

against combined avarice and apathy, though the ultimate lunacy of a Dublin 'traffic scheme' that suggested concreting in the Grand Canal was dropped. Inner-city Dublin tenements were displaced to high-rise slums in distant suburbs. The Gaeltacht inexorably declined to about 32,000 residents in 1972; compulsory qualifications in the Irish language were dropped for Leaving-Certificate examinations and civil service entry in 1973. But the land still carried the evident marks of conquest and settlement; and Ireland in the early 1970s still retained a powerful sense of national identity, even if the Irish experience had modified or vitiated every general theory of nationalism produced by political scientists.²⁰ The process had been complex, confused and very far from a linear narrative or an apostolic succession. But the cultural reinforcement of nationalist rhetoric had overridden many implicit contradictions, often finding its strongest affirmation in a negative and sectarian consensus.

This had provided a powerful impetus to political mobilization from the early nineteenth century on; it also meant that the independent state that emerged from the process had little option to be pluralist, for all the oratory of Davis and Tone. The idea of a might-have-been secular Irish nationalism is as much a red herring as the equally ahistorical concept of a platonic 'unity' that Gaelic chiefs in the early modern period are sometimes traduced for never having attained.^{xxvi} And this highlights a theme that is evident from the seventeenth century, and recurs in this book: the concept of being 'more' or 'less' Irish than one's neighbour; Irishness as a scale or spectrum rather than a simple national, or residential, qualification; at worst, Irishness as a matter of aggressively displayed credentials.^{xxvii} Irish history in the long period since the completion of the Elizabethan conquest concerned a great deal more than the definition of Irishness against Britishness; this survey has attempted to indicate as much. But that sense of difference comes strongly through, though its expression was conditioned by altering circumstances, and adapted for different interest-groups, as the years passed. If the claims of cultural maturity and a new European identity advanced by the 1970s can be substantiated, it may be by the hope of a more relaxed and inclusive definition of Irishness, and a less constricted view of Irish history.

^{xxvi} See above, p. 42.

^{xxvii} For the seventeenth-century Confederate argument against this approach, see above, p. 96, note xvii.

APPENDIX

PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC

Poblacht na hÉireann

*The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic
to the People of Ireland*

Irishmen and Irishwomen: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organized and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organization, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organizations, the Irish Volunteers, and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish republic as a sovereign independent state, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent national government, representative of the whole people of Ireland, and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the republic in trust for the people. We place the cause of the Irish republic under the protection of the Most High God, whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline, and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the provisional government,

Thomas J. Clarke, Sean MacDiarmada, Thomas MacDonagh, P. H. Pearse, Eamonn Ceannt, James Connolly, Joseph Plunkett.

Issued 24 April 1916. Text reproduced from E. Curtis and R. B. McDowell (editors), *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922* (London, 1943).

CHRONOLOGY

- 1600 Jan. O'Neill makes tour of Munster.
21 Jan. Mountjoy appointed Lord Deputy.
Sept./Oct. Battle at Moyry Pass.
- 1601 21 Sept. Spaniards arrive at Kinsale.
24 Dec. Battle of Kinsale.
- 1602 Sept. Mountjoy breaks O'Neill coronation-stone at Tullahogue.
- 1603 30 Mar. O'Neill pardoned in return for surrender at Mellifont.
- 1606 22 July Commission for remedying defective land-titles.
- 1607 4 Sept. O'Neill and others leave Ireland for the Continent ('flight of the earls': see above, pp. 43-5).
Dec. Donegal and Tyrone lands declared forfeit.
- 1608 18 Apr. Revolt of Sir Cahir O'Doherty.
19 July Commission to survey six Ulster counties.
- 1610 Apr.-May Ulster land assigned to British undertakers.
- 1613 18 May Opening of parliament at Dublin.
- 1621 20 Jan. Patents granted for plantations in Leitrim, King's County, Queen's County, Westmeath.
- 1625 27 Mar. Accession of Charles I.
- 1626 22 Sept. Charles offers twenty-six 'Graces' to the Irish (see above, pp. 53-5).
- 1628 24 May Fifty-one 'Graces' granted in return for financial subsidy.
- 1633 25 July Wentworth (later Strafford) sworn in as Lord Deputy.
- 1635 July Crown title confirmed over land in Roscommon, Sligo and Mayo (and in Galway, after resistance, Dec. 1636).
- 1639 21 May Wentworth's 'Black Oath' of loyalty imposed on Ulster Scots (see above, p. 82).
- 1640 Aug. War begins in Scotland.

- 1641 12 May Wentworth executed.
 9 June Patrick Darcy argues that Irish parliament possesses independent authority (see above, pp. 84-5).
 22-3 Oct. Outbreak of Ulster rebellion.
 Dec. Old English join the rebels.
- 1642 19 Mar. 'Adventurers' Act' offers Irish land in return for subsidies.
 15 Apr. Monro's army arrives from Scotland.
 10-13 May First meetings of Catholic leaders in Kilkenny.
 8-9 July Arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill.
 Oct. Confederates assemble at Kilkenny.
- 1643 Sept. Truce between Ormond (for the royalists) and Confederates.
 13 Nov. Ormond appointed Lord Lieutenant.
- 1644 2 July Royalist defeat at Marston Moor.
- 1645 14 June Royalist defeat at Naseby.
 25 Aug. Glamorgan (for the King) makes secret treaty with Confederates.
 12 Oct. Arrival of Rinuccini in Ireland (reaches Kilkenny, 12 Nov.).
- 1646 28 Mar. Peace between Confederates and Ormond (formally proclaimed, July-Aug.).
 5 June Battle at Benburb.
 12 Aug. Rinuccini condemns Ormond peace; Waterford Synod (1 Sept.) excommunicates adherents to peace terms.
- 1647 7 June Jones lands with parliamentary force at Dublin.
 19 June. Ormond surrenders Dublin.
- 1648 20 May Truce between Confederates and Inchiquin (adherents excommunicated by Rinuccini, 27 May).
- 1649 17 Jan. Ormond and Confederates sign peace treaty.
 30 Jan. Execution of Charles.
 23 Feb. Rinuccini returns to Rome.
 2 Aug. Ormond defeated by Parliamentarians at Rathmines.
 15 Aug. Oliver Cromwell arrives at Dublin, as civil and military Governor of Ireland.
 11 Sept. Massacre at Drogheda.
 11 Oct. Massacre at Wexford.
 20 Oct. Owen Roe O'Neill and Ormond combine.
 6 Nov. Death of Owen Roe O'Neill.
- 1650 27 Mar. Kilkenny surrenders to Cromwell.
 26 May Cromwell returns to England, Ireton taking over.
 11 Dec. Ormond leaves for France.

- 1652 12 Aug. 'Act for the Settling of Ireland' (see above, pp. 109-10).
- 1653 June-Sept. Survey and allocation of forfeited Irish lands, followed by arrangements for transplantation ('Act of Satisfaction', 26 Sept.).
 16 Dec. Cromwell Lord Protector.
- 1657 9 June Settlement Act 'for the Assuming, Confirming and Settling of Lands and Estates in Ireland'.
 26 June 'Act for Convicting, Discovering and Repressing of Popish Recusants'.
- 1660 Feb. Parliament restored in Dublin.
 14 May Charles II proclaimed King.
- 1662 19 May Act forbidding export of Irish wool.
 31 July Act of Settlement, confirming some adventurers' landowning rights but also allowing claims from 'innocents' and royalist supporters (Court of Claims opened, 20 Sept.; last sitting, Jan. 1669; see above, pp. 115-16).
- 1663 27 July 'Cattle Act' restricting Irish trade with colonies and cattle export to England (see above, pp. 128-9).
- 1667 18 Jan. Cattle exports to England prohibited (see above, p. 128).
- 1671 18 Jan. Catholic gentry present petition to Charles.
 22 Apr. Direct importation from colonies prohibited.
- 1672 Oct. *Regium donum* grant to Presbyterian Church initiated.
 Abandonment of presidency system (see above, pp. 138-9).
- 1678 28 Sept. Popish Plot alleged, followed by renewed proclamations against Catholic clergy and schools.
- 1679 6 Dec. Arrest of Oliver Plunkett (executed, 1 July 1681).
- 1684 Jan. Foundation of Dublin Philosophical Society.
- 1685 6 Feb. Accession of James II.
- 1686 22 Mar. Payments to Catholic hierarchy authorized.
 5 June Tyrconnell arrives as Commander-in-Chief of Irish army.
- 1687 12 Feb. Tyrconnell sworn in as Lord Deputy.
- 1688 10 June Birth of James, royal heir.
 5 Nov. William of Orange arrives in England.
 23 Dec. James flees to France.
- 1689 12 Mar. James arrives in Ireland.
 18 Apr. Siege of Derry begins.

- 7 May-18 July Parliament at Dublin; passes (late June) Act of Attainder (see above, pp. 145-6).
 22 June Act for repeal of land settlement.
 31 July Siege of Derry lifted (first relieved, 28 July).
- 1690 14 June William arrives in Ireland.
 1 July James defeated at River Boyne.
 4 July James flees to France.
 5 Sept. William leaves Ireland, after failing to capture Limerick.
 Sept.-Oct. Munster surrenders to Marlborough.
- 1691 9 May Saint-Ruth arrives from France.
 7 July Ginkel's proclamation offering pardon and security of property to opponents.
 12 July Battle of Aughrim.
 3 Oct. Treaty of Limerick, allowing evacuation of Irish army to France and promising toleration to Irish Catholics (see above, pp. 151-2).
- 1695 7 Sept. 'Penal Laws': Acts restricting rights of Catholics to education, to bear arms or to possess a horse worth more than five pounds (reinforced, 31 Mar. 1740).
- 1696 27 Apr. Act 'for encouraging the linen manufacture of Ireland'.
- 1697 25 Sept. Catholic clergy banished by Act of Parliament.
- 1698 27 June Westminster Parliament condemns Molyneux's *Case of Ireland being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated* (see above, pp. 161-2).
- 1699 Jan.-May Acts (in Irish and English parliaments) restricting Irish woollen exports.
- 1702 8 Mar. Accession of Anne.
- 1704 4 Mar. Further Penal Law 'to prevent further growth of popery' restricts landholding rights for Catholics and imposes 'tests' for public office holding; amended and strengthened, 30 Aug. 1708 (see above, p. 154).
- 1713 13 June Swift becomes Dean of St Patrick's (dies, 19 Oct. 1745).
- 1714 1 Aug. Accession of George I.
- 1719 2 Nov. Toleration Act for Protestant Dissenters.
- 1720 7 Apr. 'Declaratory Act' defines right of British Parliament to legislate for Ireland, and denies appellate jurisdiction of Irish House of Lords.
- 1724 Feb.-Oct. Swift's *Drapier's Letters*, attacking copper coinage patent granted to William Wood (12 July).

- 1727 11 June Accession of George II.
- 1728 6 May Act removing franchise from Catholics (see above, p. 206).
- 1731 25 June Foundation of Dublin Society for Improving Husbandry, Manufacturing, and Other Useful Arts (from 1820, Royal Dublin Society).
- 1753 Dec. Money Bill crisis (see above, p. 237).
- 1758 29 Apr. Appointment of Wide Streets Commission (see above, p. 189).
- 1760 21 Feb. Thurot lands French force at Carrickfergus in Belfast Lough.
 Mar. First meetings of Catholic Committee.
 25 Oct. Accession of George III.
- 1767 14 Oct. Beginning of Townshend viceroyalty (recalled, 30 Nov. 1772).
- 1768 16 Feb. Octennial Act (Irish parliament's life limited to eight years).
- 1772 2 June Act allowing Catholics to lease bogland.
- 1774 22 June 'Quebec Act' grants Canadian Catholics religious and civil rights.
- 1778 Apr. John Paul Jones raids Belfast Lough.
 Volunteering movement begins to spread from Ulster.
 14 Aug. Catholic Relief Act granting rights of leasing and inheritance.
- 1779 4 Nov. Volunteers' demonstration in favour of 'free trade' (see above, pp. 243, 245).
- 1780 24 Feb. Act opening colonial trade to Irish goods.
 2 May Act repealing tests imposed on Dissenters.
- 1782 15 Feb. Dungannon convention of Volunteers calls for legislative independence.
 27 Mar. Rockingham forms government (Duke of Portland Irish Lord Lieutenant).
 4 May Catholic Relief Act allows Catholics to own land outside parliamentary boroughs (Dissenters also allowed valid marriage ceremonies).
 21 June Declaratory Act repealed.
 27 July Poynings' Law (see p. 23 above) amended.
 Relief Act gives Catholics education rights.
- 1783 29 Nov. Parliamentary reform (at Volunteers' behest) rejected by College Green (see above, pp. 255-6).
- 1784 14 May Foster's Corn Law (sliding scale for export subsidies, varying with domestic prices).

- 1785 3 May First meeting of Irish Academy (Royal Irish Academy from 28 Jan. 1786).
12 Aug. Bill to regulate Anglo-Irish trade, adapted from Pitt's original free trade proposals after British protests, introduced at College Green but later abandoned.
- 1791 Aug. Wolfe Tone's *Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*.
14 Oct. Foundation of United Irishmen in Belfast (*Northern Star* appears, 4 Jan. 1792).
9 Nov. First meeting of Dublin United Irishmen.
- 1792 18 Apr. Catholic Relief Act allows Catholics to practise law.
25 July Tone appointed Secretary to Catholic Committee.
- 1793 2 Jan. Catholic petition presented to King.
Feb.-Mar. Legislation restricting movement of arms and suppressing Volunteering.
9 Apr. Relief Act granting Catholics parliamentary franchise and certain civil and military rights.
Act establishing Irish Militia (afforded, 15 Apr. 1795).
1 Oct. St Patrick's [Catholic] College, Carlow, opened.
- 1794 1 Mar. Catholics statutorily enabled to attend Trinity College, Dublin.
23 May Suppression of Dublin United Irishmen.
- 1795 4 Jan. Earl Fitzwilliam becomes Irish Lord Lieutenant.
23 Feb. Fitzwilliam dismissed.
10 May Belfast United Irishmen, meeting underground, adopt new constitution.
5 June Act providing for establishment of Catholic seminary (opened as Royal College of St Patrick at Maynooth, October).
13 June Tone leaves for America.
21 Sept. 'Battle of the Diamond' (Loughgall, County Armagh), leading to foundation of Orange Order.
- 1796 1 Feb. Tone arrives in France.
24 Mar. Insurrection Act (curfews, arms searches, death penalty for oath-taking).
16 Sept. Arrest of Belfast United Irish leaders.
26 Oct. Habeas Corpus suspended.
Development of Yeomanry corps under commissioned officers.
22-7 Dec. French fleet, with Tone, in Bantry Bay.
- 1798 26 Feb. Abercromby, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, condemns state of army.
12 Mar. Arrest of Dublin United Irish leaders (Lord Edward Fitzgerald, 19 May).

- 30 Mar. Martial law imposed.
23-4 May Rebellion begins in Leinster, taking hold in Wexford; Wexford town captured by rebels, 30 May; rebels defeated at New Ross, 5 June.
6-13 June Outbreaks in Ulster.
21 June Defeat of Wexford rebels at Vinegar Hill.
22 Aug. French force under Humbert lands at Killala; humiliates government forces at 'Races of Castlebar', 27 Aug., surrenders at Ballinamuck, 8 Sept.
3 Nov. Tone arrested after arriving in Lough Swilly with another French force; suicide in prison, 19 Nov.
- 1799 31 Jan. Pitt's speech at Westminster advocating the Union between Britain and Ireland.
25 Mar. Trials by courts martial established (until 1805).
- 1800 21 May Bill for Union introduced at College Green.
1 Aug. Irish Act of Union.
2 Aug. Last meeting of College Green parliament.
- 1801 1 Jan. Act of Union takes effect.
3 Feb. Pitt resigns as PM over royal veto on Catholic emancipation (returns, 10 May 1804).
- 1803 23 July Abortive rising by Robert Emmet (executed, 20 Sept.).
- 1810 20 June Unlawful Oaths Act extends powers against secret societies (reinforced 1823, 1839).
- 1813 12 July First recorded 'Twelfth of July' sectarian riots in Belfast.
- 1814 25 July Peace Preservation Act, policing disturbed areas by local rate-charge.
- 1815 6 July 'Bianconi car' passenger service opens.
- 1820 29 Jan. Accession of George IV.
- 1822 1 Aug. Irish Constabulary Act sets up county police forces and salaried magistracy.
- 1823 12 May Foundation of Catholic Association.
- 1824 12 Apr. Act establishing free trade between Britain and Ireland in manufactured articles.
- 1825 18 Mar. Catholic Association dissolved in accordance with Unlawful Societies Act (9 Mar.); reconstituted, 13 July.
18 May Lords reject Catholic Emancipation Bill (which would disfranchise Irish forty-shilling freeholders and put clergy on state salaries).

- 14 Nov. Catholic pro-cathedral opened in Marlborough St, Dublin.
- 1826 19-29 June Catholic electors reject Lord George Beresford in Waterford election.
- 1828 5 July Daniel O'Connell elected MP for Clare.
14 Aug. Foundation of Brunswick Clubs (see above, p. 304).
- 1829 13 Apr. Catholic Emancipation Act enables Catholics to enter Parliament and hold civil and military offices.
Forty-shilling freeholders disenfranchised by Irish Parliamentary Elections Act (raising county franchise to ten pounds).
- 1830 26 June Accession of William IV.
- 1831 9 Sept. £30,000 voted to set up 'national' system of elementary education in Ireland.
- 1832 7 Aug. Irish Reform Bill increases seats from 100 to 105 and introduces ten-pound franchise in boroughs.
16 Aug. Irish Tithe Composition Act allows for commuting tithe payments.
- 1833 14 Aug. Irish Church Temporalities Act rationalizes Church of Ireland organization, abolishing ten bishoprics.
- 1834 22 Apr. O'Connell introduces debate on Repeal of the Union.
- 1835 18 Feb. Alliance between O'Connellites, Whigs and Radicals agreed at Lichfield House.
25 July Thomas Drummond Under-Secretary (until 15 Apr. 1840).
- 1836 20 May Irish Constabulary Act further extends centralized police force and salaried magistracy.
- 1837 20 June Accession of Victoria.
- 1838 10 Apr. Father Mathew founds abstinence movement.
31 July Irish Poor Law extends English system to Ireland.
- 1840 15 Apr. Repeal Association founded.
10 Aug. Irish Municipal Reform Act (see above, p. 310).
- 1841 Mar.-Apr. Foundation of Dublin Protestant Operative Association (see above, p. 304).
6 June Census: population, 8,175,124.
- 1842 15 Oct. First number of the *Nation*.
- 1843 7 Oct. Prohibition and cancellation of 'monster' Repeal meeting at Clontarf.

- 1844 10 Feb. O'Connell convicted of 'conspiracy'; fined and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, 30 May; judgment reversed by Lords, 4 Sept.
- 1845 30 June Maynooth College Act, greatly increasing its endowment.
9 Sept. Potato blight first noted.
Nov. Sir Robert Peel, PM, orders import of Indian corn.
- 1846 Jan.-Mar. Series of Public Health Acts introducing state-aided public works and public health measures to cope with Famine crisis.
26 June Repeal of the Corn Laws.
30 June Peel replaced by Russell and Whig administration, who announce (17 Aug.) decision not to interfere with grain market.
28 July O'Connell and Young Irelanders split over physical force.
- 1847 13 Jan. Foundation of Irish Confederation.
26 Feb.-8 June Acts setting up soup-kitchens and rate-aided outdoor relief.
15 May Death of O'Connell.
- 1848 12 Feb. John Mitchel starts the *United Irishman*.
13 May Mitchel arrested; tried and sentenced to transportation, 26-7 May.
29 July William Smith O'Brien's abortive rising at Ballingarry, County Tipperary; trials and death sentences, Sept.-Oct.; commuted to transportation, 5 June 1849.
- 1849 28 July (Second) Encumbered Estates Act, facilitating sales of mortgaged land through a special court.
14 Oct. First tenant protection society set up at Callan, County Kilkenny.
- 1850 24 Feb. Cullen becomes Archbishop of Armagh.
9 Aug. Irish Tenant League founded.
14 Aug. Reform Act trebles county electorate (and reduces borough electorate: see above, pp. 343-4).
- 1851 30 Mar. Census: population, 6,552,385.
- 1852 17 Mar. First St Patrick's Day march in New York.
30 June Act providing for 'Griffith's valuation' of landholdings throughout Ireland.
8-9 Sept. Tenant League conference in Dublin.
- 1854 3 Nov. Catholic University opened in Dublin (renamed University College, 1882; transferred to Jesuits, 1883).
- 1855 Feb. Formation of New York Emmet Monument Association.
- 1856 Phoenix Society formed at Skibbereen by O'Donovan Rossa.

- 1858 17 Mar. James Stephens founds IRB in Dublin.
- 1859 Apr. Fenian Brotherhood set up in USA.
- 1861 7 Apr. Census: population, 5,798,967.
- 1862 1 Jan. Formation of Harland & Wolff in Belfast.
- 1863 28 Nov. Foundation of Fenian newspaper, the *Irish People* (ends 16 Sept. 1865).
- 1864 29 Dec. Foundation of National Association of Ireland (see above, p. 394).
- 1866 Apr.-June Fenian skirmishes in Canada.
22 June Cullen becomes Cardinal.
- 1867 11-12 Feb. Fenian disturbances in England and Ireland, including attempted risings in Munster and round Dublin, 5-6 Mar.
20 June Clan na Gael founded in New York (see above, p. 359).
23 Nov. Execution of Fenian 'Manchester Martyrs'.
13 Dec. Fenian explosion at Clerkenwell gaol.
- 1868 13 July Irish Reform Act reduces borough franchise to four pounds (occupier) and introduces lodger franchise.
3 Aug. Foundation of Amnesty campaign.
- 1869 26 July Irish Church Act disestablishes Church of Ireland (see above, p. 396).
22 Nov. O'Donovan Rossa contests and wins Tipperary by-election *in absentia*; declared ineligible as convicted felon.
- 1870 19 May Isaac Butt founds Home Rule movement (first public meeting of Home Government Association, 1 Sept.).
1 Aug. Gladstone's first Land Act (see above, pp. 396-7).
- 1871 2 Apr. Census: population, 5,412,377.
- 1873 8 Jan. Foundation of Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain.
12 Mar. Defeat of Gladstone's Irish University Bill.
26 May Religious tests abandoned for Trinity College by Act of Parliament.
18-21 Nov. Home Rule League founded at Dublin conference.
- 1874 Feb. General election returns sixty Home Rulers.
2 July Butt's Home Rule motion defeated 458-61 in Commons.
- 1876 20 Aug. IRB Supreme Council withdraw support from Home Rule movement (see above, p. 403).

- 1877 31 July Minority of Home Rulers begin 'obstruction' tactics in Commons.
28 Aug. Parnell becomes President of Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain.
- 1878 24-7 Oct. Devoy's overtures to Parnellites suggesting 'New Departure' alliance.
- 1879 26 Jan. IRB Supreme Council finally reject 'New Departure' strategy.
20 Apr. Irishtown meeting launches land agitation.
16 Aug. Foundation of National Land League of Mayo.
21 Oct. Foundation of Irish National Land League.
- 1880 2 Jan.-11 Mar. Parnell's American tour.
17 May Parnell elected Chairman of Irish Parliamentary Party.
24 Oct. Foundation in New York of Ladies' Land League.
- 1881 31 Jan. Ladies' Land League launched in Ireland.
21 Mar. 'Peace Preservation' Act for Ireland.
3 Apr. Census: population, 5,174,836.
22 Aug. Gladstone's Second Land Act (see above, pp. 412-13). Land Commission court opened, Oct.
13 Oct. Parnell arrested.
20 Oct. Land League outlawed.
- 1882 2 May Parnell released under terms of 'Kilmainham Treaty'.
6 May 'Phoenix Park murders' of Lord Frederick Cavendish and T. H. Burke.
12 July Crime Prevention Act.
17 Oct. Foundation of Irish National League.
- 1884 1 Oct. Concordat between Irish-Catholic bishops and Parnellite party, whereby the latter agree to press Catholic claims in education issue.
1 Nov. Foundation of Gaelic Athletic Association.
- 1885 14 Aug. 'Ashbourne' Land Purchase Act.
17 Dec. Newspaper reports of Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule, following general election results giving Parnellites the balance of power.
- 1886 16 Feb. Irish hierarchy formally endorse Home Rule.
22 Feb. Lord Randolph Churchill's militant speech to loyalists at Ulster Hall, Belfast.
8 June Gladstone's Home Rule Bill defeated (for terms, see above, pp. 424-5).
23 Oct. Announcement of 'Plan of Campaign' to withhold rents on certain estates (proclaimed unlawful, 18 Dec.).

- 1887 18 Apr. *The Times* publishes facsimile letter linking Parnell with 'Phoenix Park murders' (Special Investigative Commission appointed, 13 Aug. 1888).
23 Aug. Land Act gives courts power to revise and fix rents.
- 1889 20-22 Feb. Richard Pigott exposed as forger of *The Times* letter in Special Commission proceedings.
24 Dec. O'Shea divorce petition filed, citing Parnell.
- 1890 15-17 Nov. O'Shea divorce hearing.
25 Nov. Parnell re-elected Chairman of Irish Parliamentary Party; Gladstone then announces this makes his own authority as leader of a party pledged to Home Rule 'almost a nullity'.
28 Nov. Parnell denounces Liberals and Liberal alliance.
1-6 Dec. Irish Parliamentary Party debates end in split, majority opposing Parnell.
- 1891 3 Feb. Final failure of reconciliation negotiations.
5 Apr. Census: population, 4,704,750.
5 Aug. Land Purchase Act further facilitates arrangements.
Congested Districts Board established.
6 Oct. Parnell dies at Brighton.
- 1892 16 Aug. National Literary Society founded.
25 Nov. Douglas Hyde's address, 'On the Necessity for De-Anglicizing the Irish People'.
- 1893 31 July Foundation of Gaelic League.
2 Sept. Second Home Rule Bill passed by Commons; rejected by Lords, 9 Sept. (see above, pp. 424-5).
- 1894 18 Apr. Foundation of Irish Agricultural Organization Society.
27-8 Apr. Irish Trades Union Congress founded.
- 1896 29 May Foundation of James Connolly's Irish Socialist Republican Party.
- 1898 23 Jan. Foundation of William O'Brien's United Irish League.
27 June-1 July Ancient Order of Hibernians revived and strengthened by unity congress in USA; similar process in Ireland, 4 Mar. 1902.
12 Aug. Irish Local Government Act setting up elective county and district councils.
- 1899 8 May First production of Irish Literary Theatre (see above, pp. 452-3).
9 Aug. Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act, setting up Department of Agriculture.

- 1900 30 Jan. Reunion of Irish Parliamentary Party under John Redmond (co-opt United Irish League, 19-20 June).
30 Sept. Foundation of Cumann na nGaedheal under Arthur Griffith.
- 1901 22 Jan. Accession of Edward VII.
31 Mar. Census: population, 4,458,775.
- 1902 2 Apr. W. B. Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* performed.
20 Dec. Opening of Land Conference representing landlords and tenants.
- 1903 11 June T. H. Sloan forms independent Orange Order.
14 Aug. 'Wyndham' Land Act following conference recommendation that tenants buy out landlords with Treasury loans.
- 1904 26 Aug. Foundation of Lord Dunraven's Irish Reform Association calling for agreed measure of devolution (leads to Wyndham's resignation, 6 Mar. 1905).
2 Dec. Beginnings of Ulster Unionist MPs' organization (Ulster Unionist Council from Mar. 1905).
27 Dec. Abbey Theatre opens.
- 1905 8 Mar. Meeting of first Dungannon Club in Belfast.
- 1907 21 Apr. Cumann na nGaedheal and Dungannon Clubs become Sinn Féin League.
6 May James Larkin organizes dock strikes in Belfast.
21 May Nationalist conference declares against Birrell's devolutionary Irish Council Bill (dropped 3 June).
5 Sept. National Council merges with Sinn Féin League; from Sept. 1908, called Sinn Féin.
Dec. Tom Clarke arrives in Ireland (having been imprisoned 1883-98, and in USA thereafter).
- 1908 1 Aug. Irish Universities Act abolishes Royal University of Ireland (examining body only) and establishes two new universities: basis of National University of Ireland and Queen's University of Belfast.
8 Sept. Pearse opens St Enda's School (Scoil Eanna); moves to The Hermitage, Rathfarnham, 1910.
29 Dec. Foundation of Irish Transport Workers' Union (later Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).
- 1909 16 Aug. Foundation of Fianna Éireann.
3 Dec. Birrell's Land Act extends land purchase facilities.
- 1910 21 Feb. Carson becomes leader of Irish Unionists.
6 May Accession of George V.
- 1911 2 Apr. Census: population, 4,381,951.
21 Aug. Formation of Irish Women's Suffrage Federation.

- 1912 6 Feb. Exclusion from Home Rule submitted to Cabinet by Churchill and Lloyd George; rejected.
 9 Apr. Bonar Law's unconditional pledge of British Unionist support for Ulster resistance to Home Rule.
 11 Apr. Third Home Rule Bill introduced in Commons.
 28 Sept. Solemn League and Covenant signed in Ulster (see above, pp. 466-7).
- 1913 16 Jan. Home Rule Bill passes third reading; defeated in Lords, 30 Jan.; passes Commons again, 7 July; defeated in Lords, 15 July.
 31 Jan. Foundation of Ulster Volunteer Force.
 26 Aug. Beginning of Irish Transport and General Workers' Union strike in Dublin, escalating into general lock-out (gradual return to work from 18 Jan. 1914).
 19 Nov. Formation of Citizen Army.
 25 Nov. Foundation of Irish Volunteers.
 Dec. Pearse joins IR.B.
- 1914 20 Mar. Curragh 'incident' (see above, p. 469).
 24-5 Apr. Ulster Volunteer Force gun-running.
 25 May Home Rule Bill passes Commons.
 23 June Amending bill allows for temporary exclusion of parts of Ulster.
 8 July Amending bill altered by Lords to exclude all Ulster permanently; shelved by government.
 21-4 July Buckingham Palace conference fails to negotiate Ulster impasse.
 26 July Howth gun-running by Irish Volunteers; four killed in ensuing demonstrations.
 3 Aug. Germany and France go to war; Redmond pledges Irish support for British war effort and Volunteers for defence of Ireland.
 4 Aug. UK and Germany go to war.
 9 Sept. IR.B discuss possibility of a rising.
 15 Sept. Home Rule Bill suspended in advance of its enactment (18 Sept.).
 20 Sept. Redmond's Woodenbridge speech commits Volunteers to serve anywhere in field of war.
 24 Sept. Beginning of Volunteer split.
- 1915 May Military Committee of IR.B Supreme Council constituted.
 29 July Gaelic League taken over by militant nationalists; Hyde stands down.
 Dec. Military Council of IR.B formed (future signatories of 1916 proclamation).
- 1916 Jan. Supreme Council of IR.B decide on early insurrection.

- 3 Apr. Irish Volunteers ordered to prepare for manoeuvres, Easter Sunday (23 Apr.).
 20-21 Apr. The *Aud* captured and scuttled with German arms cargo.
 21 Apr. Casement arrives from Germany; arrested; sentenced, 29 June; hanged, 3 Aug.
 22 Apr. Countermanding order issued by MacNeill.
 23 Apr. Military Council decide to proceed.
 24 Apr. Seizure of central Dublin buildings by Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army.
 29 Apr. Rebels surrender.
 3-12 May Execution of rebel leaders.
 12 June Ulster Unionist Council agree to immediate implementation of Home Rule if six Ulster counties temporarily excluded.
 22-3 Dec. Return of first interned political prisoners.
- 1917 5 Feb. Count Plunkett wins Roscommon by-election for Sinn Féin; further victories, 9 May (South Longford), 10 July (East Clare), 10 Aug. (Kilkenny City).
 16 May Announcement of Irish Convention as alternative to immediate Home Rule with Ulster exclusion; Convention meets, 25 July-5 Apr. 1918, fruitlessly.
 25 Oct. De Valera elected President at Sinn Féin *ard-fheis*; Sinn Féin change constitution, opting for an independent republic.
- 1918 18 Apr. Military Service Act threatens conscription for Ireland. Mansion House conference concerts all-Irish opposition.
 17-18 May Sinn Féin leaders arrested on grounds of supposed German Plot.
 14-28 Dec. General election: Sinn Féin 73, Irish Parliamentary Party 6, Unionists 25, 1 Independent Unionist.
- 1919 21 Jan. Soloheadbeg ambush by six Irish Volunteers; two policemen killed.
 First meeting of Dáil Éireann, in Mansion House; de Valera elected President, 1 Apr.
 14-25 Apr. General strike at Limerick.
 1 June-23 Dec. 1920 De Valera in USA.
 4 July Sinn Féin and other organizations suppressed in Tipperary and later in other troubled areas.
 12 Sept. Dáil Éireann declared illegal.
 11 Nov. First number of *Irish Bulletin*.
- 1920 2 Jan. First Black and Tans recruited.
 15 Jan. Sinn Féin control 172 out of 206 borough and urban councils in local elections; further successes in June.
 23 May Railwaymen's strike begins; refusal to transport troops.

- 21-4 July Sectarian riots in Belfast (recurrence, with thirty deaths, in Aug.).
- 27 July 'Auxiliary' parliamentary force recruited to cope with spreading guerrilla violence.
- 9 Aug. Restoration of Order Act.
- 25 Oct. Terence MacSwiney dies on hunger strike.
- 1 Nov. Execution of Kevin Barry.
- Enrolment of Ulster Special Constabulary begins.
- 21 Nov. 'Bloody Sunday' (see above, p. 498).
- 10 Dec. Martial law in Cork, Kerry, Limerick and Tipperary.
- 23 Dec. Government of Ireland Act sets up six-county parliament and administration in North; similar provision for South ignored.
- 1921 4 Feb. Craig succeeds Carson as Ulster Unionist leader.
- 25 May Dublin Customs House burned down.
- 22 June Opening of Northern Ireland parliament by George V.
- 9 July Truce between IRA and British army.
- 11 Oct. Conference opens in London.
- 6 Dec. Anglo-Irish Treaty signed (see above, pp. 504-8).
- 14 Dec. Debate on Treaty terms begins in Dáil Éireann (ends, 7 Jan. 1922).
- 1922 7 Jan. Treaty approved by Dáil Éireann (64 to 57)
- 9 Jan. Griffith elected President, succeeding de Valera.
- 16 Jan. Provisional government take over from Dublin Castle.
- 30 Mar. Craig-Collins pact (see above, p. 527).
- 7 Apr. Special Powers Act in Northern Ireland (annually renewed; made permanent, 9 May 1933).
- 14 Apr. Anti-Treaty forces seize Four Courts, Dublin.
- 16 June General election in Irish Free State: large majority to pro-Treaty Sinn Féin.
- 28 June Attack on Four Courts by Provisional government (destroyed, with Public Records Office, 30 June): civil war follows.
- 9 Sept. Third Dáil assembles, William Cosgrave president.
- 11 Sept. Abolition of proportional representation for local elections in Northern Ireland.
- 17 Nov.-2 May 1923 Seventy-seven republican prisoners executed.
- 1923 27 Apr. De Valera orders suspension of republic campaign; arms dumped in May.
- 22 June Northern Ireland Education Act setting up non-denominational schools opposed by Presbyterians and boycotted by Catholics.
- 24 July Land Commission replaces Congested Districts Board.
- 15 Aug. De Valera arrested.
- 10 Sept. Irish Free State enters League of Nations.

- 1924 6-19 Mar. Army 'mutiny' (see above, pp. 524-5).
- 1925 11 Feb. Effective prohibition of divorce legislation in Irish Free State.
- 7 Nov. Findings of Irish Boundary Commission leaked; agreement to maintain existing border, 3 Dec.
- 1926 18 Apr. Census: population of Irish Free State, 2,971,992; of Northern Ireland, 1,256,561.
- 16 May Foundation of Fianna Fáil.
- 1927 28 May Agricultural Credit Corporation established.
- 10 July Assassination of Kevin O'Higgins.
- 20 July Public Safety and Constitution Bills introduced.
- 11 Aug. Electricity Supply Board established.
- 1929 16 July Censorship of Publications Act.
- 21 Oct. Shannon hydro-electric scheme commences operations.
- 1931 26 Sept. Foundation of Saor Éire.
- 11 Dec. Statute of Westminster, giving effective legislative autonomy to dominions.
- 1932 9 Feb. Foundation of Army Comrades Association (from 20 July 1933, National Guard - nicknamed Blueshirts).
- 16 Feb. Fianna Fáil win general election.
- 30 June Land annuities withheld.
- 15-23 July Retaliatory trade legislation begins 'economic war'.
- 1933 3 May Act removing Oath from constitution.
- 22 Aug. Blueshirts outlawed.
- 2 Sept. Cumann na nGaedheal, Centre Party and National Guard join to form Fine Gael.
- Nov. Amending Acts reducing power of Crown representative.
- 1934 21 Dec. Coal-cattle pact (see above, p. 553).
- 1935 28 Feb. Sale and import of contraceptives made illegal.
- 1936 26 Apr. Census: population of Irish Free State, 2,968,420.
- 18 June IRA declared illegal.
- 11 Dec. (following Edward VIII's abdication) Amending Act removes references to Crown and Governor-General from constitution.
- 1937 28 Feb. Census: population of Northern Ireland, 1,279,745.
- 14 June De Valera's new constitution approved (see above, pp. 543-5, 550-51).
- 1938 25 Apr. Anglo-Irish agreement on trade and finance; Treaty ports to be returned.
- 25 June Douglas Hyde becomes President of Ireland.

- 1939 16 Jan. IR A begin bombing campaign in England.
2 Sept. Éire's intention to stay neutral announced (war declared, 3 Sept.).
- 1940 3 Jan. Emergency legislation against IR A introduced.
24 Nov. J. M. Andrews succeeds Craig as PM of Northern Ireland.
- 1941 7-8 Apr., 15-16 Apr., 4-5 May Air-raids on Belfast.
- 1943 28 Apr. Sir Basil Brooke (from 4 July 1952, Lord Brookeborough) becomes PM of Northern Ireland.
- 1944 14 Jan. Irish Labour Party splits.
- 1945 2 May De Valera expresses formal condolences to German embassy on death of Hitler.
16 June Seán T. O'Kelly elected President (installed, 25 June).
- 1946 12 May Census: population of Éire, 2,955,167.
6 July Foundation of Clann na Poblachta.
- 1947 13 Aug. Health Act extends powers of county councils and provides maternity care.
- 1948 4 Feb. General election: Fianna Fáil loses overall majority; coalition government takes over under J. A. Costello, 18 Feb.
21 Dec. Republic of Ireland Act (intention announced by Costello in Canada, 7 Sept.): Éire becomes Republic of Ireland and leaves Commonwealth, 18 Apr. 1949.
- 1949 2 June Ireland Act passed at Westminster, declaring special relationship of Irish citizens to UK and guaranteeing Northern Ireland will remain within UK unless its parliament decides otherwise.
- 1950 20 Dec. Foundation of Industrial Development Authority.
- 1951 11 Mar. Ian Paisley forms Free Presbyterian Church.
4 Apr. Hierarchy condemns 'Mother and Child' scheme (see above, pp. 571-2).
8 Apr. Census: population of Republic, 2,960,593; Northern Ireland, 1,370,921.
30 May General election: Fianna Fáil regain power.
- 1952 3 July Foundation of Bord Fáilte (Irish Tourist Board).
- 1954 6 Apr. Flags and Emblems Act in Northern Ireland legislates against interference with Union Jack and effectively prohibits display of tricolour.
18 May General election: coalition government regains power.
- 1955 14 Dec. Republic of Ireland joins UN.

- 1956 8 Apr. Census: population of Republic, 2,898,264.
12 Dec. IRA begins campaign on Northern Ireland border (called off, 26 Feb. 1962).
- 1957 4 Jan. Funeral of Seán South, Limerick IRA man killed in border-raid.
5 Mar. General election returns Fianna Fáil with large majority (they retain power until 1973).
- 1958 2 July Industrial Development Act, to encourage inflow of foreign capital.
Dec. Publication of T. K. Whitaker's *Economic Development* (see above, pp. 578-9).
- 1959 17 June De Valera elected President; Sean Lemass becomes Taoiseach, 23 June.
- 1960 20 Sept. F. H. Boland becomes President of UN General Assembly.
- 1961 9 Apr. Census: population of Republic, 2,818,341.
23 Apr. Census: population of Northern Ireland, 1,425,642.
31 Dec. RTE television station begins broadcasting.
- 1963 25 Mar. Terence O'Neill succeeds Brookeborough as PM of Northern Ireland.
- 1964 Jan. Campaign for Social Justice founded in Northern Ireland.
July Publication of Second Programme for Economic Expansion.
- 1965 14 Jan. Lemass and O'Neill meet in Belfast.
2 Feb. Nationalist Party in Northern Ireland decide to enter Stormont.
9 Feb. Lemass and O'Neill meet in Dublin.
10 Feb. Publication of Lockwood Committee Report on higher education in Northern Ireland.
14 Dec. Anglo-Irish free trade agreement signed.
- 1966 8 Mar. Nelson's Pillar in Dublin detonated.
Apr. Commemoration of 1916 rising.
17 Apr. Census: population of Republic, 2,884,002.
26 June Three sectarian murders by Ulster Volunteer Force.
19 July Ian Paisley convicted of unlawful assembly and breach of peace; imprisoned 20 July.
9 Oct. Census: population of Northern Ireland, 1,484,775.
10 Nov. Jack Lynch replaces Lemass as Taoiseach.
- 1967 Jan. Foundation of Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.
11 July Censorship Act lifts ban on books prohibited for twelve years.
11 Dec. Lynch and O'Neill meet in Belfast.
- 1968 8 Jan. Lynch and O'Neill meet in Dublin.

- 24 Aug. Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association organize march from Coalisland to Dungannon.
- 5 Oct. Police clash with Derry civil rights marchers.
- 9 Oct. Origins of People's Democracy in Belfast student demonstrations.
- 11 Dec. William Craig dismissed from Northern Ireland government.
- 1969 4 Jan. People's Democracy march from Belfast to Derry attacked by Protestants at Burntollet Bridge.
- 24 Jan. Brian Faulkner resigns from Northern Ireland government.
- Mar. Publication of Third Programme for Economic Expansion in Republic.
- 19 Apr. Riots in Derry; police enter Bogside.
- 20 Apr. Sabotage of Silent Valley reservoir.
- 28 Apr. O'Neill resigns; succeeded by Chichester-Clark.
- 12-16 July Derry riots.
- 14 July First death (at Dungiven, County Londonderry).
- 13 Aug. Bogside under siege; Lynch announces request to UN and threatens intervention.
- 14-15 Aug. Riots in Derry and Belfast; troops assume control.
- 12 Sept. Publication of Cameron report on Northern Ireland disturbances.
- 10 Oct. Hunt Committee report on Ulster police recommends abolition of B-specials (disbanded, 30 Apr. 1970) and creation of Ulster Defence Regiment (set up, 18 Dec.).
- 25 Nov. Electoral reform in Northern Ireland universalizes local government franchise.
- 1970 11 Jan. IRA split into Officials and Provisionals (see above, pp. 589-90).
- 16 Apr. Paisley returned to Stormont in Bannside by-election.
- 6 May Charles Haughey and Neil Blaney dismissed from government; arrested for conspiracy to import arms, 28 May; Blaney discharged, 2 July; Haughey acquitted, 23 Oct.
- 18 June Paisley elected to Westminster in North Antrim by-election.
- 25 June Hierarchy remove restrictions on Catholics attending Trinity College.
- 26 June Bernadette Devlin, MP, arrested.
- 3 July Riots in Belfast (six killed).
- 21 Aug. Foundation of Social Democratic Labour Party.
- 1971 6 Feb. First British soldier killed by Provisionals (following a month of rioting).
- 20 Mar. Brian Faulkner succeeds Chichester-Clark as PM of Northern Ireland.
- 18 Apr. Census: population of Republic, 2,978,248.

- 25 Apr. Census: population of Northern Ireland, 1,536,065.
- 16 July Social Democratic Labour Party withdraw from Stormont in protest at failure to inquire into deaths of two civilians killed by army (8 July).
- 9 Aug. Internment introduced in Northern Ireland (see above, p. 590).
- 5 Oct. Paisley founds Democratic Unionist Party.
- 1972 22 Jan. Republic signs treaty of accession to EEC (effective from 1 Jan. 1973).
- 30 Jan. 'Bloody Sunday': thirteen killed in Derry (see above, p. 591).
- 2 Feb. British embassy burned in Dublin.
- 23 Mar. Local Government Reform Act in Northern Ireland (district councils).
- 24 Mar. Stormont parliament and government suspended: direct rule by Secretary of State, William Whitelaw.
- 26 May Republic establishes special criminal court for offences against the state.
- 22 June Provisional cease-fire.
- 7 July Abortive negotiations between Provisional leaders and Whitelaw in London.
- 30 Oct. Whitelaw's Green Paper, 'The Future of Northern Ireland', declares no UK opposition to unity by consent.
- 7 Dec. Referendum removes 'special position' of Roman Catholic Church from constitution.

Note: This is a brief catalogue, concentrating on events referred to in the text. For a full chronology, see T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (editors), *A New History of Ireland VIII: A Chronology of Irish History to 1976* (Oxford, 1982), to which this chronology is heavily indebted.

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PART ONE

PROLOGUE VARIETIES OF IRISHNESS

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