892, was passed by the Commons but was rejected by the House of Lords.(see appendix 1.4)

A Liberal Government led by H. H. Asquith introduced the third Home Rule Bill on 11 April 1912. He had needed the support of the Irish Party, led by John Redmond, to secure the passage of the Parliament Act in 1911 and had promised

Home Rule in return. Sir Edward Carson, for the Unionists, led opposition to the Bill. The House of Lords used its veto to delay the passage of the Bill but it was to become law in 1914. Asquith's government attempted to reach a compromise with Redmond and Carson, about the exclusion of some part of Ulster. Partition was not acceptable to either side and by the summer of 1914 nothing had been settled.

The Buckingham Palace Conference in July 1914 failed to reach a settlement and after the outbreak of the First World War in August, Asquith secured from the Irish parties an agreement that the implementation of the Home Rule Act would be suspended until the war was over. King George V signed the Home Rule Act into law on 18 September but with an addendum that the Act would not come into effect until some provision had been made for part of Ulster.

By 1919 events in Ireland, after the Easter Rising of 1916, made Home Rule increasingly irrelevant. Redmond's party was defeated by Sinn Féin in the general election of December 1918. Sinn Féin representatives meeting as Dáil Éireann, in January 1919, reaffirmed the Irish Republic proclaimed at Easter 1916. The British Government attempted to settle the problem with the Government of Ireland Act 1920. The Act provided for two Home Rule parliaments: one for the six north-eastern counties; the second for the 26 counties. Ulster reluctantly accepted its Home Rule parliament and Stormont and the Six-County state of Northern Ireland were established. For the rest of the country Home Rule had come too late and it was too little to satisfy those engaged in the War of Independence which continued until July 1921. The Irish Free State was established as a result of the Anglo-Irish Treaty signed on 6 December 1921 by the Irish and British representatives. The new state had Dominion status and far more independence than Northern Ireland, and much more than had ever been envisaged by Home Rule.

3.3. Ireland during the War and the growth of Sinn Fein

As the Bill was discussed, one proposition put forward was that the 4 counties with a Unionist majority (Antrim, Down, Londonderry and Armagh) could be left out of the Home Rule scheme. This was proposed as a compromise, since both sides were threatening to use force if the other got their way. At first the Unionists were horrified, since it made Home Rule much more likely, but they quickly resigned themselves to the idea. Many of them decided they would need a backup military force as 'insurance' to make certain that at least Ulster was left out of Home Rule. So in January 1913, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) was set up. Thousands of Unionists joined, and they met in Orange Halls around Ulster. The only thing missing was weapons. On 24/25 April 1914, 25,000 rifles and 3,000,000 bullets were illegally landed by the UVF at Larne, Bangor and Donaghadee, all near Belfast. Since the police in these areas did not try to stop the landings, the Nationalists felt that the police were in league with the UVF.

By the end of 1913 (the Bill was still being debated) the Nationalists realized that the Liberal government was likely to agree with the Conservatives and leave part of Ulster out of Home Rule. They were horrified, as they felt an Irish nation could only be forged with the whole island included in Home Rule. So some of them set up their own military force, the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) in November 1913. It recruited even more men than the UVF. Since many Nationalists felt that the Home Rule leader, John Redmond, was ready to compromise Ireland, Redmond was frightened by the size of the IVF. The IVF landed 1,500 rifles and 45,000 bullets at Howth, near Dublin, on 26 July 1914. In this case, the police did intervene and shot 3 people dead. It looked as if the police were treating the UVF and IVF very differently.

In March 1914, the government introduced a new scheme, which it hoped would prevent a Civil War between the UVF and IVF. This was called the 'County Option Scheme', under which each county in Ireland would vote whether or not to

join Home Rule. If it said No then it would be outside Home Rule for 6 years. Under this, the 4 eastern counties in Ulster (Antrim, Armagh, Down and Londonderry) would be out of Home Rule. But the Unionists felt that if they dug in their heels, they could get counties Tyrone and Fermanagh out of Home Rule too, even though they had a slim Nationalist majority (about 56%).

In August 1914 the UK went to war with Germany as the First World War began. In order to concentrate on the war effort, the government decided to postpone the Third Home Rule Bill until after the war, and this left the Nationalists and Unionists wondering what action would be best on their part. Both decided that if they fought alongside the British in the war, they would have a bargaining tool for use after the war.

Most of the Nationalists did go to war alongside the British. However a small splinter group disagreed with this policy of helping the British and stayed at home. In order to disassociate themselves, the majority of the IVF renamed themselves the National Volunteer Force (NVF) while the splinter group remained the IVF. Thousands of Irishmen joined the war, and these men became the British Army's 10th and 16th divisions.

Many of the UVF men also joined the war, along with other Unionists. These men became the 36th Ulster Division. On 1st July 1916, in France, the 10,000-strong 36th Ulster Division took part in a major offensive known as the Battle of the Somme. This offensive turned out to be one of the worst military routs of the war, and there were 5,000 casualties among the 36th Ulster division alone. London viewed this sacrifice, on the part of the men of Ulster, as an indication that Ulster could not now be forced into Home Rule.

When the war had begun in 1914, the government had told troops that they would be 'home by Christmas' (in other words that the war would be over by the end of 1914). By 1916 the war was still at a stalemate, and Nationalists began to realise

that the war could go on for years. So the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the splinter IVF planned a huge rebellion to drive the British out of Ireland, taking advantage of the fact that the British had few troops to spare. It was led by a Dubliner, Patrick Pearse, along with Thomas MacDonagh and Joseph Plunkett. The rising was planned for Easter 1916, and was to be supplied with German weapons by Roger Casement. Despite the fact that the weapons were captured by the British, the rebellion went ahead on Easter Monday (24 April) 1916.

1,500 rebels took over the Dublin Post Office and other key buildings in the city. They then raised the Irish Flag and read a proclamation of independence and formation of the Republic of Ireland. A fierce battle ensued between the rebels and the British. On 29 April, after 5 days of mortars, shells and gunfire, the rebels surrendered after 450 volunteers had been killed. Huge areas of Dublin city center were in ruins and many locals sided with the British and shouted abuse as the rebels were lead away. Their opinions changed, however, when it was announced that the leaders should be executed for treason and collaboration with the enemy (Germany). Almost 100 men were shot after nominal trials. The British wrongly blamed Sinn Fein for the rising (it had actually been the Irish Republican Brotherhood) and this contributed greatly to the Home Rule Party's defeats and Sinn Fein's success in the next election.

In July 1917, Eamonn de Valera became the President of Sinn Fein. He had taken part in the Easter Rising, but had not been executed. He stood in the Clare East by-election, openly declaring his belief in an Independent Irish Republic. He won easily, but refused to take up his seat at Westminster as part of Sinn Fein's policy of abstention. The Sinn Fein candidates became popular because the British had blamed them incorrectly for the Easter Rising and had then executed the leaders of the rising. This provoked much sympathy towards Sinn Fein amongst Irish voters, and Sinn Fein did not attempt to set the record straight.

Sinn Fein gained even more support when they led the successful fight to prevent conscription in Ireland to feed the First World War trenches in 1918. After the war, which ended with German defeat in 1918, Sinn Fein won 73 seats compared to the Home Rule Party's 6. The Irish Unionist Party won 26 seats, mostly in Ulster. All 73 Sinn Fein MPs refused to go to Westminster, and instead sat in their own Parliament in Dublin. Called Dail Eireann, it first met on 21st January 1919, although it had no power to exercise.

This became one more step to the beginning of the War of Independence and to achieve an independence from the Great Britain.

CONCLUSION

Today, it is impossible to deny the fact that studying of the international relations, in particular in a historical context is very actual. The current events on the international arena justify the active researches in this area. The topical examples can be the Basque country in Spain, the Berber peoples of North Africa, Burma (Myanmar), Kashmir, Kosovo, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka, or Timor-Leste. In order to realize the meaning of the modern life reality in this states, the historical past should be studied.

The present research is dedicated to the problem of Anglo-Irish relationships in the recent history of the Great Britain. Today the Anglo-Irish relations is defined as "at an all time high"⁷⁷ by the Prime Minister of the Great Britain David Cameron during the meeting with the Irish Prime Minister, Enda Kenny in London.

During the considered period sharpness of the Irish problem was so considerable that for the general public this aspect of the internal politicians of Great Britain became an important international issue.

First of all, the Anglo-Irish relationships in the XIX century were intensive, because of eventful point in the Ireland history: the Great Famine, the movements of 40th of the XIX century, the Fenian movement, the solution of the agrarian problems, the Church and education reforms, Home Rule movements and the growth of Sinn Fein, which led to declaring the Independence of Ireland.

In order to examine the formulated objectives of the thesis there was processed a large number of the theoretical sources, researched the methods and approaches of consideration of this subject in the English historiography.

⁷⁷ BBC News. David Cameron: 'All time high for Anglo-Irish relations', 11 March 2014

<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-26527087>

Firstly, the thesis shows the historical reasons of the Irish question origin's and establishing the Anglo-Irish relations, in the conditions of gradual colonization of the island. Even the process of colonization of Ireland begun in the early XII century, the English Crown did not assert full control of island until 1541. In this year the Irish Parliament bestowed the title of King of Ireland on Henry VIII.

After the arrival of Protestant settlers from Scotland and England, in Ireland there were displaced many of the existing Catholic landholders that became the beginning of the religious and military conflict for centuries. With the victory of W. Orange's over James II in the Battle of Boyne in 1690 the Protestant domination was established on the Irish soil.

The XIX century begun to the Ireland with becoming a part of the new United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland under the Act of Union 1801. The second half of the century became for the Irish the real disaster – the Great Potato Famine of the 1840s, in which a million people are estimated to have died and led a further two million to emigrate, is regarded by many as a turning point in relations between the countries.

The period under review was eventful in social and political life of the Irish. The Fenians movement was formed not only in the island, but also in the USA, where immigrated over the 2 million people. Since 1858 all across Ireland started the organizations of the fenians movement. The centers of the movement were especially strong in the South of Ireland: in Cork, Limerick, Tipperary. The head of the organization was James Stefens. On March 19, 1866 was adopted the act of introduction in Ireland the state of emergency. Many of the fenians hid in England after defeat of the revolt of 1867. It was necessary for the government to relieve the tension, besides the movement of fenians coincided with lifting of the labor movement in England. So Disraeli achieved signing the parliamentary reform - "Representation of the People Act 1867" on August 15, 1867.

The second half of the 19th Century was marked by the rise of competing nationalist movements and battles over home rule which decided the fate of British prime ministers.

In the social area of the history of Ireland in that times were realized the church and education reforms. But if the Government had thus gave a little, financial support, it in any case gave absolute religious tolerance. Irrespectively religious animosities within the Ireland the British government was completely impartial. Priests were free to have influence in policy; and they had no insignificant influence for last fifty years, more especially during the concerned period with 1880 to 1890.

Another problem of the rebellious island was the agrarian one. The problem of the land was still a problem when Gladstone came into office in 1868. In the project of the agrarian reform in Ireland was supposed, firstly, to give to prosperous farmers the freedom in making the long-term contracts with landlords. Secondly, in case of exile the tenant from the land he was required to compensate every improvements and constructions on a farm, and also the moral damage. The Bill passed in both chambers and on August 1, 1870 and was legalized.

One of the main question of the last decades of the XIX century in Ireland was the Home Rule. Home Rule came to dominate domestic British politics in the era 1885 to the start of World War One. Home Rule effectively started in Ireland in 1870 but in British politics, Gladstone was converted to it in the 1880's.

By the end of the 70th Home Rule acted as organized political force. They were supported by well-founded layers of the Irish emigrations in the USA, and in the Ireland - prosperous city and rural population, and also part of liberally adjusted land owners. Parnell succeeded in persuading Gladstone, the greatest parliamentarian of the age and the leader of the largest party in the House of Commons, of the merits of Home Rule.

In 1886 and 1893, there had been two Home Rule bills but both were rejected by the House of Lords. The leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, John Redmond, had stated quite clearly in 1910 that it was the Lord's veto alone that came between Ireland and a successful Home Rule bill. Third Irish Home Rule Bill passed under the Parliament Act after House of Lords defeats, with Royal Assent as the Government of Ireland Act 1914 but never came into force. However, all talk of Home Rule ended when World War I broke out. Redmond agreed that the issue should be postponed for the duration of the war and the Easter Rising in Dublin (1916).

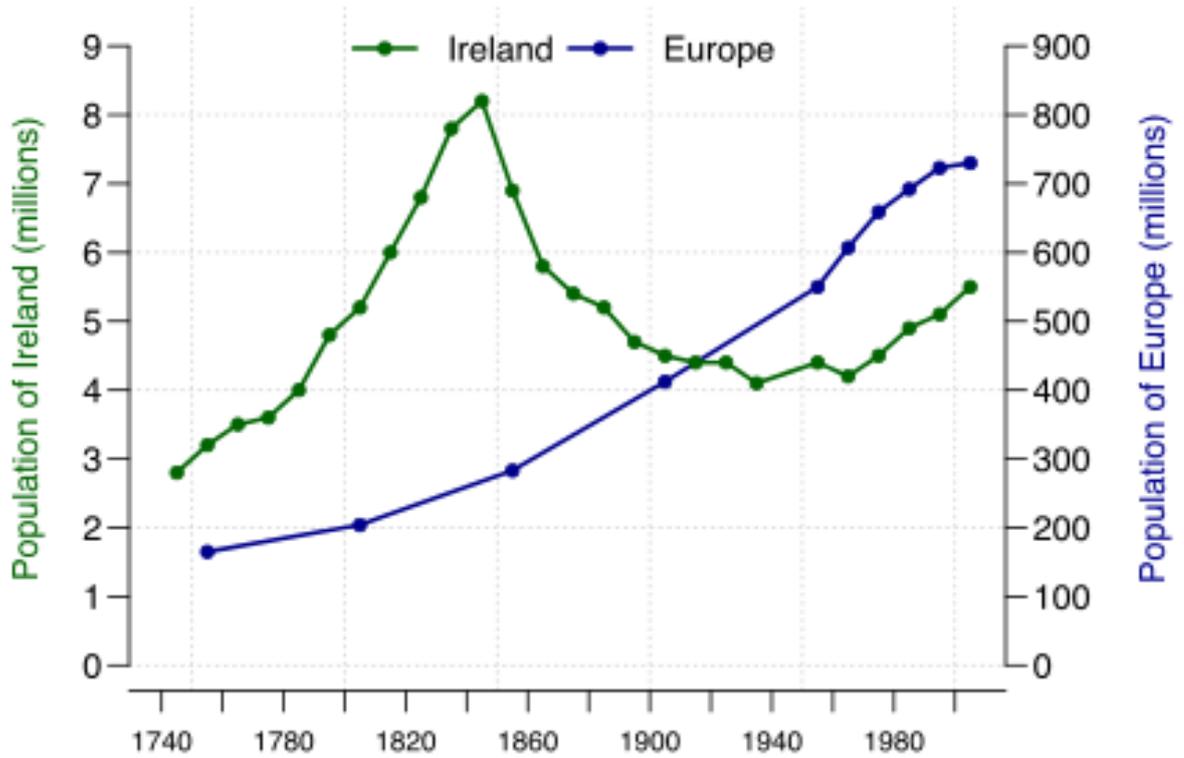
In the beginning of the XIX century the growth of the Sinn Fein became the decisive factor in the gaining the independence. As the main figure of the party there can be marked out Eamonn de Valera, who became the President of Sinn Fein in July 1917. He had taken part in the Easter Rising. Sinn Fein gained even more support when they led the successful fight to prevent conscription in Ireland to feed the First World War trenches in 1918. After the war Sinn Fein won 73 seats. All Sinn Fein MPs refused to go to Westminster. They insisted on sitting in their own Parliament in Dublin. The Member of Parliament from Sinn Fein proclaimed themselves as the parliament of Ireland (Dáil Éireann). The party supported the Irish Republican Army during the War of Independence (1919-1921).

Summing up the research, it can be said that the Irish question was the ruler of the Anglo-Irish relations during the several centuries, as well as the influence of the rebellious mood all over the island is still continuing by way of example in Northern Ireland. The religious, cultural and political contradictions between Ireland and Britain became the barrier in the process of nations' integration.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1.1

A graph of the populations of the island of Ireland and Europe indexed against 1750 showing the disastrous consequence of the 1845—49 famine.¹



¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_the_Republic_of_Ireland

Appendix 1.2

Table showing the total population of fifteen principal cities of the United States, in 1870, with the number of Irish people in each at the same date².

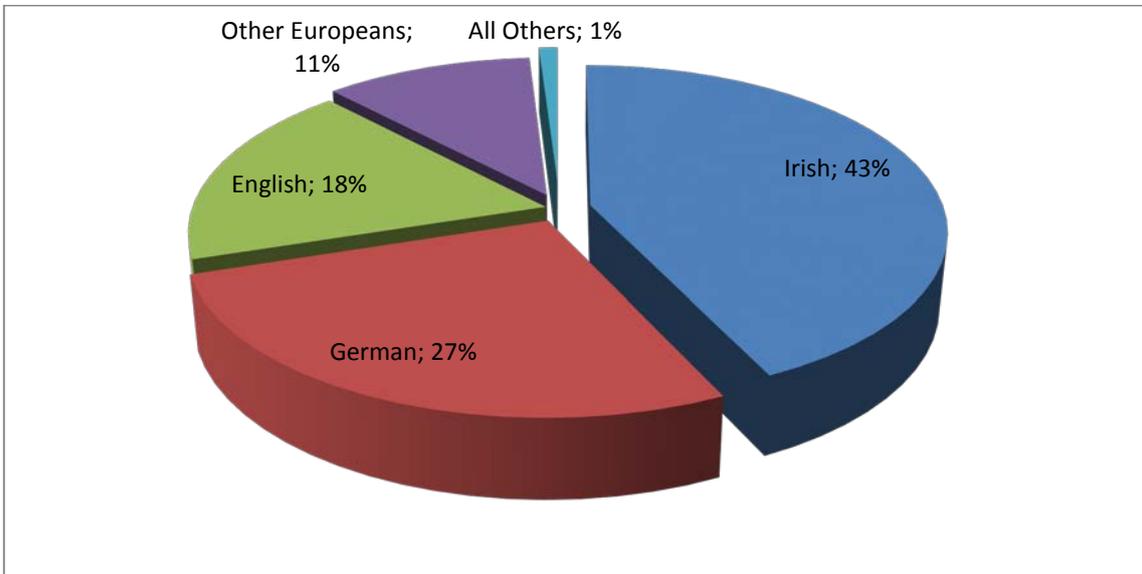
	Name of city	Total population	Irish
1	New York, N. Y.....	942 292	202 000
2	Philadelphia, Pa.....	674 022	96 698
3	Brooklyn, N.Y.....	376 099	73 985
4	St. Louis, Mo.....	310 864	32 239
5	Chicago, Ill.....	298 977	40 000
6	Baltimore, Md.....	267 354	15 223
7	Boston, Mass.....	250 526	56 900
8	Cincinnati, Ohio.....	216 239	18 624
9	New Orleans, La.....	191 418	14 693
10	San Francisco, Cal.....	149 473	25 864
11	Buffalo, N.Y.....	118 714	11 264
12	Washington, D.C.....	109 200	6 948
13	Newark, N.Y.....	105 039	12 481
14	Louisville, Ky.....	100 753	7 626
15	Cleveland, Ohio.....	92 829	9 964

²*Byrne, Stephen*, *Irish Emigration to the United States*, New York, 1873, P.162

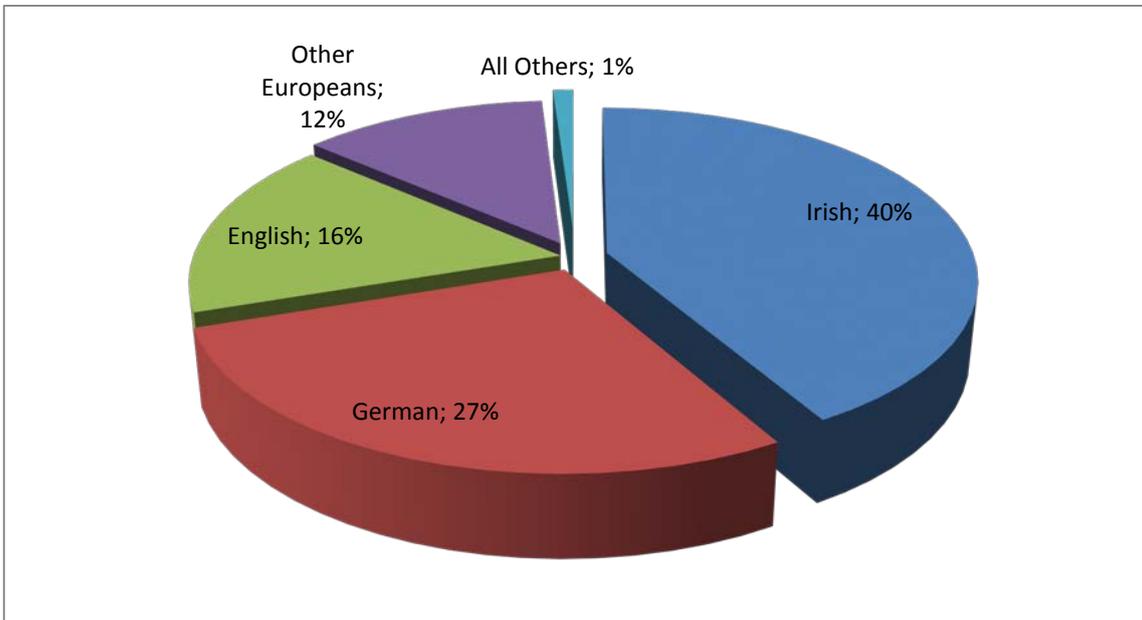
Appendix 1.3

The diagram of the immigration to the USA in 1820-1860. ³

The immigration in 1820-1840



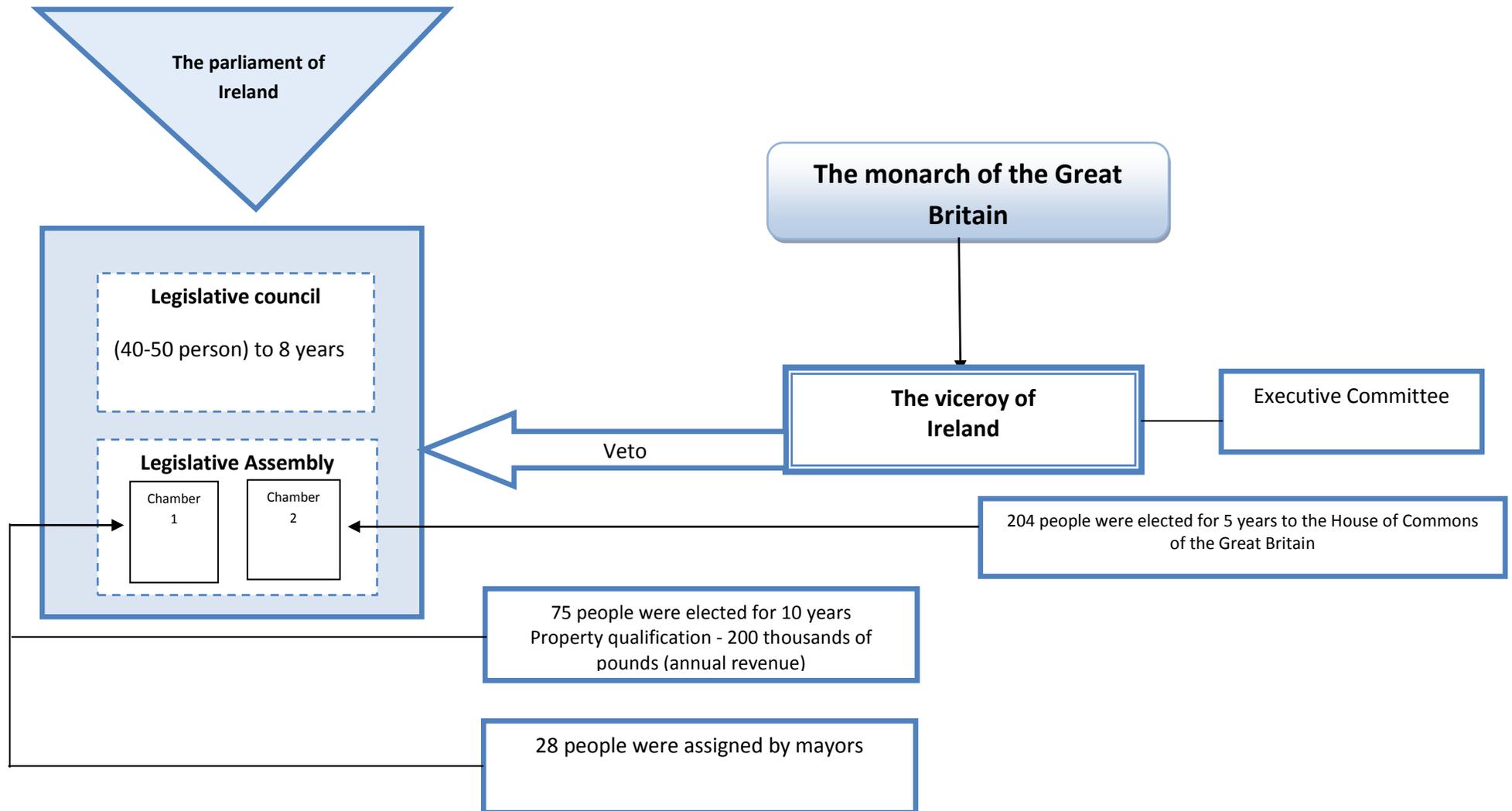
The immigration in 1820-1840



³ <http://herndonapush.wikispaces.com/Immigration-+1820+to+1860>

Appendix 1.4

The control system of Ireland according to the second Home Rule Bill (1893)



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