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Culture, Identity, & Perspectives During the Anglo-Irish Conflict

Riley T. Losordo

Submitted in Partial Completion of the
Requirements for Departmental Honors in History

Bridgewater State University

May 9, 2023

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Culture, Identity & Perspectives

During the Anglo-Irish Conflict.

Riley T. Losordo – May 9th 2023



Gladstone Debate on Irish Home Rule, 8th April 1886.¹

¹ Wikimedia Commons, *Gladstone Debate on Irish Home Rule 8th April 1886*. Accessed 04/25/2023, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gladstone_debate_on_Irish_Home_Rule_8th_April_1886_ILN.jpg

Abstract

On December 6th, 1921, the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed, thus culminating a centuries-long battle for Irish independence. This, however, was the product of a long road of discourse, debate, and disagreement amongst both English and Irish alike. The corresponding question is: how did identity, ideology, and culture influence all sides of the Irish Question, on both the macro and micro levels, as it applied to Home Rule and independence since the establishment of the Act of Union in 1801? The goal is to analyze the ideologies of unionism and pro-independence movements in Ireland and England, including examining religion and national identity. This research utilizes primary sources such as the writings and words of prominent figures in support and contention with empire. Examples include the writings and words of Edward Carson, a prominent pro-empire activist who resided in Ireland, and the writings of former Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone. These sources allow me to interpret the shifts over time in ideological thought as it relates to culture, identity, and empire by examining popular opinion as it was revealed in electoral results, letters, oral histories, and other discourses. This research thus encompasses the thoughts, emotions, and mentalities of those who lived in both England and Ireland from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century to understand better how the fruits of rhetoric have changed and evolved over the course of the Home Rule movement in both England and Ireland. It also analyzes the nuances in public opinion that need to be reflected more in the literature relating to the Anglo-Irish conflict. The findings from this research will articulate that the Anglo-Irish conflict was both controversial and debated by both English and Irish alike. The point is that not all Irish were in favor of independence, while not all English were in favor of keeping and maintaining the Union, and

that there was a fluid spectrum surrounding the arguments that pertained to Home Rule and independence.

Introduction

This thesis investigates the complex interplay between culture, identity, and perspectives in the Anglo-Irish conflict, from the establishment of the Act of Union in 1800 to the early twentieth century by examining the thoughts and beliefs of key figures and analyzing shifts in public opinion to better understand the nuanced perspectives on Home Rule, independence, and reform within both England and Ireland. This thesis will find that there was a vibrant discourse surrounding the Anglo-Irish conflict and will showcase how the nuanced opinion is just as important as the mainstream one. Anglo-Irish relations are much more complex and nuanced than what would have been previously anticipated. This thesis will find that many people in Ireland supported preserving the Empire, and many in England would have liked to see the British Empire be more reformative.

To conduct this research, it will be imperative to analyze the arguments of prominent academics and activists. English Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone will be introduced to show that his ideas and policy ambitions favored reform in Ireland and was supportive of Irish Home Rule. We will then examine Albert Venn Dicey, an English jurist and professor at Oxford. Dicey argued that Home Rule was not the best solution. However, he also argues that certain aspects of reform are needed should the Union between England and Ireland survive. We will then examine John Stuart Mill, an English philosopher argued in favor of unionism but, similar to Albert Venn Dicey, had also presented his arguments in a manner to be much more supportive of reform between both England and Ireland.

On the side of Ireland, this thesis will first examine Daniel O’Connell, the leader of the Repeal movement in Ireland. O’Connell presented arguments that favored a Repeal of the Act of Union. O’Connell’s motive for pursuing repeal had much to do with the state of affairs concerning Catholic Emancipation, Land Reform, and the perceived failure of England to take responsibility for endemic poverty in Ireland. Following O’Connell, we will examine Charles Stewart Parnell, who led the Irish Tenant League. Parnell had focused on Land Reform but also drew considerations in favoring Home Rule for Ireland. Finally, we will examine the unionist platform in Ireland by looking at Edward Carson, the leader of the Irish Unionist Alliance, who viewed that ongoing problems in Ireland could only be solved by bringing England and Ireland closely together. Together, we will understand how thought, identity, and perspective play a vital role in understanding Anglo-Irish relations. Furthermore, we will also understand the broad spectrum of debate as it surrounds both unionism and nationalism. This portion of the thesis will be utilized to help better understand the arguments used and what people were thinking and saying regarding repeal, separation, and nationalism.

Next, to more fluidly understand the arguments, we will then turn to shifts in public opinion. By understanding public opinion, we can determine the effectiveness of both unionist and nationalist arguments in Ireland. This aspect of analyzing public opinion is minimally emphasized in Anglo-Irish relations. Public opinion is essential to highlight shifts that occurred during the Anglo-Irish conflict and understand why public opinion shifted in support of one direction as opposed to another. Specifically, we can better understand how the Irish National Land League may have influenced more support for reforming the Act of Union. Public opinion can serve as a reference point in understanding how perspectives have changed over time and articulates the causation for such change.

This research will be built upon utilizing the reliance of primary sources to introduce the opinions of individuals who had lived throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict from speeches, memoirs, legislative acts, and based on writings by those individuals throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict. One being excerpts from *Hansard*, which is the official record of parliamentary debates in the United Kingdom and Ireland, “Hansard takes its name from Thomas Curson Hansard, who began publishing the parliamentary debates of Great Britain in 1812.”² The Hansard resource will be utilized to describe the words of individuals such as William Ewart Gladstone and Edward Carson, as they had spoken on the floors of Parliament. We will also be utilizing books, manifestos, and memoirs in order to articulate the thoughts and perspectives of prominent figures all throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict. *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922* by Brian M. Walker is a useful primary source for charting out ideological change in Ireland throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict as it provides comprehensive data on the election results which we can then utilize to highlight the political views of Irish people throughout this period. This source will provide ancillary data on election outcomes from 1801-1922, and will help us in garnering valuable insights into the political history of Ireland as well as helping us understand the complex dynamics that shaped this country’s identity.

The background information was sourced by Nick Pellings’ *Anglo-Irish Relations, 1798-1922*.³ Nick Pellings introduces the complex relationship between both England and Ireland by taking into account and incorporating an analysis of political, social, and economic factors. This book incorporates all of the pending issues of the time, most specifically being of Home Rule, Church reform, and land reform in an unbiased and impartial manner and serves as a well-written

² Nova Scotia Legislature. *History of Hansard*. Accessed April 25, 2023. <https://nslegislature.ca/about/supporting-offices/hansard-reporting-services/history-hansard>

³ Nick Pellings, *Anglo-Irish Relations: 1798-1922, 1st Edition*. (Routledge, 2002).

introductory resource to the topic of Anglo-Irish relations and, ultimately, in understanding the Anglo-Irish conflict. Furthermore, Alan O'Day's *Reactions to Irish Nationalism*⁴ also provided a comprehensive overview relating to the nature of both Irish nationalism and Irish unionism. In full, this book provided a thorough analysis in referencing issues such as Catholic emancipation, Ulster unionism, land reform, and Home Rule. Alan O'Day introduces these topics by emphasizing the complex relationship between Irish nationalists, Irish unionists, and the English throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict. Alan Ward's *The Irish Constitutional Tradition: Responsible Government and Modern Ireland, 1782-1992*⁵ provides some insight on the Act of Union earlier on in the Anglo-Irish conflict. Ward presents the Act of Union wholistically by articulating its goals and describing its shortcomings. Ward's book will be useful in laying the foundation for what will be discussed later on in this thesis.

Background

The Act of Union was established in 1800 and rendered Ireland a part of the Union of Great Britain, Wales, and Scotland. The Act of Union would later be the driving factor behind Daniel O'Connell's National Repeal Association, which had worked to repeal the Act of Union and to grant Ireland independence. The Act of Union is exemplified in the following excerpt, where it is described that:

The Act of Union should have simplified the constitutional relationship between Britain and Ireland because the two countries were now governed under a single Crown by a single Parliament. The reality is that the Union failed abysmally as a constitutional device because it was approached in a strange way that did little to eradicate the sense that Ireland was a separate political community. From 1801 to 1921 Ireland was governed by a mixture of colonial and parliamentary government that was at odds with the concept of responsible government.⁶

⁴ Alan O'Day, *Reactions to Irish Nationalism*. (London, The Hambledon Press, 1987).

⁵ Alan Ward, *The Irish Constitutional Tradition: Responsible Government and Modern Ireland, 1782-1992*. (Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1994).

⁶ Alan Ward, *The Irish Constitutional Tradition: Responsible Government and Modern Ireland, 1782-1992*. (Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 30.

The Act of Union and its approach to governance did not bring both of these nations together, however, it had exacerbated the longstanding tensions between the two countries. Consider that the Act of Union abolished the Irish Parliament, as now the Irish Parliament became a part of the English Parliament. This may have been viewed by many as an overshadowing of Irish interests in England. Ultimately, the best actor in perpetuating Irish interests would be an Irish Parliament, not an English one. Consider Catholic emancipation in Ireland, it is difficult to pursue public policy relating to the rights of Catholics when the English Parliament was comprised of Protestants. The Act of Union was then established in a manner that took away from the political autonomy of the Irish citizenry and would be the leading cause for the perpetuation of the National Repeal Association and the Home Rule movement.

The primary issues surrounding Ireland throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict were land reform, Church reform, and the push for Home Rule. All three of which ultimately led to what is referred to as the *Liberal Party Split*. The Liberal Party Split, as it pertains to Ireland, has much to do with the agenda of Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone. Predominantly, the Split refers to the push by the Liberal Party in Parliament to be more reformative in nature and remedy antagonisms that have continued throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict. The goals of Gladstone, and many other Liberals, was to pass legislation that was intended to remedy Anglo-Irish relations, including land reform and of Church reform, as articulated:

The series of disturbances prompted the new leader of the Liberal Party, William Gladstone, to declare in 1868 that it was his ‘mission to pacify Ireland.’ In power, Gladstone adopted an approach that was clearly inspired by Peel’s approach a generation earlier: to win Irish support for the Union by offering concessions and addressing existing Irish grievances, in effect to kill Fenianism with kindness. His first major concession was the Irish Church Act of 1869 which disestablished the Church of Ireland (i.e., the Anglican Church in Ireland), thereby removing a long-standing Catholic grievance that they were paying to maintain an alien church. Although this was fairly well received in Ireland, the most important issue there over the next generation would be the so-called

Land Question. In bare outline, the Land Question concerned the fraught relationship between landlords and tenants. The tenants had for many years complained about excessively high rents, absentee landlords, and unwarranted evictions.⁷

Land reform had much to do with the relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland. The situation dealt with the power of landlords to freely raise rents or evict tenants in Ireland, which ultimately led to what is now referred to as the Land War. The Land War in Ireland was the culmination of tensions between landlords and tenants. The land reform movement was organized and led by Charles Stewart Parnell, who had sought for not just land reform, but ultimately “self-government for Ireland.”⁸ However, Anglo-Irish tensions were largely resolved by the passing of the Land Act of 1881:

But the struggle was largely resolved when Gladstone pushed through the important Land Act of 1881. This second Land Act was a major concession in that it gave the tenants what they had been long calling for, the so-called 3Fs: rights to a Faire Rent, Fixity of Tenure and a right of Free Sale of their tenure.⁹

Church disestablishment was another area in which yielded contention. Gladstone had made this a big part of his agenda and saw it as crucial in his mission to pacify Ireland. Church disestablishment was viewed as an important issue because of the majority population being Catholic. Furthermore, even though the majority of Ireland’s population was Catholic, those Catholics still had to pay a tax to the Protestant Church of Ireland, otherwise known as *tithes*.

Tithes can be better described in the following:

An additional source of discontent among pre-famine tenants were tithes. That is, taxes paid to the established Protestant church. These taxes fell on Catholic as well as protestant tenants and were paid either in kind, by a fixed annual payment based on acreage or by “view” of the crops, in which case the tithe varied according to the output.

⁷ Nick Pelling, *Anglo-Irish Relations: 1798-1922, 1st Edition*. (London and New York, Routledge, 2002), 60.

⁸ Nick Pelling, *Anglo-Irish Relations: 1798-1922, 1st Edition*. (London and New York, Routledge, 2002), 67

⁹ Nick Pelling, *Anglo-Irish Relations: 1798-1922, 1st Edition*. (London and New York, Routledge, 2002), 61

A common argument was the payment of 10/- an Irish acre of wheat and potatoes and 7/- to 8/- for oats.¹⁰

Home Rule not only inspired discontent amongst the Irish citizenry but also intra-party rivalry among the Liberals. Home Rule pertained to Ireland's right to self-govern, as the nation-state did not feel it was adequately represented in the English Parliament. Gladstone pursued the passage of the Home Rule Bill of 1886. The Home Rule bill allowed for the self-governorship of Ireland as long as Ireland remained loyal to the English Empire. Many liberals were in opposition of this, and ultimately, the Liberal Party split was likely the culprit for the failure to pass the first adaptation of this bill in 1886. As described, "ninety-three Liberal Unionists, combined with Conservatives and Ulster Unions, proved enough to sink that bill."¹¹ Ultimately, the Home Rule bill was the culmination of Gladstone's agenda to *pacify Ireland*. In order to equitably remedy Anglo-Irish relations, it was seen as the most effective mode to negate further clauses for independence or separation. However, due to the split within the Liberal Party, the bill was for naught as it never became public law due to the split. Furthermore, Home Rule would continue to be debated upon in later years, such as in 1893, 1912, and finally in 1920.

We will also examine Irish unionism as it pertains to the Irish Unionist Alliance and Edward Carson. As it relates to this paper, Irish unionism was not the most popular opinion yielded by the Irish citizenry throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict. However, this view still had notable prominence throughout the conflict. This paper specifically aims to target the perspectives of not just the mainstream opinions but also to introduce the nuanced opinions as well, in order to understand and comprehend the scope of the Anglo-Irish conflict fully. Many Irish unionists had an identity of which was more British than that of being Irish. Their principal

¹⁰ Alan O'Day, *Reactions to Irish Nationalism*. (London, The Hambledon Press, 1987), 66.

¹¹ Nick Pellings, *Anglo-Irish Relations: 1798-1922, 1st Edition*. (London and New York, Routledge, 2002), (O'Day 1987)68.

position was “the maintenance of the Union”¹² above all else. Many Irish unionists had felt strongly that if Home Rule were to pass, it would lead to what was referred to as the disintegration of the Empire. As articulated, “The Irish unionist case appealed to the more imperially-minded members of the opposition, for Irish unionists were careful to link home rule with the disintegration of the Empire.”¹³ Irish Unionists also drew concerns relating to fiscal or monetary issues as well. However, their principal concern had much to do with preserving the British Empire.

Analysis on English Ideology as it Pertains to Nationalism and Unionism

In this section, I will analyze the perceptions of prominent English leaders, academics, and philosophers to assess the varying levels of support for Home Rule and the lack thereof. This section examines the thoughts and perceptions of William Ewart Gladstone, Albert Venn Dicey, and John Stuart Mill. As Prime Minister, Gladstone was a prominent leader in shaping the discussion framework on Home Rule and land reform. Albert Venn Dicey, Professor of English Law at Oxford, did well at shaping unionist ideology in the academic spheres of England. Finally, I will examine the paradigm of John Stuart Mill, a prominent philosopher and Member of Parliament who rendered a pro-reformist opinion related to the nature and politics of England and Ireland. The ultimate goal here is to be able to understand why an English citizen would be in support of Home Rule, as well as why they would be in support of maintaining the status quo and understanding as to why an English citizen would be in support of reforming the state of relations between both England and Ireland during the Anglo-Irish conflict.

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)

¹² Alan O’Day, *Reactions to Irish Nationalism*. (The Hambledon Press, 1987), 388.

¹³ Alan O’Day, *Reactions to Irish Nationalism*. (The Hambledon Press, 1987), 386.

John Stuart Mill is described as “the most influential English language philosopher of the nineteenth century.”¹⁴ Mill’s *England and Ireland* addresses “The Irish Question,” examines the perspectives of the Irish, and presents an argument that will favor a reformation of both laws as it impacts the Union of England and Ireland. With Mill, we will decipher a pro-union perspective that is ultimately not entirely in advocacy for maintaining the union but maintenance of such that favors both peoples.

Like Dicey, Mill presents the opposing argument in a manner that does not discredit its prevalence. However, he does not concede either. Mill begins by addressing that “The population is divided between those who wish success to Fenianism, and those who, though disapproving its means and perhaps its ends, sympathized in its embittered feelings.”¹⁵ Mill is building the foundation that Fenianism, or in other words, early Irish nationalism, is that of a fringe ideology. Mill argues that this ideology has created division as it does sympathy among the population of Ireland. Mill then ponders why that would be the case; how could someone be in such stark opposition with the Empire? Mill goes on to describe the feelings in which the Irish yield toward Ireland, in his perspective, by stating that “What seems to them the ceaselessness of the Irish repugnance to our rule, is proof that they have almost let pass the last opportunity they are ever likely to have of setting it right. They have allowed what once was indignation against particular wrongs, to harden into a passionate determination to be no longer ruled on any terms by those to whom they ascribe all their evils.”¹⁶ Or, that the discontent in the Irish fostered toward the English is that of one that has been left to bottle up to outright hatred of the Empire.

¹⁴ Christopher Macleod, *John Stuart Mill*. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Stanford University, August 25, 2016. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mill/>.

¹⁵ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 6.

¹⁶ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 7.

Mill presents a unique pro-Union stance that does not proclaim the British Empire as perfect but that the Union has allowed these indignations to occur.

First and foremost, Mill addresses the topic of Irish property rights and how that aligns with Irish perception and identity. Mill offers a narrative in which the Irish yield toward the English having dominance over the land rights of the Irish people and articulates that “Let any Englishman put himself in the position of an Irish peasant, and ask himself whether, if the case were his own, the landed property of the country would have any sacredness to his feelings.”¹⁷ Mill goes on to state that: “for it is not the right of the rent-receiver, but the right of the cultivator, with which the idea of property is connected in the Irish popular mind.”¹⁸ Mill then outlines what he describes as being *legalized robbery* by the English:

It is terrible that one can be robbed in due course of law, but it is greatly worse when one actually is. England, with her capitalist farmers and her powerful public opinion, can afford to leave improper power in the hands of her great landlords... Ireland is very differently circumstanced. When, as a general rule, the land of a country is farmed by the very hands that till it, the social economy resulting is intolerable, unless either by law or custom the tenant is protected against arbitrary eviction or arbitrary increase of rent.¹⁹

Thus, Mill is articulating the very point which is being reaffirmed here. The English ponder at the Irish and question why and how the people of Ireland could yield such egregious discontent. Mill speculates that these property traditions are vastly different in Ireland than England. In England, the power of landlords is accepted as absolute. In contrast, in Ireland, the rights of cultivators *should be* fundamental, but it is not due to English rule and dominance over the Irish population.

¹⁷ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 15.

¹⁸ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 15.

¹⁹ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 20.

Ireland functioned as a strategic geographical asset to Great Britain. John Stuart Mill speculated on an Irish rebellion producing an alliance of adversaries united against Great Britain, stating:

Neither Europe nor America would now bear the sight of a Poland across the Irish Channel. Were we to attempt it, and a rebellion, so provoked, could hold its ground but for a few weeks, there would be an explosion of indignation all over the civilized world; on this single occasion Liberals and Catholics would be unanimous; Papal volunteers and Garibaldians would fight side by side against us for the independence of Ireland until the many enemies of British prosperity had time to complicate the situation by a foreign war.²⁰

This idea lies within the thought of the Irish situation spiraling out of control, where you would see an alliance of nations and organizations united to free Ireland. Furthermore, in the case of independent Ireland, these relations between both nations are more likely to be negative, as Mill sees the countries as “a standing menace to one another.”²¹

Mill offers the advantages of preserving the Union, as he considers both nations acting in unison as a significant force and, if separate, more prone to foreign invasion and hostilities. Mill positions this argument creatively by symbiotically making it beneficial to England and Ireland, as opposed to framing this argument in a manner that would benefit England. Mill states, "I see nothing that Ireland could gain by separation which might not be obtained by union, except the satisfaction."²² Therefore, if all that Ireland can gain is the satisfaction of independence, there would logically be consequences for an independent Ireland. Mill speculates, “What if there were a civil war between the Protestant and Catholic Irish, or between Ulster and the other provinces?”²³ Furthermore, “Irishmen would be shut out from all positions in Great Britain,

²⁰ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 25.

²¹ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 27-28.

²² John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 32.

²³ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 30.

except those which can be held by foreigners.”²⁴ Mill is therefore associating the identity of both the Irish and English as a symbolic identity, that both England and Ireland are mutually benefitting from this relationship in terms of commerce, peace, and in overall national security.

John Stuart Mill can attribute to yielding a Unionist stance. However, he does not proclaim the Union to be perfect. As alluded to previously, Mill addresses several issues that require reform to maintain the Union and that the Union of Great Britain and its coexistence is contingent on the ability of England and Ireland to reconcile their differences. We can associate this mode of thought as to being tied to the philosophic notion of justice and virtue as it relates to the will of what is referred to as *good governance*: “If without removing this difficulty, we attempt to hold Ireland by force, it will be at the expense of all the character we possess as lovers and maintainers of free government or respecters of any rights except our own... and when it will not prevent some generations of ill blood, that which is done at present may still be in time permanently to reconcile the two countries.”²⁵

Mill is not arguing for Ireland to be held by force, despite his pro-union leanings. Mill argued that England should be an example of good governance, and the Irish *should want* to be aligned with the English as it is mutually beneficial for England and Ireland. This notion of being a lover of free government reinforces the idea that Ireland should not be held under force but under the collaboration of both peoples. That goal of both nations, most ultimately, is reconciliation. This ties right back into Mill’s most influential contribution to philosophy, that of Utilitarianism, which he describes as being “...of a perfectly just conception of Utility or Happiness, considered as the directive rule of human conduct. But it is by no means an indispensable condition to the acceptance of the utilitarian standard; for that standard is not the

²⁴ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 32.

²⁵ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*. 4th ed. (London, England: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), 45.

agent's own greatest happiness, but the greatest amount of happiness altogether."²⁶ Therefore, England should not be focusing on what makes its people happy, but to what makes the community, or, both England and Ireland as the utilitarian standard dictates that happiness is the responsibility of not just one person or community, but of all communities. If we analyze the negative attitudes Ireland yields toward England, we can then associate all of which leading to the common denominator: that of unhappiness. The tenant league was made possible by the ruse of unhappiness with tenant-landlord laws, the lack of Catholic emancipation, and, thus, the lack of autonomy in its own perceived right to be a nation-state. Therefore, the only way for the Union of Great Britain to survive would be by reconciling these difficulties and addressing the problems that faced both English and Irish people.

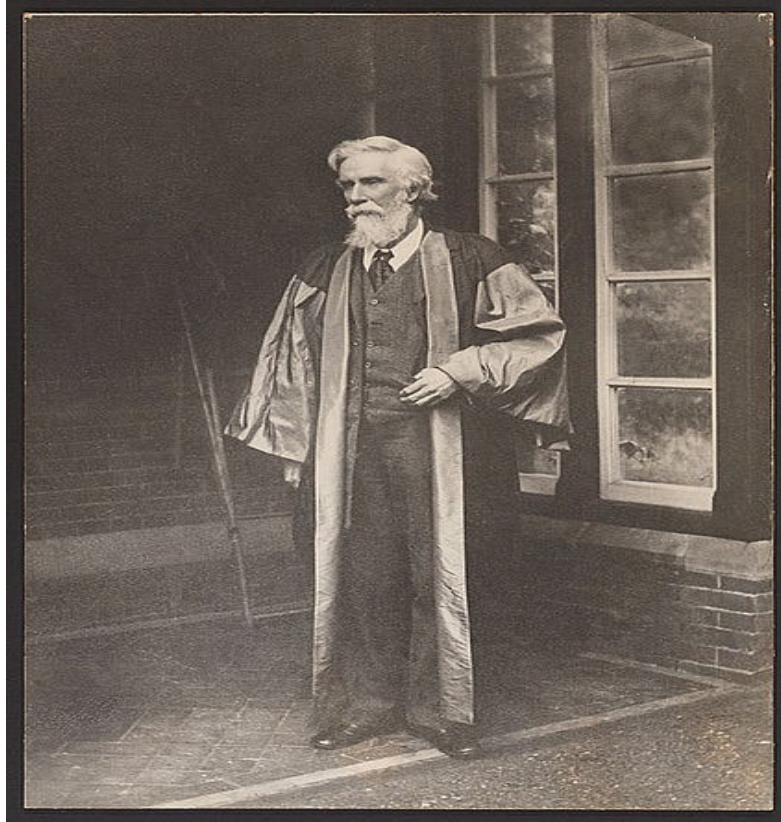
Albert Venn Dicey (1835-1922)

Acclaimed academic Albert Venn Dicey offers a unique stance concerning the perceptions yielded by the citizenry of Ireland and England during the Anglo-Irish conflict. Dicey was appointed to the Crown Office of Queen Victoria on January 27, 1890.²⁷ Albert Venn Dicey was taken seriously by the political establishment of England as an authority on Anglo-Irish relations. Gladstone referenced Dicey in his Home Rule speech.²⁸ Dicey's *England's Case Against Home Rule*, initially published in 1886, addresses common arguments rendered by the nationalist perspective while presenting a unionist stance in an attempt to articulate why and how the union should be maintained.

²⁶ John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism*. (London, Parker, Son and Bourn), 16.

²⁷ The London Gazette, 28 January 1890, Issue 26018, Page 475, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/26018/page/> (Accessed 04/28/2023)

²⁸ William Ewart Gladstone, *Gladstone's Measures for the Pacification of Ireland.: The Full Text of I. The Premier's Two Speeches on the Home Rule Scheme; II. The Home Rule Bill; III. the Premier's Speech on Land Purchase; IV. the Land Purchase Bill. April, 1886.*, Belfast: Published at the offices of the "Morning news," Belfast, & "Freeman's journal," (Dublin, 1886), 5.



*Albert Venn Dicey in Academic Robes.*²⁹

In terms of “The Will of the Irish People,” Dicey states that “It must be taken therefore that Ireland wishes for Home Rule; and since popular government as it exists in England means nothing else than government per the wishes of the people, the wish of the Irish people for the parliamentary independence of their country proves their right to an Irish parliament and terminates, or ought to terminate, all opposition to Home Rule.”³⁰ This belief can tie into a philosophic notion of a *Social Contract*, which Jean-Jacques Rousseau coined. The Social Contract theory articulates that people are governed on the basis that they agree to be governed and that good governance reflects the will of the people: “Each individual, in making a contract as we may say, with himself, is bound in a double capacity, as a member of the Sovereign he is

²⁹ Wikimedia Commons, *Albert Venn Dicey in Academic Robes*. Accessed April 24, 2023, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Albert_Venn_Dicey_in_academic_robos.

³⁰ Albert Venn Dicey, *England's Case Against Home Rule*. (London, John Murray, 1886), 67

bound to the individuals, and as a member of the State to the Sovereign.”³¹ Dicey is reflecting upon these notions of liberty as it relates to the will of the Irish people, that if they do not consent to be governed by the sovereign state, being that of Great Britain, then it is by their right to formulate a government in which they are consensually controlled.

Dicey presents this theory cleverly, where if you look at Ireland as being its *own* country, which was not the case at the time, then the previous argument would have yielded significantly more merit. But Dicey presents England’s counter-argument by stating, “The vast majority of the United Kingdom, including by the way a million or more of the inhabitants of Ireland, have expressed their will to maintain the union. Popular government means government per the will of the majority. Therefore according to all the principles of popular government, the majority of the United Kingdom have a right to maintain the union.”³² The point is that the *will of the people*, or the people of England, Wales, Scotland, *and* Ireland put together, are acting by their *own will* to preserve the union. That this is, in fact, consensual governance, this notion highlights explicitly how this aspect of identity is vital in understanding the causes and merits for such arguments as it relates to what it means to be English and what it means to be Irish. If you view yourself as being English, you are likelier to act by such an identity. As acting by being Irish, you would also act following such beliefs. We can tie this into the notion of nation-states. A nation can be called “A large aggregate of communities and individuals united by factors such as common descent, language, culture, history, or occupation of the same territory, so as to form a distinct people.”³³ In terms of what can be referred to as the “Irish Nation,” we can point to the body of

³¹ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*. (New York, Carlton House), 12.

³² Albert Venn Dicey, *England's Case Against Home Rule*. (London, John Murray, 1886), 68

³³ Oxford University Press. *nation, n.1*. OED Online. December 2022.

<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/125285?rskey=mzMc4D&result=1&isAdvanced=false> (accessed January 31, 2023)

Ireland as a whole, or a nation that shares this common culture and history, as well as identity as to what it means to be Irish. What Dicey is referring to are those who yield this desire for Ireland to be its nation-state and disavow this notion by arguing that the body of both England *and* Ireland is *one* nation-state, but does so by acknowledging that the nationalistic side of Ireland does see themselves as to be deserving of *their nation-state*, separated from that of England.

We must understand that although Dicey offers a perspective that is in favor of preserving the Union, he does well to articulate that the Union, in itself, is not perfect by any means and that should the Union be preserved, it would need to go under a certain degree of reform. “They committed the moral error of thinking that a beneficial enactment might allowably be passed by means which outraged all the best moral feeling of Ireland. Their mistakes are worth noticing. England is again told that a constitutional change is a remedy for Irish misery.”³⁴ This perspective does not proclaim the Union as the pinnacle of altruistic virtue or holy justice but that the Union is preferable and can be improved upon by the collaboration of England and Ireland. Dicey is making the point that constitutional change, or the emancipation of Ireland, is not the remedy for Irish misery and that the remedy would be: “to give ear to every Irish complaint, and to see that the laws which the Irish people obey are laws of justice, and (what is much the same thing) laws which in the long run the people of Ireland will feel to be just.”³⁵ Dicey is advocating for the maintenance of the Union not by suppressing Irish voices but by collaborating with such voices. Failure to do so will result in separation, and doing so will reinforce the idea of England being a virtuous and just Empire.

Dicey yields a larger geopolitical perspective that can be reminiscent of the constructivist perspective in political science. In a sense, there are more considerable consequences if Ireland

³⁴ Albert Venn Dicey, *England's Case Against Home Rule*. (London, John Murray, 1886), 130

³⁵ Albert Venn Dicey, *England's Case Against Home Rule*. (London, John Murray, 1886), 131

chose to leave the Union than just that of Ireland leaving the Union. The first consequence which is articulated would be the infliction “of moral discredit on England which... would decrease its resources and authority... [and would be] a sign of declining strength or of declining spirit”³⁶ or, put plainly, would be indicative of the signs of a declining empire if England were to fail to maintain authority over its closest neighbor. It would be a sign of weakness on the world stage. Furthermore, this sign of weakness would be coupled with a stark decrease in manpower and resources.

Dicey also points out that “the independence of Ireland would give England a foreign, and possibly a hostile, neighbor along the western coast of Great Britain.”³⁷ This third point articulates that Ireland could become both a rival and adversary as opposed to an ally and an asset. The waters around Britain are its most significant defense and have been up to this point for centuries, so having a solid navy meant everything for the security and protection of Britain. If Ireland were to formulate an alliance with a hostile nation, it would gravely impact the safety of Britain, and Dicey is projecting that this may be the case. Furthermore, the antagonistic relations associated with separation make it all too likely, in the minds of many pro-union activists, that Ireland would be an adversary in the case of emancipation and independence.

Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898)

To examine the role of Gladstone is to explore an important and influential sector of the Liberal Party as it relates to Anglo-Irish relations. This ideology can be associated with formulating a fairer union to maintain a positive symbiotic relationship with Ireland and the rest of the union. “My mission is to pacify Ireland,” declared Gladstone on becoming Prime Minister

³⁶ Albert Venn Dicey, *England's Case Against Home Rule*. (London, John Murray, 1886), 142-143

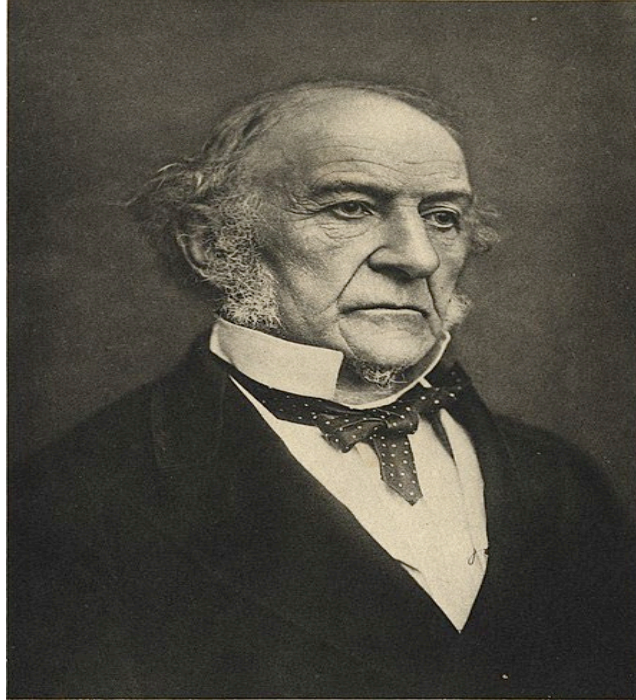
³⁷ Albert Venn Dicey, *England's Case Against Home Rule*. (London, John Murray, 1886), 147

again.³⁸ To achieve this mission, Gladstone had set forth varying reforms, including the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, the Home Rule Bill, and Irish land reform. These reforms reveal Gladstone's approach to Anglo-Irish politics in the nineteenth century.

Gladstone was a major proponent of the Church of Ireland's disestablishment and reinforced his belief that this enactment was not a matter of whether it *should* or *shouldn't* be done but a matter of necessity. Gladstone stated, "That it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an Establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property."³⁹ Gladstone is articulating two essential points here: that he is advocating for the cessation of the Church of Ireland, and secondly, that this needs to be done to protect both *personal interests* and *individual rights*. Therefore, in Gladstone's mind, this was a matter of principle related to justice and individualism.

³⁸ Hansard. U.K Parliament. *Disestablishment - UK Parliament*. Accessed February 28, 2023. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislativescrutiny/parliamentandireland/overview/disestablishment/>.

³⁹ Hansard (Parliamentary Debates) - Parliament Archives. Gladstone, William Ewart. *Established Church (Ireland) Volume 191: debated on Tuesday 28 April 1868*. Accessed February 28, 2023. <https://archives.parliament.uk/online-resources/parliamentary-debates-hansard/>.



*Gladstone in 1892 (Cropped)*⁴⁰

The disestablishment of the Church of Ireland was thus a landmark achievement for Gladstone as this separated the legal protections granted to the Church and conceded autonomy to Irish Catholics. The Irish Church Act of 1869 was implemented to disestablish the Church of Ireland. The bill explicitly states that: "... the said union created by Act of Parliament between the Churches of England and Ireland shall be dissolved, and the said Church of Ireland, hereinafter referred to as "the said Church," shall cease to be established by law."⁴¹ There were varying benefits to an Irish Catholic as it related to the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, including the end of collecting tithes, which is described as: "A tithe was one-tenth of the produce of agricultural land levied for the support of the official, state-established Church of

⁴⁰ Wikimedia Commons, *William Ewart Gladstone, 1892 (cropped)*. photograph. accessed April 24, 2023, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:William_Ewart_Gladstone,_1892_\(cropped\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:William_Ewart_Gladstone,_1892_(cropped).jpg)

⁴¹ The United Kingdom, UK Public General Acts, *Irish Church Act. 1869*. c. 42, Section 2, Accessed February 28, 2023, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1869/42/section/2/enacted>

Ireland and its clergymen.”⁴² Thus, the tributary payments rendered to the Church of Ireland were halted due to the outcome of this act, therefore, emphasizing that Gladstone was attempting to appeal to the rights of the Irish. Based on the overwhelming presence of Irish Catholics compared to Irish Protestants, we can conclude that this legislation was indeed an effort by Gladstone to *pacify* the Irish population.

Soon after the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, land reform became a focus. Gladstone referred to land reform as being a “vast importance of a subject which touches the material, the domestic, the daily condition directly, perhaps, of a majority of the population of Ireland, and indirectly of the whole of that population; and which, through the population of Ireland, and through the happy or unhappy results that may flow from our legislation, has a direct and a vital connection with the happiness and the stability of the Empire.”⁴³ Land reform will be a focal point in understanding not only the thoughts and perceptions of Gladstone, however, will provide insight into the alignment of England and Ireland.

The Landlord and Tenant Act of 1870 established what is referred to as *Ulster Custom*, which can be described as “the name given to the informal rights of Ulster tenants. This included security of tenure so long as the rent was fully paid, and the freedom to sell the right of occupancy to any new tenant who met with the landlord's approval.”⁴⁴ The Act was aimed at solving issues that arose during the Land Reform Movement in Ireland during the nineteenth century and were centerfold in the pursuits and ambitions of Gladstone in efforts to “pacify”

⁴² The National Archives of Ireland. *Tithe Applotment Records*. Accessed February 28, 2023. <https://www.nationalarchives.ie/article/tithe-applotment-records/>.

⁴³ Hansard - UK Parliament. Gladstone, William Ewart. *Leave First Reading, Volume 199: Debated on Tuesday 15 February 1870*. Accessed February 28, 2023. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1870-02-15/debates/fa5d0542-b7c0-4dec-a3dc-c10ff437511f/LeaveFirstReading?highlight=land%20act#contribution-44174ba0-3f6d-4c53-a889-aaa90841cca8>.

⁴⁴ Oxford Reference. *Ulster custom*.. Accessed 4 Apr. 2023. <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803110537312>.

Ireland. The act states: “and in this Act intended to be included under, the denomination of the Ulster tenant-right custom, are hereby declared to be legal, and shall, in the case of any holding in the province of Ulster proved to be subject thereto, be enforced in manner provided by this Act.”⁴⁵ This act was perpetuated as a first step in reforming tenant-landlord relations in Ireland during the height of the land reform movement during the 1870s. This first step was to codify “Ulster tenant-right custom”⁴⁶ into law. Albeit, this bill applied more to Ulster, as the Ulster Tenant-Right Custom implied. Following this act was the Land Law Act of 1881, which would be deemed much more comprehensive in addressing the land question as it related to Ireland.

The 1881 land law was much more extensive in nature, as it applied to the modes and orders related to the facilitation of land and property within Ireland, as well as addressing the nature and attitudes between tenants and landlords. Specifically, the Act forces the landlord to require permission from a tenant for rent increases, stating:

Where the landlord demands an increase of rent from the tenant of a present tenancy... then... Where the tenant does not accept such increase and is compelled to quit the tenancy by or in pursuance of a notice to quit, but does not sell the tenancy, he shall be entitled to claim compensation as in the case of disturbance by the landlord: The tenant of a present tenancy may in place of accepting or declining such increase apply to the court in manner hereafter in this Act mentioned to have the rent fixed.⁴⁷

Therefore, the Act reduces the relationships between tenants and landlords to be symbiotic, whereas, before this Act, the landlords would have the power to raise freely or lower rents. This

⁴⁵ United Kingdom. *Landlord and Tenant Act of 1870, Chapter 46, An Act to Amend the Law Relating to the Occupation and Ownership of Land in Ireland. 1st August 1870.*

https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1870/46/pdfs/ukpga_18700046_en.pdf

⁴⁶ United Kingdom. *Landlord and Tenant Act of 1870, Chapter 46, An Act to Amend the Law Relating to the Occupation and Ownership of Land in Ireland. 1st August 1870.*

https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1870/46/pdfs/ukpga_18700046_en.pdf

⁴⁷ Irish Statute Book. *Land Law (Ireland) Act 1881, Chapter XLIX, An Act To Further Amend The Law Relating to the Occupation and Ownership of Land in Ireland, and for Other Purposes Relating Thereto. 22nd August 1881.*

<https://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1881/act/49/enacted/en/print.html>

Act requires the tenant to permit a demand or increase in rent, and the tenant is eligible for both compensation and rent fixing.

Although equitable efforts were made in land reform in the 1870s and early 1880s, the latter part of the 1880s introduced the first Home Rule bill for Ireland, which Prime Minister Gladstone perpetrated. This bill sought “to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and by any such law to alter and repeal any law in Ireland.”⁴⁸ Or, in other words, to establish Home Rule in Ireland; to render greater political autonomy for Ireland while still reserving certain powers to England as a whole. This bill was the first legislative attempt at Home Rule in Ireland, though it failed. The final vote count was “Ayes 311; Noes 341: Majority 30.”⁴⁹ We can articulate that due to the nature of this bill, and its proponents being that of the Prime Minister and a great sect of the Liberal Party, Gladstone's efforts arguably articulated and inspired more action to be taken in the future. Gladstone had made it his mission to quell hostilities between England and Ireland, and the Home Rule Bill was just one of many examples of how he attempted to pursue this goal. Gladstone ultimately saw the most equitable mode of pursuing reform in Ireland was through the means of Parliament. The Liberal Party Split, however, had trumped this mode and rendered much of the attempted reformation regarding home rule as to be non-existent in English public law.

Ultimately, Gladstone’s paradigm was to create an English Empire in a new image that had a much softer view of what Britain's engagements were to be as it related to geopolitical affairs. These engagements, as they pertained to Ireland, can be associated with softening the degree of power England had over Ireland while pursuing more significant levels of autonomy

⁴⁸ Liberal Union of Ireland. *What Home Rule Means Now*. Reprinted from "The Times". (Dublin, 1893), 61

⁴⁹ Hansard. Parliament of the United Kingdom. *Second Reading, Adjourned Debate, Volume 306: debated on Monday 7 June 1886*. Accessed April 4, 2023. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1886-06-07>.

for Anglo-Irish citizens in all realms, whether it be in the spheres of Catholic emancipation, political autonomy, or economic fairness. Gladstone did not see the relationship between England and Ireland as a long and fruitful partnership. However, he saw it as one that was in drastic need of reform. Gladstone had warned the House of Commons before voting on the first Home Rule bill to “Think, I beseech you, think well, think wisely, think, not for the moment, but for the years that are to come, before you reject this Bill.”⁵⁰ We can conclude that Gladstone knew that failure to adhere to equitable reforms would lead to greater hostility and would thus ignite the flames of nationalistic ideology going into the twentieth century.

Conclusion

Irish reform and nationalism were a spectrum. This spectrum was vibrant as it relates to discourses in England. Fundamentally, on one side of the spectrum, many English had viewed the nature of Anglo-Irish relations as in dire need of reform. Where Gladstone had viewed reform as needing to be conducted regarding all fragments of Irish society relating to religion, economics, and political autonomy, others, such as Albert Venn Dicey, viewed the solution as being best conducted within the Union. All of the figures, as mentioned earlier, no matter how fond of Home Rule or Unionism, concede to some extent that reform was in question. Gladstone symbolizes what you could expect of a pro-reformation liberal, which would be somebody who would argue in favor of reforms, such as for Home Rule and for the expansion of Catholic rights and privileges to the people of Ireland. Furthermore, Albert Venn Dicey featured a moderate opinion, where he was certainly in support of the Empire at large however, did not totally disavow in his writing that there was need of some reform should the Union of England and

⁵⁰ Hansard. Parliament of the United Kingdom. *Second Reading, Adjourned Debate, Volume 306: debated on Monday 7 June 1886*. Accessed April 4, 2023. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1886-06-07>.

Ireland survive. Finally, John Stuart Mill's writings can be deemed more unionist in nature, however, his writings point to a stronger backlash against the status quo. Mill articulates that the union is ultimately good, however, emphasizes the need for reconciliation. Thus, the conclusion based on the writings of these three individuals would be that all three support reform in one way or another. However, all have varying levels of support for the Empire and Home Rule.

Analysis on Irish Ideology as it Pertains to Nationalism and Home Rule

Next, we will explore the perspectives of figures Edward Carson, Charles Stewart Parnell, and Daniel O'Connell. Edward Carson will represent the Unionist perspective, while both Parnell and O'Connell will represent the nationalist perspective during the Anglo-Irish conflict. As we did with the views of those who are English, we will be presenting various statements and writings as well as ambitions of these figures in pursuit of discovering the most critical question: why would an Irish citizen be a unionist, and what were their reasons for doing so, and on the contrary, why would an Irish citizen be nationalist, and what were their reasons for doing so?

Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847)

Daniel O'Connell represents one of the first movements in advocacy for Irish independence during the Anglo-Irish conflict. Daniel O'Connell was recognized for his collaboration in organizing the Repeal Association of Ireland. O'Connell's inspiration for this was tied heavily to his view that there was a need for Catholic emancipation in Ireland, and the Act of Union had only worked to benefit the Protestant population. The Repeal Association

wanted to grant “A ‘repeal’ of the obnoxious union”⁵¹ between both “England and Ireland.”⁵² The Repeal Association can be associated as an example of Home Rule ideology originating earlier in the nineteenth century. The Association wanted to repeal the Act of Union of 1800, which established the dissolution of “the Irish Parliament and merged it with the British Parliament, creating the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.”⁵³ By examining the *Loyal National Repeal Association’s Manifesto*, authored by Daniel O’Connell, we will be able to garner a perspective on the Repeal movement from someone who was Irish, not in support of the Act of Union, and who advocated for more political and economic autonomy.



*Daniel O’Connell – Defending the Rights of his Countrymen in the Courts of Dublin.*⁵⁴

⁵¹ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843, 3 & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27446184>

⁵² South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843, 3 & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27446184>

⁵³ Museum of the American Revolution - *Acts of Union of 1800*. Accessed April 11, 2023. <https://www.amrevmuseum.org/virtualexhibits/cost-of-revolution/pages/acts-of-union-of-1800>.

⁵⁴ L.H. Daniels, Lith. *Daniel O’Connell – Defending the Rights of His Countrymen in the Courts of Dublin*, Feb. 4, 1844. & Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003665022/> (Accessed 02/24/2023)

O'Connell was most predominantly concerned with the following: "Our objects, then, are these - the restoration of a separate and local Parliament for Ireland, the restoration of the judicial independence of Ireland."⁵⁵ The association believed England was incapable of being an excellent example of just or virtuous governance when it came to the passage of reasonable and equitable public policy for the people of Ireland. The solution is that Ireland itself would be much more apt to develop Irish solutions to Irish problems. Consider the Church of Ireland, which was a Protestant organization. As aforementioned, Catholics would have needed to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland. In principle, this was a grievance to many Catholics living in Ireland. Under the dissolution of the Act of Union, the Church of Ireland would ultimately be forfeited as an organization. Thus policy outcomes would be much more representative of the people of Ireland. The *Manifesto* directly articulates this notion by stating: "The first of these objections, and apparently the most important, arises from the apprehension that the consequences of the Repeal of the Union would be the establishment of a Catholic ascendancy-to be submitted for the bygone Protestant ascendancy."⁵⁶ Therefore, the overarching point here is the perpetuation of Catholic interests by a Catholic population at the expense of seceding Protestant interests upon said Catholic populace. The *Manifesto* goes on to outline that: "There exists in the hands of the Church of the minority of the Irish people, the possession of the entire ecclesiastical state revenues of the entire Irish nation. We candidly and explicitly disavow that this state of thing could not continue to exist after the Repeal of the Union."⁵⁷ And thus, the Repealers sought to perpetuate this notion of *Catholic Ascendancy* by forfeiting and perpetuating

⁵⁵ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843. & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27446184>, 3

⁵⁶ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843. & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27446184>, 3

⁵⁷ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843. & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27446184>, 3-4

the disestablishment of the Act of Union. Daniel O’Connell wrote about his belief in the merging of church and state. He articulated the necessity for the presence of theological virtue in the legislation process: “Under a popular Government, the man who has right, and reason, and justice, and charity, and Christianity itself at his side, has great instruments of legislation and legal power. He has the elements about him of the greatest utility, and even if he should not succeed, he can have the heart-soothing consolation of having endeavored to do great and good actions. He can enjoy, even in defeat, the sweet comfort of having endeavored to promote benevolence and charity.”⁵⁸ Ultimately, this was a matter of virtue in the eyes of O’Connell, and he believed that Catholic virtue is symbiotic with right, reason, justice, and charity.

The Repealers had also aligned themselves with the earlier movements on expanding the rights of tenants within Ireland. The manifesto articulates that the relationship between landlords and tenants would be “utterly impossible... that the relations between landlord and tenants should continue in their present form.”⁵⁹ In contrast, under a prospective repeal of the Act of Union, the manifesto states that there would be greater oversight in not only perpetuating the needs of tenants but also enacting good and effective public policy, noting:

. . . the Repealers to enact a law that should repeal much of the existing statute-law in favor of landlords, but in such a manner that would give the landlords full and perfect remedies for recovering a rent adequate to the real value of the land, after allowing for the tenants’s rightful and natural share of the growing produce. It is proposed to render a lease necessary for all dealing between landlord and tenant, and to give the tenant a lien on the land for all valuable and lasting improvements.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Committee of the Irish Repeal Association of Cincinnati. Daniel O’Connell and the Committee of the Irish Repeal Association of Cincinnati, From the Catholic Telegraph of Wednesday August 5th, 1863, Stereotype Edition, Printed at the Catholic Telegraph Office, (Corner of Vine and Longworth Streete, 1863), 6.

⁵⁹ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843. & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27446184> 4

⁶⁰ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843. & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27446184>, 4

Daniel O’Connell saw the behavior and relationship between landowners and the tenants in its current state of affairs as both parasitic and exploitative. In response, O’Connell sees that the solution would be best rendered if that relationship became more symbiotic, in which both classes can *benefit* from one another. Daniel O’Connell and the Repealers ultimately positioned themselves to represent disenfranchised Irish Citizens. These disenfranchised citizens shared common grievances, believing the Act of Union was to blame for poverty and Catholic emancipation.

O’Connell also delved into a more empirical perspective in critiquing the state of affairs within the Union of England and Ireland. O’Connell articulates that the relationship between both nations is overwhelmingly beneficiary to England, with Ireland’s resources being drained by England. “Above all, let not the absentee drain be forgotten. It is now proven to amount to upwards of £9,000,000 per annum. By the Union, we are drained of more than £9,000,000 annually.”⁶¹ As this was written in 1843, we can calculate that the value of £9,000,000 in 1843 is the “equivalent in purchasing power to about £1,463,007,158.78 today.”⁶² O’Connell points to this relationship as the culprit for poverty in Ireland, stating that “Ireland is occupied by a wretched peasantry, whose poverty, contrasted with the productiveness and fertility of the soil, forms the strongest proof of the miserable effects of an absentee drain.”⁶³ Even further, O’Connell compares the fiscal responsibility of England to that of Ireland, noting:

. . . that whilst the English Parliament incurred a debt of £446,000,000, the Irish parliament kept the debt of Ireland under £20,000,000. Say in round numbers, the English debt has doubled since the Union; our just proportion ought not, at all events, to exceed a similar proportion, namely, from twenty to forty millions, and the rapidity with the entire

⁶¹ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843. & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/274461844>

⁶² UK Inflation Calculator, *Inflation Rate between 1843-2023 £9,000,000 in 1843 → 2023* |. Accessed April 11, 2023. <https://www.in2013dollars.com/uk/inflation/1843?amount=9000000>.

⁶³ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843. & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/274461844>

would be paid off - aye, within less than five years, would leave Ireland the least taxes country in the world, instead of being the country which, according to her present means, suffered the most from taxation.”⁶⁴

O’Connell is directly associating the poverty many Irish experienced as directly linked to the Act of Union between England and Ireland. O’Connell understands that to inspire the people of Ireland, he needed to be able to adequately and efficiently articulate how and why this Union was obstructive to the fiscal independence of Ireland. O’Connell thus argues that the monetary outcomes in a prospective independent Ireland would far supersede the consequences within the Union of England and Ireland.

Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891)

Charles Stewart Parnell was a prominent figure in shaping the sphere of nationalist politics in the nineteenth century. Parnell had worked diligently in expanding land rights and political rights to those who were Irish within the Union of Great Britain. Most notably, Parnell can be recognized for being a part of the formation of The National Land League and organizing the Irish populace to oppose unfair tenancy practices within Ireland. Furthermore, Parnell can be described as a staunch advocate for Irish Home Rule and viewed Ireland as a nation and, by extension, having the right to be a fully independent nation.

Charles Stewart Parnell sought to instill justice for the people of Ireland during his tenure in Parliament and his participation in Irish domestic politics. As it surrounds the nature of Home Rule, Parnell stated in Parliament the following: “In the neglect of the principles of self-government lay the root of all Irish trouble,” adding, “Ireland is not a geographical fragment, but a nation.”⁶⁵ In full, Parnell states explicitly that there is a differentiation to be made, that Ireland

⁶⁴ South Australian Register. *Loyal National Repeal Associations Manifesto*. 23 December 1843. & Trove, Newspapers and Gazettes, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/274461844>

⁶⁵ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 141

itself is a nation, and that by being a nation, it has a right to claim statehood. Making such statements in Parliament emphasizes Parnell's strong thoughts as they relate to Home Rule and independence.

Furthermore, Parnell had been described as a vehement supporter of expanding tenants' rights within the sphere of Ireland. Parnell had stated that "my experience of the working of the Ulster system of Land Tenure in the North convinces me that there is no other remedy for the unfortunate relations existing between landlord and tenant in other parts of Ireland than the legalization through the whole of the country of the Ulster Tenant Right."⁶⁶ The point here goes to emphasize that Parnell's views were not just based off of political alignment. However, his lived experiences had perpetuated a certain call-to-action as it relates to the rights and privileges of the nation of Ireland. This ultimately may articulate as to why Land Reform was such a central issue for Parnell and why it had shaped his legacy both inside and outside Parliament throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict.

In fulfillment of perpetuating solidarity and in opposing landlords, Parnell was a staunch supporter of the boycott method. Parnell advocated for a certain degree of social isolation, comparable to committing a mortal sin, as punishment for committing a moral injustice and acting in a manner that was not in solidarity with a person's fellow Irishman. Parnell describes what the punishment should be for someone who takes a farm from an evicted tenant:

When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must show him on the roadside when you meet him, you must show him in the streets and the town, you must show him in the fair and in the marketplace, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral coventry, by isolating him from his kind as if he was a leper of old—you must show him your detestation of the crime he had committed; and you may depend upon it that there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men, and to transgress your unwritten code of laws.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 134

⁶⁷ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 186-187

This form of de facto governance emphasizes Parnell's ambition to pursue land reform. He was a firm believer in solidarity being an effective method in reeling back the current state of affairs of landlord practices in Ireland. In response, the people of Ireland had behaved differently than the intended mode of “passive resistance”⁶⁸ resulting in violence across Ireland, where “people were not satisfied with isolating their fellow-country-men. “It is not enough to send them to Coventry; we must send them to hell!” Was a saying that passed like wildfire through the ranks of the evicted tenants. Murders became of everyday occurrence, cattle were shockingly maimed, and the farmer who replaced an evicted tenant was lucky if he escaped with his life.”⁶⁹ Parnell’s intentions were that of social isolation. This social isolation was a mode of protest. The intended message was that if you were to take from one who was evicted, then you yourself would be condemned to both social and fiscal isolation and, thus, would be doomed as a result. However, the projected outcome in actuality was violence. Parnell himself did not subscribe to the violent means of protest regarding this issue. As stated, Parnell saw *passive resistance* as to be the most equitable mode of protest.

Most predominantly, Parnell was recognized as a vital Irish Land League leader. As previously mentioned, this organization pursued land reform in areas such as fair rent and the expansion of tenants' rights in the nineteenth century. In fulfillment of this, Parnell, alongside other members of the Land League, published “The No Rent Manifesto,” which stated:

The executive of the National Land League, forced to abandon its policy of testing the Land Act, feels bound to advise the tenant farmers of Ireland from this day forth to pay no rents under any circumstances to their landlords until the Government relinquishes the existing system of terrorism and restores the constitutional rights of the people... funds

⁶⁸ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 187

⁶⁹ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 187

will be poured out unstintedly for the support of all who may endure eviction in the course of the struggle.⁷⁰

Fundamentally, this organization was vehemently opposed to the rent system as it had existed. Parnell had worked in domestic and parliamentary politics to establish greater protections for Irish tenant farmers. The principal outcome of these agitations was the Irish Land War, which was an armed agitation between both England and Ireland. The Land War, due to its nature, prompted initiative by Parliament, most predominantly being the Land Act of 1881, which resulted in a total revitalization of landlord practices in Ireland. Furthermore, one can presume that the intention of the “No Rent Manifesto” was to instill a level of fear into Members of Parliament, as in this excerpt, declarations of solidarity and mutual aid are established, thus, instilling a collectivist mentality in efforts to “destroy landlordism, and the system which was and is the curse of your race.”⁷¹



⁷⁰ The Land League. *The “No Rent” Manifesto*. Text of the Document Issued by the Land League, The New York Times, The National Land League, October 21, 1881, 1.

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1881/10/21/98570110.html?pageNumber=1>

⁷¹ The Land League. *The “No Rent” Manifesto*. Text of the Document Issued by the Land League, The New York Times, The National Land League, October 21, 1881, Page Number 1,

<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1881/10/21/98570110.html?pageNumber=1>

*Family Evicted by their landlord during the Irish Land War, Circa 1879.*⁷²

Parnell had established his thoughts on the Home Rule Bill of 1886. Parnell supported this bill as a leader in advocating and pursuing Irish justice in Parliament. In the rounds of voting, Parnell illustrated that a rejection of Home Rule in Parliament “would mean an outburst of indignation in Ireland, with which not even the many stringent measures in force would be sufficient to cope.”⁷³ Following the rejection of Home Rule in Parliament, there was much unrest in Ireland. This was the *Plan of Campaign*, “which had immediately produced the outburst of violence which he fear it would, and which led to the passing of the Crimes Act.”⁷⁴ The Crimes Act was described as having the power to “suspended the right of trial by jury in a number of cases of agrarian disorder, substituting instead by trial by magistrates.”⁷⁵ The overall outcome was an alliance that was described to have driven “the Nationalists into the arms of the Liberals.”⁷⁶ Parnell was skeptical of this alliance, and his brother described him as stating, “I do not object to an English alliance which we can control; I object to an English alliance which the English control.”⁷⁷ Or, in other words, Parnell was somewhat skeptical of this alliance between both parliamentary parties. Considering if the goal was to pursue reformist measures in the perpetuation of advancing the interests of Irish citizens, we can associate that, by extension, the

⁷² Unknown photographer. *Family evicted by their landlord during the Irish Land War*. Circa 1879. Photograph. National Library of Ireland, Dublin. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Family_evicted_by_their_landlord_during_the_Irish_Land_War_c1879.jpg (accessed April 24, 2023).

⁷³ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 216

⁷⁴ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 217

⁷⁵ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 217

⁷⁶ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 218

⁷⁷ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell, A Memoir*, (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914), 218

thoughts were that English Parliamentary members would have been more reluctant than fellow Irish members in the perpetuation of these interests.

Edward Carson (1854-1935)

Edward Carson was an important figure in the Anglo-Irish conflict. He was formerly the leader of the IUA (Irish Unionist Alliance). He represented a unionist who was immensely fond of keeping and preserving the British Empire in Ireland during the Anglo-Irish conflict. His opinion was that he viewed the Act of Union, and more specifically, the British Empire, as a force for peace for England and Ireland. Carson argued that the relationship between both nations of England and Ireland was symbiotic, where both peoples benefited from their coexistence. Carson crafted his mode of argumentation to appeal to the anticipated policy goals of the Irish citizenry, as revealed in sources such as his writings, words, and efforts in keeping and maintaining the Act of Union.

Similar to arguments rendered by other pro-unionist figures was the perspective that the Union ensures stability and security in England and Ireland. Edward Carson supported this proposition and stated, “The first law of nature with nations and governments, as with individuals, is self-preservation... If that union was necessary for the salvation of England and the foundation of the British Empire, it is assuredly no less necessary for the continued security of the one and maintenance and prestige of the other.”⁷⁸ Thus, he reinforces the notion of empire, the need to resuscitate imperial fervor, and an appeal to disenfranchised Anglo-Irish peoples. Without empire, the security of Ireland is uncertain, but with empire, the safety of Ireland is guaranteed. By bolstering mutual collaboration between the two nations, they will be a more

⁷⁸ Simon Rosenbaum, *Against Home Rule (1912) The Case For The Union*. Introduction by Edward Carson (London, England: Frederick Warne & Co. And New York, 1912), 18

significant and prominent force militarily. Carson articulates that Irish manpower is critical to the security of England and Ireland, noting, “We now draw recruits from Ireland out of all proportion to its population. Under Home Rule, the difficulties of maintaining a proper standard of men and efficiency must be immensely increased”⁷⁹ Carson insinuates that Ireland and England, divided, would need to invest much more into defense for their independent nations, but together, this investment in proportion to their expenditures would be much less. Therefore, the point is reiterated that collaboration between the two, militarily, is seen as a mutual benefit by Carson.

Carson emphasized economic collaboration between England and Ireland. That without collaboration, Ireland would ultimately be left to ruin, and Carson cleverly cites the Irish Potato Famine as an example of what consequences would follow if Ireland were to be left to fend for itself on the world stage:

Then came the great economic disaster for Ireland—the adoption of free trade by England. The Irish famine of 1849 was not more severe than others that had preceded it, but its evil effects were accentuated by the policy of the English Government. The economists decided that the State ought to do nothing to interfere with private enterprise in feeding the starving people. And as there was no private enterprise in the country, where all classes were involved in common ruin, the people were left to die of hunger by the roadside. The lands of the potato blight spared were desolated by the adoption of free trade.⁸⁰

Carson then offers a solution, although he acknowledges that the Potato Famine had acted as an incentivization for advocating for pro-nationalist policies, such as that of favoring Home Rule, where he states, “The landlords and the farmers of Ireland were divided into two political

⁷⁹ Simon Rosenbaum, *Against Home Rule (1912) The Case For The Union*. Introduction by Edward Carson (London, England: Frederick Warne & Co. And New York, 1912), 22

⁸⁰ Simon Rosenbaum, *Against Home Rule (1912) The Case For The Union*. Introduction by Edward Carson (London, England: Frederick Warne & Co. And New York, 1912), 24

camps, and, instead of united for their common welfare, each attempted to cast upon the other the burden of the economic catastrophe.”⁸¹ Thus, what Carson states that the result was division, between both the land-owning classes and the working classes; a division between Irish and English. Carson then points out that this would be an example as to why both England and Ireland should be more united, that without the adoption of Free Trade between both England and Ireland or, in other words, with a stronger union between both England and Ireland, both countries would be able to work together in a manner that reconciles both of their difficulties.

Carson states:

Not only does Unionist policy for Ireland involve considerations of national safety and national honour, but it is also necessary for the economic welfare of both countries... it is obvious that with the development of trade which will follow on the adoption of Tariff Reform by England, Irish companies will be in a better position to help themselves, and the increase in the wealth and prosperity of Ireland must soon enable the railways to carry out constructive works which they all admit to be necessary⁸²

Thus: without stronger economic collaboration, or, as Carson would argue, without a stronger union, Ireland would not have the same opportunity to build and expand its industry as it would if it drew closer to the Union, and Carson points this out by citing the Famine as an example of the consequence of free trade and fiscal autonomy, and that the solution would be to draw both nations closer together.

On Home Rule, Carson viewed England as a vital asset to the success of England and Ireland. He referred to Home Rule not as an issue related solely to Ireland but as “an imperial

⁸¹ Simon Rosenbaum, *Against Home Rule (1912) The Case For The Union*. Introduction by Edward Carson (London, England: Frederick Warne & Co. And New York, 1912), 24

⁸² Simon Rosenbaum, *Against Home Rule (1912) The Case For The Union*. Introduction by Edward Carson (London, England: Frederick Warne & Co. And New York, 1912), 30 & 36

matter,”⁸³ that the union between Ireland and England is one: no separation. Carson’s views were outlined in the following source: *Ulster’s Solemn League and Covenant*. This source exemplifies these views, of which Carson had much to do with the leadership behind the Ulster Covenant and the drafting of this document.



*Edward Carson signing the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant.*⁸⁴

The Ulster Solemn League and Covenant was an organization that was formed in the perpetuation of Protestant interests, as well as primarily the interests of Ulster Unionists. This document outlines the notion that those in Ulster will not recognize an independent Ireland, and will only recognize a government that is formulated under the banner of the United Kingdom.

The document states:

In our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland. Subversive of our civil and religious freedom. Destructive of our citizenship and perilous to the utility of the Empire, we, whose names

⁸³ Hansard - UK Parliament, *Home Rule.*, February 15, 1911. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1911-02-15/debates/d2935990-2a2f-413d-8d6e-bd248d4d1386/HomeRule>.

⁸⁴ National Archives of Ireland. *Belfast 1901 Census: Search Form*. Accessed April 24, 2023. <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/belfast/main/1.html>

are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George.. humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right we hereto subscribe our names.⁸⁵

As aforementioned, unionists saw the Home Rule issue as being more than just that of adhering to clever geopolitics or for the economic security of England and Ireland. For unionists, this was an issue of identity. These unionists saw themselves adhering to the principles of that of someone who was British. They had lived their lives as those who were British, in the way that they had practiced religion and their unwavering loyalty to the Empire. Carson in particular subscribed to this belief. As previously mentioned, Carson viewed the remedy to Irish problems was to push for a greater collaboration between both England and Ireland, and his view had led him to believe that separation would only exacerbate these issues.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Anglo-Irish conflict as it pertains to Ireland saw rise to prominent figures such as Daniel O’Connell, Charles Stewart Parnell, and Edward Carson. All three of these figures advocate for their distinct perspectives on the relationship between England and Ireland. Throughout the conflict, both Parnell and O’Connell would cite similar problems despite the rise to prominence being decades apart. Both Parnell and O’Connell cite issues such as the unfair treatment of Catholics, land reform, and ultimately, separatism. Carson saw the strength between the union of England and Ireland and saw that closer collaboration would ensure mutual security and economic prosperity for both countries. Despite their differing perspectives, all three

⁸⁵ Ulster’s Solemn League and Covenant, Signed Saturday, 18th September, 1912.

figures were influential in shaping the political landscape of Ireland, and all three had carefully aligned their interests with what they had desired their perceived outcome for Ireland, whether that was an Ireland that was aligned with Great Britain, or an independent one.

Charting Ideological Change, 1832-1918

After understanding the analysis of people such as Edward Carson, Albert Venn Dicey, and Daniel O’Connell, we need to move on to know how this applies to Ireland. How fluid was the discussion on nationalism and unionism throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict? One way to conduct a sociological analysis would be to examine voter preference. Voter preferences can be associated with choosing a candidate or party that aligns with their desired legislative outcomes. For example, those in Ireland who voted with a conservative-leaning party would be voting in alignment with the anticipated development of maintaining the union. In contrast, if they voted for the Liberal Party, we could associate that with wanting to reform the union, however, there were still many liberals who did pose an objection to reformation. Finally, if they had voted in alignment with nationalist parties such as Sinn Féin, they would be in favor of dismantling the union. We will examine these categories by graphing each party’s election outcomes, by vote count, per party. In culmination, we can then articulate how these outcomes were impacted by watershed moments that either influenced a more unionist stance or a more nationalist stance.

There needs to be more to be found in calculating the thoughts and perspectives of the Irish people during the Anglo-Irish conflict. This study asks the following question: *How did the patterns of thought change among the people of Ireland throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict?* In conducting this research, there was very little data, and ideally, it would have been preferable to present a data set that associates both candidate *and* voter count. However, this data is few and far between, with some counties needing to provide the data necessary to make such

associations. What was available, however, and much more reliably so, would have been the association between the elected candidates and their party affiliations.

The Royal Irish Academy sourced this data.⁸⁶ The Royal Irish Academy provides the most reliable data set available for accessing parliamentary data, specifically from 1800-1918 in Ireland. This data could be more extensive. However, as of only 1832, the data is available for charting party affiliation. Furthermore, vote counts are unreliable, as for every election, there was some variability in the access to reliable voter counts throughout this conflict. However, although the vote counts were not available, what was available was a relatively reliable tracking of preferred candidates' party associations. So it was reliable in charting the winning candidate's party affiliation, as otherwise, it would have been preferable to chart *votes* polled per party, per election. The data, unfortunately, is not there, so the decision was made to go by the winning candidate.

In charting this data, a few things are to be noted. First, nationalist ideology spiked noticeably during the Irish general election of 1874. Following 1874, nationalistic ideology began to take hold and became much more commonplace during the end of the nineteenth century and going into the twentieth century. Of which, we can speculate a few events that would incite such trends, most specifically, we can draw associations to the rise in movements such as the Home Rule movement and the land rights movement, that, of which, became much more popular during the 1870s. We can also connect the rise in nationalistic ideology to politicians such as Parnell, as well as more prominent debates on Home Rule in Parliament during the nineteenth century. Once the framework was officially outlined for the Home Rule and separatist

⁸⁶ Brian M. Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland: 1801-1922*, (Dublin, Ireland: Royal Irish Academy, 1978).

movements to take place, these perceptions of nationalism had never dwindled, and only became much more prominent, despite noticeable efforts by the Liberal Party, and figures such as Gladstone, who had made equitable attempts at land reform and in reforming the Union as a whole.

Another noticeable characteristic of this data set would be the information that surrounds the Liberal Party, in which there was an exclusion of Liberal Unionists in one data set, which intends to render an idea of overall support for Home Rule during the Anglo-Irish conflict. There are implications in the outcome of the data, as there were Liberals who were not Liberal Unionists, who were not in favor of Home Rule, the data set intends on rendering an overall *idea* as to what the level of support is, and then goes on to attempt to articulate as to how the Liberal Party split existed in Ireland throughout the conflict. The Liberal Party split is associated with the time of Gladstone. There were some Liberals who had supported the notion of reforming Anglo-Irish relations, while others did not view reform as being necessary. Of course, this was a spectrum. Some Liberals may have been more apt to support policy goals relating to land reform, but may not have supported Home Rule altogether. Consider Albert Venn Dicey, who had argued that there was reform needed but warned against independence as Ireland *could* have become an adversary to England.

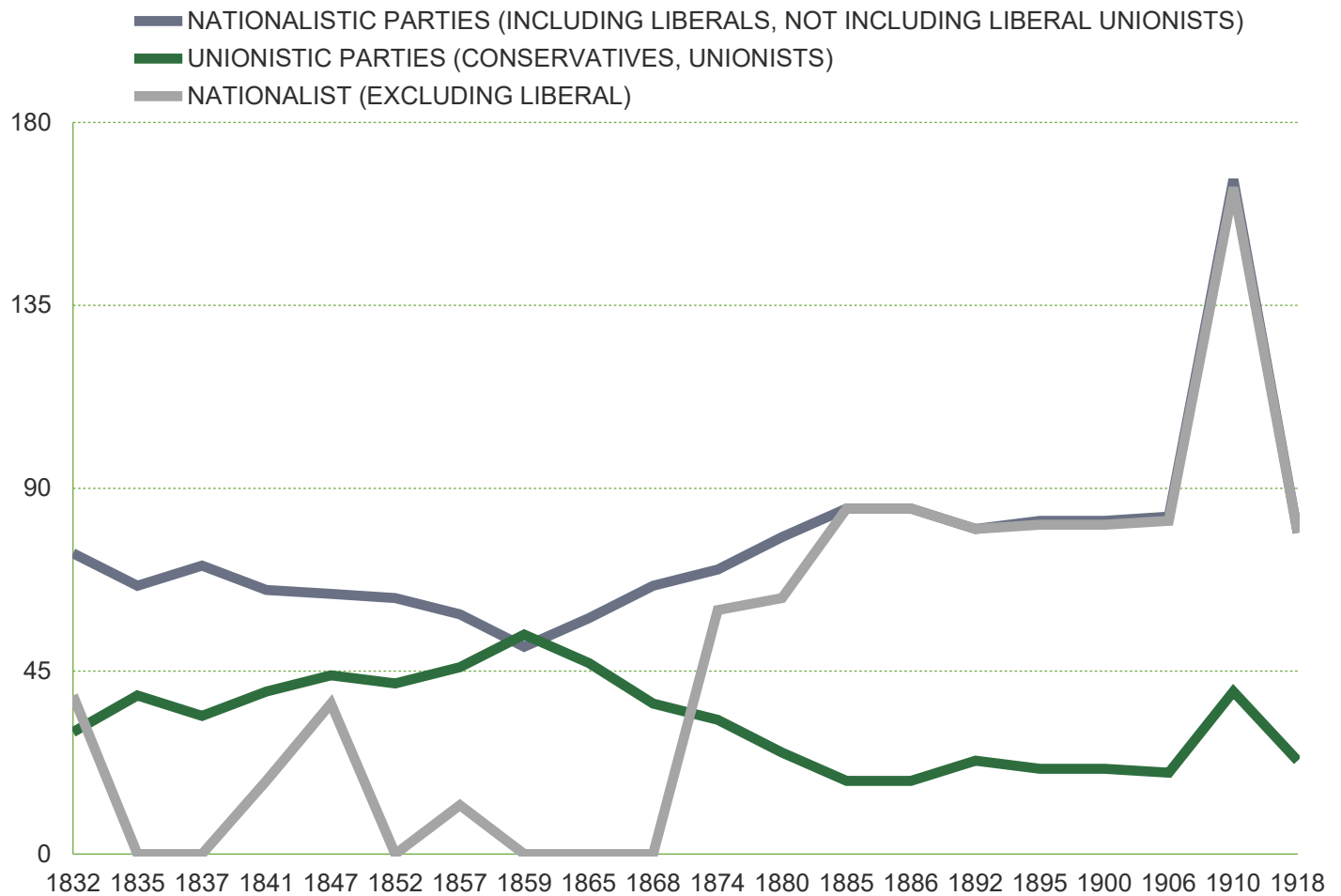
Another consideration would be the Irish Tenant League and the election of 1874. In 1874, as mentioned, there was an overall spike in nationalist support in Ireland, right around the time of Gladstone, Parnell, and the land wars. We can then associate that earlier movements, such as the Repeal movement, had laid the framework for separation, however, this framework was built upon much more fluidly following the election of 1874, in which the dataset articulates that nationalistic parties, even with the exclusion of Home Rule supporting Liberals, by

themselves were ultimately more representative of the Irish perspective. Prior to 1874, nationalism yielded less influence and prominence. Most fundamentally, Parnell and the Land Reform movement may have been the flame which ignited nationalistic ideology. Following 1874, nationalism had never ceded influence. Moreso, as time progressed, and for these issues to become much more prevalent, most specifically, the debate of Home Rule, especially in Parliament in 1886 and 1893, domestic support for nationalistic ideology had overwhelmingly weakened unionist perspectives in Ireland going forward.

The election data as it relates to Ireland is relatively limited due to the record keeping practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Initially, the goal was to document this change by the mode of vote count, by party, in order to render a sociological analysis on the perspectives of Irish voters during the Repeal movement, Home Rule movement, and separatist movements. However, this data is not reliably present for every single candidate and party. Therefore, the next best decision, and much more reliable, was to draw this association by elected seats, by party. In doing so, we can render insight as to what changes occurred, and where they had most predominantly occurred, but does not factor in individual candidate policy preferences. It does factor in winning candidates reliably. As mentioned, this data was sourced by the Royal Irish Academy, the specific source being the *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922*.⁸⁷ The data provided was utilized to calculate changes, based on what was available. The above referenced data sets will be provided on the following page.

⁸⁷ Brian M. Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland: 1801-1922*, (Dublin, Ireland: Royal Irish Academy, 1978).

Nationalistic Ideology Vs. Unionistic Ideology⁸⁸



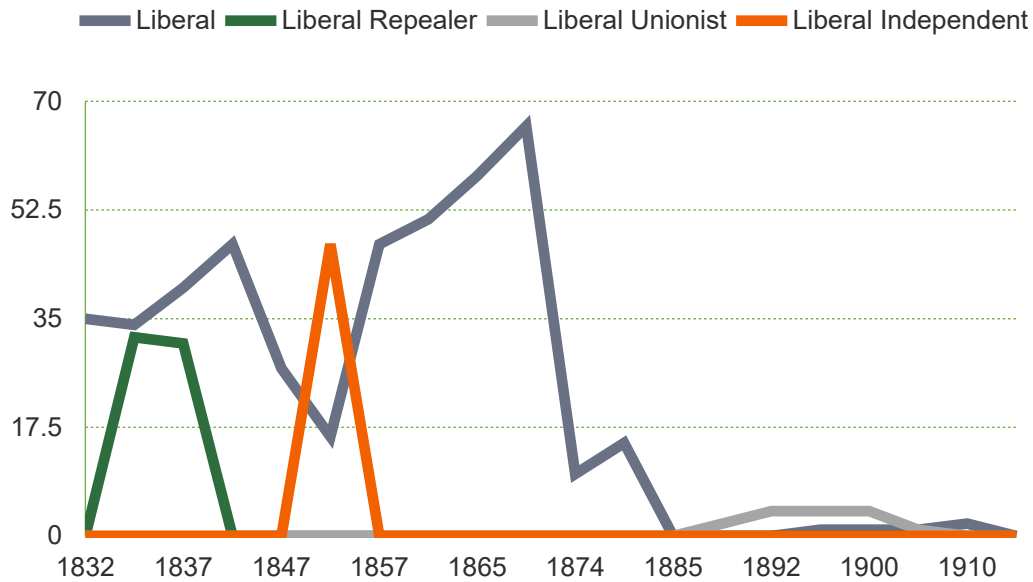
In this data set, we can conclude that the most prominent moments in shaping nationalistic ideology would have been during the time of the National Repeal Association and

⁸⁸ Brian M. Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland: 1801-1922*, (Dublin, Ireland: Royal Irish Academy, 1978).

the National Land League. In the year 1847, for example, we see a significant spike, based on elected candidates' party affiliation, favoring the Repealers.

As previously mentioned, the Repealers wanted to repeal the Act of Union and remove the British from having legislative authority over Ireland. Thus, we can correlate that there was a substantial support base for the Repealer movement in 1847. The next notable spike would have been in 1874, right during the land reform movement. 1874 is peculiar because following 1874, the foundation for nationalism had never dwindled, and only continued to garner momentum until 1918 and when independence was declared. Throughout the entirety of the data made available, it was also found that there was always a considerable fragment of the population that yielded some sort of support to unionism. Many Irish had supported Conservative leaning candidates and Unionist candidates all throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict. Unionism had peaked in 1859, and considering that not all liberals were in support of reformative policies, we can conclude that there was even a majority of Irish (who had voted) that were in favor of unionism. Furthermore, although unionism wavered in popularity following 1859, unionism still always held a certain degree of prominence, and these voices were certainly active in voicing their objections to home rule and independence.

Liberal Party Split In Ireland⁸⁹



This next data set will break down the Liberal Party split as it pertains to Ireland. Upon compiling the dataset, it was notable to mark the differentiation between Liberals, Liberal Repealers, Liberal Unionists, and Liberal Independents. All four of these party affiliations can be useful in tracking the Liberal Party split in Ireland and the shifts in Liberal ideology throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict. Although the data isn't perfect, as this data only takes into account an elected official's party affiliation; what it does provide is insight as to how the Liberal Party dynamic has changed throughout the Anglo-Irish conflict. We can see that in the beginning, there was a sizable portion of Liberals in Ireland who had identified as to being a Liberal Repealer, or to supporting the agenda of Daniel O'Connell. Proceeding, there is a notable spike in popularity

⁸⁹ Brian M. Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland: 1801-1922*, (Dublin, Ireland: Royal Irish Academy, 1978).

for the Liberals in the 1850s-1860s, however, beginning in 1874, the Liberal Party lost a great deal of its leverage, and was unable to recuperate those losses until Ireland became independent.

Conclusion

One of the most fascinating aspects in researching history is of experiencing the thoughts and mentalities of those who had lived through those alluded events in history. We cannot understand the Anglo-Irish conflict without understanding the perspective of an Irish Unionist, or of an English Home Ruler. These perspectives, although, much less mainstream, still held vital roles and attributes in shaping the discussions and discourses of the day. We cannot understand the Home Rule movement without understanding the causes for being a Home Ruler, we cannot understand Home Rule legislation without understanding the debates surrounding such legislation. The quintessential point of the utmost importance is: the nuanced opinion is just as important as the mainstream opinion. We must understand that people, as individuals, all garner and develop their own individual opinions as it relates to their perspectives on these issues and that the most fascinating aspect of that notion is the *why*. John Stuart Mill was ultimately in favor of the Union of England and Ireland but also did not see that Union as being one that was perfect. John Stuart Mill saw the Union as one in vital need of reform if it was going to survive going forward. Edward Carson, who was born and raised Irish, did not see himself aligning with an Irish identity, he saw himself as to being British and viewed the Union between England and Ireland as to being a symbolic one, in which both nations benefited each other in all realms from glory to defense. In contrast, Daniel O'Connell did not view the nature of this Union as to being symbiotic, as he saw it more as to being parasitic, O'Connell viewed the Union as to the culprit for being incapable of passing equitable land reform and saw that England was draining Ireland of its resources. The common theme being rendered was that, on each and every issue by each

and every person, each person would have had their own individual take and view on an issue, and each person would render a perspective which had contrasted with another. Lastly, we can view that these perspectives were not always one-sided, and were often in competition with one another throughout the entire conflict. Although the predominant opinion in Ireland was perceived to be a nationalistic one, it was not a supermajority under the latter years of the conflict. This ultimately emphasizes the contention between opinions throughout the entirety of the conflict, and this research shows why these nuanced opinions are of the utmost importance.

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