History at A-level

NEAB syllabus A/C
Alternative M (part two)/Alternative L (part three)
Early industrial Britain in war and peace
1783-1830

Understanding Anglo-Irish relations
Catholic emancipation, 1823-1829
& the role of Daniel O’Connell

Produced by
‘Ireland in schools’
in association with
The Warrington Project
and
The Institute of Irish Studies, The University of Liverpool
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NEAB History A-level Syllabus A/C
Alternative M (part two)/Alternative L (part three)
Early industrial Britain in war and peace 1783-1830

Appendix B

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Preface and acknowledgements

This Study Unit, ‘Catholic Emancipation, 1823-1829 & the role of Daniel O’Connell’, is one of a series of such units intended to offer a new, dynamic and exciting opportunity to study Irish history within the present NEAB History Syllabus A/C Alternative M (Britain,1783-1906) - and parts of Alternatives L and N.

- The basic premise of the Study Units is that the so-called ‘Irish Question’ is central to the historian’s understanding of nineteenth century Britain. The accepted Anglo-centric orthodoxy with London as its centre needs to be challenged and placed in a wider context. Ireland was a part of the Union from 1 January 1801 and hence should be an integral, rather than a marginal, part of British nineteenth century history.

- For the A-level students, the units have a direct relevance to the Modern World and shed light on modern issues in Ireland. In addition, many people in Britain are descended from Irish immigrants and people of Irish descent have had a large impact upon the economy and culture here.

- The units are also designed to facilitate the delivery of the syllabus. All activities are related to NEAB Assessment Objectives and standard mark schemes are provided. The units provide sources for study and bibliographies for students and teachers alike. The allocation of time is flexible, so that teachers can offer a rich curriculum within the constraints of ordinary A-level teaching.

- My own involvement in preparing the Study Units and that of Great Sankey High School resulted from the IRA bombing of Warrington in 1993. By promoting better knowledge and understanding of Ireland in Britain through education, these Study Units form part of the wider process of peace and reconciliation which is essential to turn the long-relationship between Britain and Ireland from mutual suspicion to mutual enrichment.

I thoroughly enjoyed the challenge of preparing this and the other Study Units, in conjunction with Professor Patrick Buckland, formerly Director of the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool. I am also grateful to the Trustees of Warrington Project and Great Sankey’s Board of Governors for giving me the time to develop the units over the last three years.

I should also like to thank the NEAB for its cooperation, especially the support provided by Mr Terry Myers, who looks after History at the Board, Mr Roy Whittle, Chair of Examiners, A-level History, and Mrs Paula McClive, Assistant Chair Examiners and Chief Examiner, A-level History, and the History staff and sixth-form students of a number of schools who helped me refine the units.

Above all, I wish to thank my students. Their help has been the most gratifying of all the assistance I have received. Originally sceptical, they quickly began to enjoy looking at Ireland and to appreciate its relevance both to the syllabus and to their own position as young British citizens - it was important for them to know about Ireland.

Such a positive response has encouraged the Warrington Project to make this and the other Study Units widely available free of charge to NEAB centres.

Peter Mulholland
Head of History
Great Sankey High School
Warrington
‘Ireland in schools’ and the study units

Three Study Units are now available for distribution to centres studying the NEAB A-level British history syllabus A/C in the nineteenth century:

1. Understanding Anglo-Irish relations: Catholic Emancipation, 1823-1829 & the role of Daniel O’Connell
   Alternative M (part two)/Alternative L (part three) - ‘Early industrial Britain in war and peace, 1783-1830’
2. Understanding Anglo-Irish relations: Gladstone & Ireland, 1868-1893
   Alternative M (part three)/Alternative N (part two) - ‘A modern society and a world power Britain : 1851-1906’
3. Investigating the condition of towns: Irish migrants in early Victorian Britain
   Alternative M (part one) - ‘The age of reform: Britain, 1830-51’.

ORGINS

The Study Units form part of the programme ‘Ireland in Schools’. The programme is run by the Warrington Project in association with the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool and aims to promote the study of Ireland in schools in Britain in order to foster better understanding between the peoples of Britain and the island of Ireland.

They were originally developed over a period of three years in a number of Year 12-13 classes at Great Sankey High School, Warrington, taking NEAB History Syllabus A/C Alternative M (Britain, 1783-1906) as a pilot scheme testing the validity of programme ‘Ireland in Schools’ in sixth-forms and at A-level.

They ‘launched’ at a conference of A-level teachers at Great Sankey High School on 19 March 1997, which was chaired by Mrs Paula McClive, Assistant Chair Examiners and Chief Examiner, A-level History, NEAB, and addressed by Mr Roy Whittle, Chair of Examiners, A-level History, NEAB. The units were then further tested in a number of other schools.

AIMS

The main aim was to establish Irish history as a key and valid part of the history of the British Isles from 1800 to 1906, especially at A-level.

The Study Units thus seek to develop the intellectual rigour and skills and concepts required for successful A-level study, while addressing the specific demands of the syllabus.

The units on Catholic Emancipation and Gladstone attempt to offer both Irish and British perspectives and to place each issue firmly in the context of current historical debates. The role of individuals such as O’Connell and Gladstone can be balanced with other factors such as social and economic conditions, political pressures within Ireland and the attitudes/policies of the majority of British politicians.

However, ‘Irish migrants in mid-Victorian Britain’, addressing ‘the nature and pace of economic and social change’ in the period 1830-51, adopts a more investigative approach to an important area of historical debate about the impact of Irish migrants on British towns and cities. Students are introduced to some common myths and opinions surrounding these topics and are given modern data and contemporary perspectives to help them understand the origins and nature of these myths and opinions and to refute them where appropriate.

CONTENTS

They are intended assist teachers as far as possible. Each includes:
- a clear statement of the relevance of the unit to the syllabus;
- a student booklet (outlining the topic under review);
- various teaching aids, such as definitions of the key terms and concepts and biographical notes;
- exercises for students and marking schemes, either specially devised or taken from past examination papers;
- examples of student work with the comments of the ‘examiners’; and
- reading lists.

DIFFERENT LEVELS

The units can occupy between three and six teaching hours. They have been written to enable teachers to investigate a topic at two possible levels, as their interest or students’ needs dictate.

Level ‘A’ allows teachers to integrate the units into their schemes of work without involving too much preparation time. Level ‘B’ provides the framework for a deeper exploration of the issues involved and references for the most important historiographical debates.

THE VALUE OF THE STUDY UNITS

Promoting knowledge and understanding of Ireland

The Study Units did succeed in increasing knowledge and understanding of Ireland and the complexity of the relationship between Britain and Ireland.

Originally students at Great Sankey High School were sceptical of the relevance and value of studying any Irish topic both from the point of view of personal growth and for the sake of doing well in their History A-level.

Quickly, however, they began to enjoy looking at Ireland and to appreciate its relevance both to the syllabus and to their own position as young British citizens - it was important for them to know about Ireland. Their enthusiasm and interest may be judged from the high proportion taking an Irish topic for their Personal Studies and the care they took in making suggestions as to how the teaching materials and assessment exercises in the Study Units might be improved.

Delivering the syllabus

The Study Units also succeeded in helping to deliver the syllabus. The information and the exercises did address the demands of the syllabus and thus won the confidence of both students and colleagues. The ‘Irish experiment’ was not seen as some idiosyncrasy but rather as making an important contribution to success in A-level History.

Indeed, Mr Roy Whittle, Chair of Examiners, A-level History, NEAB, warmly commended them as a model not only for delivering the NEAB History A-level syllabuses but also for studying the history of other migrant and minority groups and their relationship with, and impact upon, Britain.

INSET

There were also benefits for the History Department of Great Sankey High School as a whole. The Study Units on Ireland became the focus of in-house INSET, particularly on marking A-level History.
1. **Addressing the syllabus**

**KEY QUESTIONS**

Like the syllabuses this Study Unit poses its own three key questions. Each question relates to the specific parts of the contents and assessment objectives of ‘Early industrial Britain in war and peace 1783-1830’, as set out in the appendix.

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<tr>
<td>1. Was Catholic Emancipation granted due to extra-parliamentary pressure and the threat of civil war, or out of a spirit of growing tolerance and generosity within Britain?</td>
<td>Relates to Key Question a: ‘In what ways, and for what reasons, did the nature of government, political parties and extra-parliamentary activity change in this period?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What impact did the granting of Catholic Emancipation have upon the movement for Repeal in Ireland and the evolution of the Tory Party?</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How critical was the role of O’Connell in determining the success of Catholic Emancipation?</td>
<td>By addressing a key historiographical issues, this relates to the demands of Key Questions a-c of Part One of the European syllabus ND, examining the individual’s motives/purposes, their relative success and degree of autonomy/control within a wider movement</td>
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**ASSESSMENT**

This Study Unit enables students to undertake two forms of assessment as practice for the examination: essay and document questions, taken from NEAB past papers, complete with mark schemes and samples of student responses.
2. Teaching with the study unit

The Study Unit, along with others in the series, was piloted in a number of Year 12-13 classes at Great Sankey High School taking Alternative M. The following notes show how the staff at Great Sankey used the material with their students.

PLACE IN OVERALL TEACHING PLAN

Catholic Emancipation 1823-29 & the role of Daniel O’Connell was taught as part of a series of lessons providing a background to Part One of the syllabus, the ‘Age of Reform 1830-51’. The nature of the controversy over Catholic Emancipation, raising such questions as the role of a key individual, the development of mass political pressure and motives of government ministers, proved to be a perfect introduction to the demands of Part One.

BACKGROUND REQUIRED

Students were at first uncertain as to the relevance of this case study, but they were able to place it in a wider historical context by the end of Year 12.

It is important that students are aware of the nature of political protest in England from 1815-20 and the political status of Irish people and Irish Catholics especially. O’Connell’s campaign can then be discussed in the context of general popular protest after the Napoleonic Wars and as a response to deep-seated nationalist and/or Catholic grievances in Ireland. The actual granting of Catholic Emancipation highlights the political rifts with the Tory Party, so some knowledge of Liverpool’s premiership is also necessary.

APPROACH

Phase one: understanding c.2 hours
It is worthwhile reading through the Student Booklet to develop students’ clear understanding of the key issues and concepts/personalities involved. This can be reinforced by testing the key terms/personalities on page one - either by a card exercise in groups or a factual test. Further reading at Level A or B can then be introduced as required.

Phase two: appreciation of content c.1 hour
The extracts from The diary of an Irish countryman allow students to enter the context of the language and activities of the Catholic Association, and provides an opportunity for them to feedback on the symbolism and political significance of various diary entries. This requires only limited preparation but does generate an interesting debate on Irish rural life and the varied methods and appeal of the Catholic Association itself. The selected documents on O’Connell and the Catholic Association can then be used to re-inforce appreciation of the context and language of the 1820s.

The students’ confidence in the topic grew markedly at this point and they particularly benefitted from reporting back to the rest of the group on The Diary of an Irish Countryman. This enabled them to appreciate the complexity of contemporary attitudes and introduced them to the debate as to whether British tolerance or Irish pressure ultimately led to Emancipation being passed. Three students chose various aspects of this debate as the basis for their Personal Study.

Phase three: assessment c.2 hours
The Document Question introduces students at an early stage to the skills and technique demanded by the NEAB, and students can benefit greatly from then doing the marking exercise based upon the three scripts included in the unit. This allows students to understand better what is expected of them, and how to differentiate between analysis and narrative. To develop political context, the 1994 Past Question can be used, although this requires wider reading in Party development within the period.
3. **Student booklet**
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Timeline

1798 United Irish Rebellion
1800 Act of Union
1803 Emmet Rebellion
1805 Petition sent to Downing Street for Catholic Emancipation
1808 Grattan proposed Catholic Emancipation
1810 Catholic Board established
1814 Catholic Board dissolved
1819 Grattan’s bill defeated by two votes
1821 Plunkett’s bill passed House of Commons but failed in House of Lords
1823 Catholic Association founded
1826 Six pro-Catholic candidates elected in Ireland
1828 Wellington now Prime Minister
   Clare by-election
1829 Granting of Catholic Emancipation
1. What was Catholic Emancipation?

Catholic Emancipation meant the repeal of certain Test Acts. These Acts excluded Roman Catholics from certain offices of state such as becoming an M.P. The Test Act of 1673 stated that all office holders and M.P.s had to take an oath against transubstantiation (a belief that communion wine and bread were actually the blood and body of Christ). This oath was unacceptable to Roman Catholic faith.

Catholics did gain the vote in Ireland in 1793, but not in England. A Catholic could stand for Parliament, but not take his seat.
2. Origins of the agitation 1800-1822

ACT OF UNION 1800
This Act abolished the Irish Parliament which had existed in some form or other since the thirteenth century. Pitt’s government decided to abolish it after the United Irish Rebellion in 1798. Pitt believed that the greater powers given to the Irish Parliament in 1782 had not resulted in a more stable Ireland. Given the pressures of the wars with revolutionary and Napoleonic France, Pitt decided upon the Act of Union.

The Irish House of Commons initially blocked the bill, but did agree to pass it in 1800. This change of heart can be attributed in part to British promises of Catholic Emancipation and offers of patronage and compensation to vested interests such as pocket-borough holders.

Opposition was fragmented, ranging from patriots to Irish lawyers with thwarted ambitions of becoming MPs. It remained a potentially potent force due to the British refusal to grant Catholic Emancipation as ‘promised’ by Pitt. King George III remained a steadfast opponent to ‘any proposition tending to destroy the groundwork of our happy constitution.’

SURVEY OF AGITATION
As the time line opposite shows, initial progress was slow and confined to the activities of various committees and boards. At first these were controlled by the aristocracy, but after 1808 middle-class and clerical groups predominated.

DIVISIONS AMONGST CATHOLICS
Some Catholics wanted Emancipation without any conditions, while others were prepared to accept limitations and some state control over their church.

The ‘veto controversy’ centred upon whether Boards and Commissioners could be established by the government to supervise appointments of bishops, and inspect documents from Rome. The power to ‘veto’ the appointment of bishops was acceptable to the Pope, but not to Catholic bishops in Ireland who believed it would damage the independence of the Church.
Committee of leading Catholics took four months to send a Petition to Downing Street

Henry Grattan’s motion rejected by House of Commons by 281 to 128 votes

New Committee established, later to become Catholic Board

House of Commons’ motion in favour of considering Catholic claims accepted, but Emancipation Bill lost in committee

Government ordered dissolution of Catholic Board. No public protests

Grattan’s motion defeated by 2 votes

Plunkett new leader of Catholic cause. His bill passed the House of Commons, but failed in the House of Lords
OPPOSITION IN BRITAIN

This was mainly based in the Tory Party, but a dozen or so maverick Whigs also opposed Emancipation. They could count on the strength of the House of Lords and King George III.

There were three key arguments used against Emancipation:

**SETTLEMENT OF 1688**
This was seen as the bulwark of political stability in Britain. Yet, it excluded Catholics and dissenters from holding state offices. The Church of England was ascendant (as the established Church).

**DIVIDED CATHOLIC LOYALTIES**
It was believed that Catholics had divided loyalties between their country and the Pope. Catholics could not therefore be relied upon to be loyal exclusively to the Crown.

**LOSS OF PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY IN IRELAND**
This means that Irish Catholics would work together to destroy the established Church in Ireland, and attempt to sever all political ties to England by destroying the Union.

SUPPORT IN BRITAIN

This was based mainly in the WHIG PARTY, but also included about 60 of the more ‘liberal’ Tories. Their arguments were based upon a range of principles from the importance of morality and social justice to satisfying Catholic demands in order to cement their loyalty to the British state.

It is questionable whether this reflects a ‘growing spirit of tolerance in Britain’, and certainly the weakness of the Whigs prevented an effective campaign for Emancipation within Parliament. The government ‘shelved’ this potentially divisive issue, but allowed ministers to voice their own opinions on the matter (the open system). This ‘tolerant’ policy brought Emancipation no nearer!
3. Growth of agitation 1823-29

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION
This was set up by Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Sheil to obtain Catholic Emancipation and assist Irish tenants in a time of famine. This dual purpose gave the association support amongst all classes of Catholic from aristocrats and clergy to the middle classes and peasantry. Subscription was by the 'Catholic Rent', at the rate of one penny a month. This allowed it to become a mass organisation with 15,000 regular and 3 million associate members by 1829.

Receipt and Expenditure of New Catholic Rent,
FOR ALL PURPOSES NOT PROHIBITED BY LAW,
FROM 1ST JANUARY TO THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1827, INCLUSIVE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ULSTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTRIM</td>
<td>£3,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARLOW</td>
<td>£591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUBLIN</td>
<td>£473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td>£2,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOUTH</td>
<td>£1,690</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIMERICK COUNTY</td>
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<td>MUNSTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORK</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLARE</td>
<td>£357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KERRY</td>
<td>£793</td>
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<tr>
<td>KILDARE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEITRIM</td>
<td>£516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WATERFORD</td>
<td>£250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sligo</td>
<td>£376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Receipts for Ireland: £6,190

There were internal divisions and government repression, but support grew throughout the 1820s.
AGITATION IN BRITAIN

O’Connell encouraged English Catholics to form their own associations and newspapers, with some subsidies from the Catholic Rent. The TRUTH TELLER became an English paper devoted to the Catholic cause, and a separate association was established in London in 1823. Lancashire was a major area for gaining Catholic support for O’Connell’s cause, championed by the Liverpool Mercury.

AGITATION IN IRELAND

The aim was to mobilise Catholic strength and display its potential to British politicians. The key methods were the establishment of a ‘Popish Parliament’ in Dublin, and the holding of mass meetings across Ireland. O’Connell used inflammatory language, while maintaining his support for constitutional rather than violent means.

In the 1826 General Election the Association secured the victories of 6 ‘pro-Catholic’ MPs, and hopes rose for the prospects of massive gains in 1833. Similarly when Wellington’s government repealed the Test and Corporations Act for Protestant dissenters, O’Connell’s campaign gained rapid momentum.

A print showing Daniel O’Connell addressing one of his Monster meetings
IMPACT OF COUNTY CLARE ELECTION

When William Vesey-Fitzgerald was appointed by Wellington as President of the Board of Trade, he had to go through the ‘formality’ of re-election in County Clare. With no prospective Protestant opponent, O’Connell fought the election himself, winning with an impressive majority of 2057 to 982.

This forced the issue of Emancipation upon the government, and inspired organised opposition in England through the Brunswick Clubs. The election had challenged the rural power of the landed interest and might unleash a social revolution if Emancipation was not granted. Wellington’s government resolved to allow Emancipation while dismantling the machinery for further nationalist protests in Ireland. He had neither the support in Parliament nor confidence in its success, to risk suppressing the movement with force.
COUNCIL. O'CONNELL'S
GRAND ADDRESS,
TO THE FREEHOLDERS
OF THE
Co, Clare,

Fellow Countrymen—Your county wants a Representative—I respectfully solicit your suffrages to raise me to that station.

If it be true, that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will take the oaths at present prescribed to Members of Parliament, but the authority which created these oaths—the Parliament, can abrogate them, and I entertain a confident hope that if you elect me, the most bigoted of our enemies will see the necessity of recasting from the drawing-board of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his King and his Country.

The oath at present required by law is—"That the sacrifice of the Mass and the invocation of the blessed Virgin Mary and other Saints, as now practised in the Church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous." Of course I never will stain my soul with such an oath; I leave that to my honourable opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. He has often taken that horrid oath; he is ready to take it again, and asks your votes to enable him so to swear; I would rather be torn limb from limb than take it. Electors of the County Clare, choose between me, who abominates that oath, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who has sworn it twenty times!!!

I do not like to give the epistle of his political life, but I cannot refrain. He first took office under perjured, unchristian cry of N-opiery in England.

He voted for the East Retford Bill, for a measure which would put two violent enemies of the Catholics into Parliament. In the case of the Protestant Dissenters in England, he voted for their exclusion, that is, he voted against the principle of Freedom of Conscience—that principle on which we found our right to Emancipation.

Finally, he voted for the suppression of the Catholic Association of Ireland!!!

And after this, Sacred Heaven! he calls himself a friend of the Catholics.

He is the ally and colleague of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel; and is their Prince in power.

If you return me to Parliament, I pledge myself to vote for every measure which can strengthen the right of every human being to unrestricted and unqualified freedom of conscience.

To vote for every measure favorable to reformation in the representative system, so that the House of Commons may truly, as our Catholic ancestors intended it, should be representative of the people.

To vote for every measure of relief and reduction of the national expenditure, so as to relieve the people from the burthens of taxation &c.

Elections of the County Clare, choose one who has devoted his early life to your cause—who has consumed his manhood in a struggle for your liberties, and who, in ready to die for the Catholic faith.

DANIEL O'CONNELL
4. Passing of Catholic Emancipation

**TERMS**

- Roman Catholics were made eligible for all offices of state except Regent, Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor.

- Roman Catholic MPs had to swear an oath denying that the Pope had any symbol of authority within the Kingdom.

- Religious orders for men were prohibited.

A further Act outlawed the Catholic Association, and the Irish electorate was reduced by increasing the qualification in counties from 40 shillings to £10. Whereas in 1826 100,000 Irishmen could vote, after 1829 this was reduced to some 16,000. It was thus hoped to secure the rural power of landlords, and achieve social cohesion and stability. Hence coercion was also used - policies designed to subdue the Agitation and strengthen men of property.

*Cartoon: ‘The Reformation’*
showing Wellington on his knees before the Pope and O’Connell at his ‘conversion’, 1829
ROLE OF O’CONNELL

O’Connell was one of the most successful barristers in Ireland by the 1820s, and an early benefactor of the law allowing Catholics to enter the legal profession in 1792. Observers differed as to whether he was a sincere politician or a demagogue whose arguments lacked conviction and coherence. He was also accused of financial self-interest, especially with regard to Association funds.

He was however an incredible orator at mass meetings in Ireland, and could harness mass numbers to the cause of Emancipation, which could only directly benefit a privileged few. He used language deliberately to instill confidence in his Catholic audience, and thereby question the Protestant Ascendancy. O’Connell may have used violent language but his methods were constitutional. He has been criticised for ‘Utopian’ aims, encouraging Irish people to expect too much from reforms such as Emancipation.

His leadership, oratory and methods of mass meetings and electoral campaigns meant that the mass pressure of the Catholic Association could be used to prise Emancipation from the Tory Party. Its impact upon the Tories underlines the extent of the threat which the Irish movement posed - for Wellington courted with political disaster by passing Emancipation in 1829. O’Connell’s individual skills should also be seen within the context of the Catholic Association, a mass movement without which the campaign would have lacked urgency and strength. Hence the government was quick to disband it in 1829.
5. Daniel O’Connell: a chronology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>6 Aug. Birth of Daniel O’Connell</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outbreak of American War of Independence</td>
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<tr>
<td>1778</td>
<td>Legislative independence for Irish Parliament</td>
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<td>1782</td>
<td>Catholic Relief Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Outbreak of French Revolution</td>
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<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Attends Harrington’s school at Cobh</td>
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<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Attends English College at St Omer in Belgium</td>
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<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td>Attends English College at Douay in France</td>
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<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Returns home from Douay</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Execution of Louis XVI</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catholic Relief Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>January Enters Lincoln’s Inn in London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>Returns from London</td>
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<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>19 May Called to the Irish Bar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 May Rebellion of the United Irishmen</td>
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<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>13 Jan. Delivers speech opposing the Union</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 Aug. Act of Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Secretly marries his cousin</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary O’Connell</td>
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<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>23 July Rebellion of Robert Emmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>Grattan’s Catholic Relief Bill defeated</td>
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<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>Vatican favours ‘veto’</td>
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<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1 Feb. Duel with D’Esterre</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June Battle of Waterloo</td>
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<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>George IV succeeds George III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Makes presentation to George IV on his visit to Ireland</td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>13 May Establishes the Catholic Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Organises the Catholic Rent</td>
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<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>Election of supporters of Emancipation in Louth, Westmeath, Monaghan and Waterford</td>
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<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Canning becomes Prime Minister</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wellington becomes Prime Minister</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5 July Elected for Co. Clare</td>
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<td>1829</td>
<td>13 April Catholic Emancipation Act</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Becomes full-time politician</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The ‘O’Connell Tribute’</td>
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<td>1830</td>
<td>George IV succeeded by William IV</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Establishes the Anti-Union Association</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Earl Grey becomes Prime Minister</td>
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<td>1831</td>
<td>Opposes tithes</td>
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<td>1834</td>
<td>Melbourne becomes Prime Minister</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Peel becomes Prime Minister</td>
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<td>1835</td>
<td>April Lichfield House Compact</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Melbourne becomes Prime Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Death of wife, Mary O’Connell</td>
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<td>1837</td>
<td>Victoria succeeds William IV</td>
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<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Founds Precursor Society</td>
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<td>1840</td>
<td>15 April Founds Repeal Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>January Addresses repealers in Belfast</td>
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<td></td>
<td>August Peel becomes Prime Minister</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Becomes Lord Mayor of Dublin</td>
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<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>The Nation founded by George Cavan Duffy</td>
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<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>11 June The ‘Mallow Defiance’</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>15 Aug. Tara repeal meeting</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Oct. Clontarf meeting banned</td>
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<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>30 May Imprisoned</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5 Sept. Released by order of the House of Lords</td>
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<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Autumn Blight affects potato crop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Lord John Russell becomes Prime Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Young Ireland secedes from Repeal Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>8 Feb. Last speech in House of Commons</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22 Mar. Leaves England for Rome</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 May Dies at Genoa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5 Aug. Buried at Glasnevin Cemetery</td>
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THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL
DUBLIN, WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1847.

REMEMBER THE 30TH OF MAY, 1844!

DEATH OF THE LIBERATOR.

With feelings of profound grief we have to announce the death of THE GREAT CHIEFTAIN—an event that will fill not Ireland alone with sorrow, but will send a shock throughout the civilized world, and mark an epoch in the history of mankind. For this crushing event the physicians and friends of The Mighty Dead were better prepared than was his country. With anxious solicitude they watched the progress of his malady, and in some degree expected the melancholy catastrophe; but the country could not bring itself to believe that He who made our millions free, and for half a century led them on from triumph to triumph was about to be numbered with the dead, and to pass to the cold and silent grave ere he had accomplished the great object of his ambition—the final liberation of the land of his love and of his labours. But, alas! the painful truth must come home to the country—our O'Connell is, indeed, no more. His magic voice will never again be heard on earth, and there remains to us now of our Mighty Champion nothing save his imperishable deeds—his fame, and his glory.

Since the day on which THE LIBERATOR left Ireland, the disease, the seeds of which were sown in Richmond prison, gradually developed itself, and, though fallacious glimmerings of returning health shone out occasionally, and inspired, by their temporary effects, some hopes of convalescence and of the final restoration of the great man to his people and to the scenes of his glory, the hope was delusive—the reperative principle was dead in him for ever. The shadow of death followed on his track from the day he quitted our shores. Human power was unable to reverse the unalterable decrees of Providence, and the Great Champion of our liberties yielded up his mighty spirit to HIM who created it. On Saturday, the 15th of May, at thirty-seven minutes after nine at night, the mortal career of THE GREAT LIBERATOR ended. He had run his race; and who will deny its brilliancy or its benefits, not alone to Ireland, but to all of human kind?

He breathed his last in a foreign land! The peaceful murmurs of the Adriatic sung his dirge and requiem, but his body will come among us, as his spirit never ceased to be, and will abide with us for ever.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS.
WEEK ENDING MAY 29, 1847.

THE LATE MR. O'CONNELL.

CONFIRMATION of the rumour of the death of O'Connell was made public on Monday. There's a great spirit gone! it must have been the feeling if not the expression of all, on hearing of it. But it is not by his contemporaries he will be justly judged; the true estimate of his qualities and his deeds will belong to History. Whoever does battle with old and dominant systems excites too many enemies in those arrayed against him, to receive fair measure at their hands; they will not allow greatness to the man by whom they have been defeated, though, if they ask themselves how, with the full command of the Legislature, the Turcos, offices, power, and wealth—with all the strength that an empire can bring to maintain an old injustice—they have been driven from their position and compelled to yield, their own answer, that it was effected by a very ordinary, and, in some respects, a worthless man, convinced themselves of singular bad fortune or extreme incapability.

How came they to yield to what they say they despise? But not these things are not done by ordinary men; the destinies of the world are not swayed by such matters; this is what is felt by the detractors from genius that has made itself too powerful, though a man's contemporaries never acknowledge that secret conviction, but History, which knows nothing of personal or political humiliations, will be just, and in her pages O'Connell will be inscribed among the great names of the records of the earth.
O’Connell’s no more

On Tara’s high mount, on the ninth of September,
Condensed in a mane, though my person not seen,
I lay there coquetted behind spreading timber,
To hear the lament of our Hibernian queen.
She stood her wild harp while her long hair lay streaming,
Her robe, silk and green, and her breastplate dazzling,
In tears of dull sorrow I heard her proclaiming,
Old Ireland’s protector—O’Connell’s no more.

From her blue royal eyes the bright tears came a rolling,
As she sat condescending near Tara’s old hall,
No object she saw to her mind was consoling,
Those pensive and words from her lips did let fall;
Hibernia, my children, once fanned and victorious,
Your hearts are humane, and your notions most glorious,
Your sons always famed to be true meritorious,
But, alas! to my grief, great O’Connell’s no more.

For thirty-nine years I have witnessed his labours,
Unswervingly struggling his country to free,
At the Bar and the Senate I have watched his endeavours,
Releasing the chains of all tyranny.
From that to the dungeon my footsteps have traced him,
Where a foul-pennelled jury inhumanly placed him,
But the plain writ of error from prison released him,
But, alas! to my grief great O’Connell’s no more.

The greatest of crowned heads that died in past ages,
Their funerals unnoticed slipped off to the tomb,
The great Alexander, in history’s bright pages,
With all the great Caesars departed in home,
Could not parallel the renowned congregation
Attended great Dan at his funeral oration.
Each heart joined in prayer with a tongue supplication,
Conveying great O’Connell to his silent tomb.
6. Consequences of Catholic Emancipation

IRELAND
This was an immense symbolic victory for the Irish, and gave them confidence to challenge the Union itself in the 1830s and 1840s, in the Repeal agitation. Irish politicians realised the indifference of English MPs and the need for immense political pressure if future reforms were to be granted. The Protestant Ascendancy itself was called into question, or at least the importance of individual belief and ethics was recognised and tolerated. Hence Peel, once the arch-opponent of Catholic Emancipation became a campaigner for conciliation towards the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland in the 1840s. Catholic Emancipation triggered, rather than resulted from this ‘growing spirit of tolerance’ in Britain.

BRITISH PARTY POLITICS
Parties clearly lacked discipline and organisation in the 1820s, although A. Mitchell believes that about 54 per cent of MPs were either fully committed to or wavered in their support for the Tories, some 31 per cent were for the Whigs and some 15 per cent were clear Independents. ‘Waverers’, Whigs and Independents could defeat the Tory government in theory.

Issues that might further undermine the stability of parties, and groupings within them were to do with the economy, religion and parliamentary reform. The first had proved decisive in 1816, with Liverpool’s government being defeated when it tried to retain income tax. In the late 1820s the latter two issues came to a head. Religion - with respect to Catholic Emancipation - symbolised the strength of the Protestant Ascendancy and the stability of the State. Hence the Test and Corporation Acts were formally passed by majorities in both Houses in 1828. In effect they were practically redundant for Protestant dissenters, but the political aspect of Catholic Emancipation is also shown in a sharper focus as a result.

Tory Party
The Tory Party was effectively divided into three groupings and these divisions were exacerbated by Catholic Emancipation. Upon Liverpool’s resignation in 1827, Canning became P.M. He was in favour of religious tolerance for Catholics, and approached leading Whigs for support. This sharpened disagreement between Canningite (later Huskissonite) ‘liberal’ Tories and ‘Ultra’ Tories whose commitment to land and protestantism ensured they supported the status quo, bitterly opposing Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. As Viscount Goderich (Robinson)
failed to unite the Party, Wellington was asked to form a Ministry. Direct political pressure in Ireland forced the issue of Catholic Emancipation. Leading Protestant ‘Ultras’ such as Eldon and Marquis of Winchelsea felt their principles betrayed by the granting of Catholic Emancipation. 173 Tory backbenchers in the House of Commons and 109 Tory Peers voted against it, while the Huskissonites moved nearer to support of Parliamentary Reform. By mid-1830 Goderich, Palmerston and Grant had all negotiated with the Whigs, and had become part of Grey’s government in 1830/31. Tory divisions persisted between the supporters of Peel and Wellington, and the Ultras.

Whigs

For the Whigs, religious tolerance and limited parliamentary reform rejuvenated the Party. In the reformed Parliament of 1832, the Tories had a rump of about 200 MPs, prompting the Tory chief organiser Arbuthnot to claim that ‘no smash given by Napoleon in the midst of his greatest successes was more complete and terrific than the overthrow which has struck our party to the ground.’ O’Gorman sees 1832 as the beginning of the two party system, but the Whigs remained divided. There were some 50 MPs who believed in moderate reform to avert revolution, others opposed it in principle, while on the wings of the Party there were about 100 radicals of various political persuasions. Party unity was temporarily forced upon them by the twin issues of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, just as temporarily they had dismantled the Tory consensus of Liverpool’s years.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE OR SELF-PRESERVATION?

Catholic Emancipation was an issue of basic religious tolerance, but also represented for the Ultra Tories an attack on the Protestant Ascendancy and the power of the state in Britain, and upon landed influence (ref. electoral defeat of Vesey-Fitzgerald in 1828). Hence their bitterness in defeat, and Emancipation’s close symbolic links to the 1832 Reform Act in their eyes. It helped rejuvenate the Whig ‘coalition’ but was not brought any nearer by the Whigs. Pressure in Ireland must have been severe for Wellington to risk such political fallout by granting Emancipation.
7. Document Question

Catholic Emancipation
& the leadership of Daniel O’Connell

Read the following extracts, and then answer the questions which follow.

Extract A : A poem in *The Times* about O’Connell, 1843

Scum, condensed of Irish bog!
Ruffian, coward, demagogue,
Boundless liar, base detractor
Nurse of murders, treason’s factor.
Of pope and priest to crouching slave
While they lips of treason rave.
Ireland’s peasants feed thy purse
Still, though art her bane and curse.

Extract B : A letter from O’Connell to a campaigner for Jewish Emancipation

Allow me at once to commence my office of your advocate and begin by giving you advice. It is: not to postpone your claim to write beyond the second day of the ensuing session. Do not listen to those cautious persons who may recommend postponement .... You must, I repeat, force your question on the Parliament. You must not confide in English liberality. It is a plant not congenial to the British soil. It must be forced. It requires a hot-bed. The English were always persecutors. Before the so styled Reformation, the English tortured the Jews and strung up scores of Lollards. After that Reformation they still roasted the Jews and hung the Papists.

Extract C : A letter from Mrs Arbuthnot to the Duke of Wellington

A safe measure as so far satisfying the friends of Catholic emancipation in England by setting that question upon fair and safe grounds, as to enable him at the same time to obtain from parliament such powers as will be efficient for checking the progress of the Agitators and putting down the rebellion that seems hanging over our heads.

Extract D : A letter by Sydney Smith

My cry is ‘No Popery’; therefore emancipate the Catholics, that they may not join with foreign papists in time of war. Church forever; therefore emancipate the Catholics, that they may not help to pull it down. King forever; therefore emancipate the Catholics, that they may become his loyal subjects. Great Britain for ever; therefore emancipate the Catholics, that they may not put an end to its perpetuity.
QUESTIONS

(a) With reference to extracts C and D, and to your own knowledge, explain what was meant by the following phrases as they applied to the issue of Catholic Emancipation in 1829:

(i) ‘checking the progress of the Agitators’ (extract C)
(ii) ‘emancipate the Catholics’ (extract D) 6

(b) Consult extract A.
Explain how the tone and use of language reveals the Times’s opinion of the leadership of O’Connell. 4

(c) Consult extracts B, C and D and use your own knowledge.
‘Catholic Emancipation was granted to avoid civil war rather than out of a spirit of generosity and tolerance within Britain’.
How far do you agree with this judgment? 10

20
4. Teaching aids

a. Concepts and key terms
b. Key personalities
c. Structured tasks for Diary of an Irish Countryman
4a. Concepts and key terms

These can be used as basis for a factual test or as prompt cards to check students’ understanding of the terms/personalities at the end of a lesson or section of notes. Once the topic is completed they form a valuable revision aid for students.

1. TEST ACTS
   Acts which excluded Roman Catholics from certain offices of state e.g. MP.
   1673 Act stated that all office holders and MPs had to take oath versus transubstantiation.

2. TRANSUBSTANTIATION
   Belief that the inner essence of Communion wine and bread (i.e. substance) changes into blood and body of Christ. This is the essence of Catholic belief.

3. CATHOLIC BOARD
   Committee set up in 1810 and called Catholic Board from 1811 which aimed to petition Parliament for Emancipation. It was dissolved by government order (without public protest) in June 1814.

4. VETO CONTROVERSY
   Debate over whether British government could establish Boards and Commissioners to supervise appointments of bishops and inspect documents from Rome. Irish bishops objected to this interference with the Catholic Church, while many leading Catholics and Pope were prepared to accept this in return for Emancipation.

5. PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY
   Explored further in Chapman, ‘Ireland under the Union’
   Belief in supremacy of established Protestant Church in Britain and Ireland as originating in Settlement of 1688. ‘Ultras’ feared that Irish Catholics aimed to destroy the established Church in Ireland as a precursor to breaking the Union with England.
6. OPEN SYSTEM
   See reading list on development of Tory Party, especially Watts and Evans
   Liverpool wished to avoid divisions within the Tory Party and supporters in House of Commons by not raising the issue of Emancipation. Instead Ministers could voice their own opinions on the matter.

7. ‘CATHOLIC RENT’
   See Diary of an Irish Countryman
   Term given to the subscriptions collected by O’Connell’s Catholic Association. To incorporate a mass base of support, it was levied at a cost of a penny a month.

8. CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION
   See chapter ‘Emancipation to reform’ in McCartney, The dawning of democracy in Ireland
   Organisation established by O’Connell and Lalor Sheil as a mass movement to obtain Catholic Emancipation and assist Irish tenants in a time of famine. It gained support from all classes of Catholics in Ireland.

9. BRUNSWICK CLUBS
   See Machin article, ‘Anti-Papist reaction’ in The Catholic question in English politics
   Established by Ultra Tories as a Protestant club. It changed its name to ‘Brunswick Constitutional Club’ to give it greater legitimacy when Eldon joined it. Similar to anti-Catholic Societies such as Orange Movement. They were most successful in Ireland.

10. COERCION
    Government policy of suspending civil liberties in Ireland in order to restore law and order.
4b. Key personalities

These can be used as basis for a factual test or as prompt cards to check students’ understanding of the terms/personalities at the end of a lesson or section of notes. Once the topic is completed they form a valuable revision aid for students.

1. **WILLIAM PITT**
   See reading on political parties
   Prime Minister from 1783-1801, 1804-06. He introduced Act of Union in 1800 to stabilise Ireland. The Act was prompted by the United Irish Rebellion in 1798 and the pressures of wars with revolutionary/Napoleonic France. He is also said to have promised Catholic Emancipation in return for abolishing Irish Parliament. This was not granted.

2. **HENRY GRATTAN**
   Member of ‘Patriot Party’ in Irish Parliament which gained stronger powers for Irish Parliament in 1782. However it was dominated by Protestants and ended in 1800. Thereafter Grattan spoke up for Catholic Emancipation in English Parliament (e.g. 1801).

3. **WILLIAM PLUNKETT**
   See McCartney, ‘From Emancipation to reform’
   A Protestant MP for Dublin University who took over Catholic cause from Grattan in 1821. His bill passed House of Commons but was rejected by House of Lords.

4. **DANIEL O’CONNELL**
   Established Catholic Association in 1823 and led movement to success in 1829. He was a successful barrister and charismatic speaker who later campaigned against tithes to the Church of Ireland and for the Repeal of the Union in the 1830 and 1840s.
5. **RICHARD LALOR SHEIL**

   See McCartney, ‘From Emancipation to reform’

   Established Catholic Association. Another barrister who played a supporting role to O’Connell.

6. **DUKE OF WELLINGTON**

   Ex-General (Waterloo) who became Prime Minister 1829-30. Initially vehemently opposed to Catholic Emancipation, but became persuaded that it was the only realistic alternative to Civil War in 1829.

7. **WILLIAM VESEY-FITZGERALD**

   Appointed as President of Board of Trade in 1828 and had to be re-elected in County Clare in order to take up this government post. He was defeated by O’Connell, bringing issue of Emancipation to a head.

8. **ROBERT PEEL**

   Initially responsible for harsh coercive and anti-Catholic legislation in Ireland (Orange Peel). Later seen as a betrayer by Ultras for agreeing in urgency of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 (Lemon Peel).
4c. Structured tasks

The Diary of an Irish Countryman provides a good introduction to the understanding of contemporary ideas and attitudes towards Catholic Emancipation and rural issues in Ireland.

The extracts from the diary provided in this pack serve as an excellent introduction to further reading on the topic - especially for students at the beginning of their A-Level course. The extracts can also be divided into separate parts, based upon months or seasons, and students can be asked to report back on their piece of reading.

In reporting back, students could be asked to pay particular attention to:

- political context of the period covered in the diary;
- references to the activities of the Catholic Association, and its organisation in rural areas;
- symbolism of language used; and
- how references to rural life relate to political events and ideas.

We wish to thank the publishers, Mercier Press, for generously allowing extracts from the Diary of an Irish Countryman to be used in these booklets.
The Diary of an Irish Countryman

Background

Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin, the writer of this diary, was born in Killarney, Co. Kerry, in May 1780. Nine years later his father Donncha, a hedge school master, moved with his family to Waterford in search of a better living, and later to Co. Kilkenny, where he settled down near Callan.

Father and son taught school for many years at the Crossroads, in a small cabin which took the neighbours three days to build.

Amhlaoibh moved in to Callan some years later, perhaps after the death of his father in 1808. He set up a school, which at one period had one hundred and twenty pupils.

By 1824 he seems to have given up teaching, as his school is not mentioned in the comprehensive survey of schools made in that year. His brother’s school in Little Bridge Street (which had one hundred and four pupils and an income of fifty pounds a year from them) is mentioned in that report. Perhaps Amhlaoibh taught there.

He did open his school again some time later, as he refers to it in the diary during May 1829, from which date he notes the arrival and departure of pupils. The number of pupils rose to thirty, and then seems to have fallen until 1831, when he finally closed the school. It would appear from the diary that his business was prospering and that he was also giving more time to the affairs of the town - Callann an Chlampair, ‘Callan of the Ructions’, which was noted for its extreme poverty in a country where the great majority of the people lived under wretched conditions.

The English writer Thomas Cromwell refers to Callan as ‘the very impersonation of Irish poverty and wretchedness’ in his Excursions thro’ Ireland III (London, 1820) and another visitor, H.D. Inglis in Ireland in 1834 (London, 1835) wrote ‘I had not yet seen in Ireland any town in so wretched condition as this.’

Amhlaoibh was deeply moved by the sufferings of the poor, and was always active in seeking to improve their condition. He was, for example, secretary to a group which opposed Lord Clifton’s attempt to clear the cabin-dwellers from the commonage. He took part in the distribution of yellow meal; went bail for a poor spalpeen in trouble; collected money to give a decent burial to a beggar woman, and in general showed his sympathy with the oppressed in a practical way.

On the other hand, he often condemns the ‘ugly rabble’ of the town for fighting, drunkenness, and practising cruel sports such as bull-baiting.

As his business proposed he became an important person in the neighbourhood, and was on friendly terms with the doctor and parish priest, as well as with the members of the Protestant middle class. This helped him in getting signatures to ‘The Protestant Declaration in favour of Catholic Emancipation’. He collected Catholic Rent, addressed public meetings, including the ‘monster’ meeting at Ballyhale, at which he spoke in Irish.

VALUE OF THE DIARY

The keeping of a personal diary was unknown among writers of Irish before Amhlaoibh’s time. Prose writing in Irish had almost come to an end with the turn of the century, and publication in Irish was non-existent, except for catechetical matter and some editing of annals or historical tales. Contemporary Irish scholars saw no future for the language and consequently wrote in English.

Amhlaoibh, then, showed remarkable originality and courage in undertaking a diary in the Irish language. He was of course well aware that the language was in danger, but he also realised that it was a vigorous medium of expression with a long unbroken literary tradition, and was still the spoken language of about three million people in Ireland.

Apart then from the diary’s value as a human and social document, it was a valuable contribution to Irish writing at a period when prose writing hardly existed. His broad reading of Irish literature in manuscript obviously influenced his style, but he rejected the time-honoured alliterative, turgid, bombastic style of the romantic tales and developed a simple individual style based on current idiom. This was probably not a conscious decision, but rather the result of a busy man jotting down notes as clearly and concisely as possible.

The value of Amhlaoibh’s work as a social document is that it gives the view of a member of the community, who found himself in the unusual position of being on familiar terms with people of different classes and of different religious and political allegiance. He also had the great advantage of being bilingual.

The diary is all the more valuable because the writer did not set out to put forward any point of view, nor to attempt a considered description of his neighbours and their way of life. By jotting down notes on daily activities he had left us a lively and frank account of life in a small town during a particularly agitated and important period in Irish history, which included the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, the Tithe War, the foundation of the National Schools, the secret societies, famine, plague, evictions and faction fighting.

Catholic Emancipation, page 31
October 9th ... Rent, taxes, tithes, county rates and church rates are all too high, and they have to remain so as long as the Royal Debt remains, that is the English Debt, the debt which King William placed on the Kingdom for the purpose of encouraging the foreign religion and destroying the Catholic faith. It was only about a million and a half at first but it is over nine hundred million now.

This is a mill-stone around the neck of the Kingdom, tied by the tyrant’s iron chain. The rich collect thirty million pounds a year profit from the people of the country. I don’t know how many millions are spent on the up-keep of soldiers and peelers to keep the people quiet (but not happy), under the heavy load of this debt, together with all the rents, taxes, tithes, county and church rates.

Perhaps, reader, you are not aware of how this English debt weighs down on the people in general. I will tell you about it.

In order to collect this money, every little thing must be taxed, for example, snuff, tobacco (bad luck to it), tea, sugar, whiskey, and all the spirits, beer, malt, hops, iron, timber, spices, and imported goods in general, etc. etc. The tax increased the price of these items, and in that way forces the people who use them such as farmers, merchants, traders, etc. to increase the price of their food and goods.

To sum up, the wealth of the country is going to those who benefit by this English Debt, and to the support of soldiers and peelers, as I have already said ...

14th ... Fine soft showers before day-break. A soft warm morning. Cloudy and clear spells. This is indeed the ‘Little Michaelmas Summer’.

Goats are in heat. They are fourteen weeks pregnant before they give birth to the kids. Towards November day the buck gives up and says ‘Home, if I’m able. Home, if I’m able’, when he is so weary that he can only just drag his legs along.

February 1st 1828 ... Fair St. Brigid’s Day, the first quarter of spring. A beautiful fresh sunny day, without cloud or fog in the sky, with a gentle south-westerly wind until about four, when suddenly, like a shot, a storm arose that shook the house from top to bottom. It brought with it hard hailstones. This sudden blast lasted only five minutes, and it was well for the Callan people that it didn’t last longer, for I never heard the likes before except for one particular storm. After the storm the sky cleared up quickly. A quiet moonlight night with light clouds ...

A fine month for hunting the fox and the deer. The best month for hunting the hare with hounds. For the young hare is too weak in September, and she will be with young in March. But during this month the hares are mating and one can go after the snipe, the woodcock and the grey plover.

To sum up, the end of this difficult question.

3rd ... I went to Cuailleach to start collecting the Catholic Rent there.

Myself and Pádraig de Búrc are the two Wardens of Charity of this Callan parish, and we have to collect the Catholic Rent each month for Councillor O’Connell and the Catholic Association.

There is a lonely path near Ulisce Diún and Moíntean na Cisi which is called the Mass Boreen. The name comes from the time when the Catholic Church was persecuted in Ireland, and Mass had to be said in woods and on moors, on wattled places in bogs, and in caves. But as the proverb says, It is better to look forward with one eye than to look backwards with two ...

May 17th ... I read in the paper (The Kilkenny Independent) that the Russian forces crossed the Pruth, one of the rivers that divide Russia and Turkey on the 26th or 27th of April. As a result I suppose war will soon flare up. The French have a fleet in Toulon ready to sail to somewhere in Turkey (or in Greece to my mind), and the High King or Emperor of Germany has a large army on the Danube, which will probably not remain idle. The greedy Englishman is in a quandary, like a man ‘between the cliff and pirate’ not knowing whether war or peace would best suit him.

The Catholic Question (an unsolved question) is being debated in the House of Commons in London. I don’t know what is going to be the end of this difficult question.

26th ... Whit Monday. Ballingarry Fair Day or Cill Baoith Fair, the most vicious fair in Munster or in Leinster. For there is many a devilish blackguard with a stealthy stick, many a yeoman, tricky lout, and large-headed rogue with a white knobbed ashplant cracking senseless skulls and brainless mindless mannerless heads.

J uly 8th ... Every window in the town was full of lighted candles in honour of Daniel O’Connell who was elected in County Clare as member of the London Parliament.

10th ... St. John’s Fair Day. Good trade in cattle. The devilish peelers beat a lot of innocent people. They beat up two merchants in their own houses. They can’t be tolerated.

13th ... I went with Seán Ó Riain from Sráid an Mhuilinn to Baile Nua Chapel to collect the Catholic Rent.

Lapwings are crying near us. The lapwing is a cute bird. She lures me away from her nest with her noisy chattering. Here is a verse about it:

 Lapwing where do you have your nest? I have it down in the hawthorn hedge. I’ll go down and rob it. Oh, do not, there are two eggs in it.

But the lapwing never builds her nest in a hedgerow, but in the meadow and in the bogs.
I was one of the jury of twelve that held a coroner’s inquest in the evening of Ó Meachair from Cnoc na Rátha near Cill Mhanach, who was killed by two people at St. John’s Fair in Callan, on the tenth of this month of July.

We found, after sitting for five hours that it was by the two above-mentioned that he was killed. Great barley is ripe on the Cill Briocáin lands.

September 27th ... A coroner’s jury of twelve, with two justices, held an inquest on the death of Deibhrús today. It appears that his skull was broken with an axe, and that his brains were dashed out. Shots were being fired in the same neighbourhood, but they were being fired by people who were shooting partridges. It is not yet known who killed him, but the people who were evicted from their houses are suspect.

The heron perches in a tree at night. Her quiet call is not unmelodious, although her loud cry is sharp.

It is a sad sight to see Pádraig Deibhrús laid out on a layer of straw, covered by a sheet of brown, scarlet, dark red, every colour under the sun except orange.

It is following O’Connell’s advice that this reconciliation and peace is being brought about among the Irish. But the English don’t like it, as they think it is easier to defeat quarrelling parties than friendly people, and that is true. But I don’t like to see - neither do other responsible people - women and children, and drummers and musicians with banners, for example, ones with a picture of O’Connell, etc. on them because that will incite King William’s followers, that is, the Orangemen, against us.

Pádraig Deibhrús was buried at four o’clock in the afternoon. I spent the evening and some of the night at Fr. Séamas Hennebry’s the parish priest house. We had three dishes, tripe done in milk and butter, bacon with beef kidney and white cabbage, and roast duck with green peas. We had punch and songs until ten at night.

A custom common in Munster in my time,
A group of people in one house would gather,
To hair fairy music, lays, talk and poetry,
And one person only paid for all their drink.

October 2nd ... We are plagued with soldiers coming through the town today - some of the eighty-sixth infantry regiment, unarmed, on their way to reinforce the rest of the regiment who are in the West Indies ...

4th ... I have been very busy this past week trying to persuade O’Connell’s followers not to march in green clothes or with O’Connell’s image, nor with music. The Catholics of Callan have promised not to march any more. The Protestants pretend that they are very frightened, but they would be delighted in their hearts to be spilling the Catholics’ blood.

There was a fight between the peelers and the O’Connellites at Baile an Chaisleán near Nenagh. A barric was burnt. Con Ó Neill, from Clogheen, a supporter of Emancipation, was sent to prison to Clonmel. This is the beginning of trouble unless the Catholics stop in time. I hope to Almighty God that they will, and that they won’t make their mortal enemies happy, namely the Protestants and the devils.

5th ... A showery day. A strong south western wind till four in the afternoon. The Seventh Light Cavalry Regiment went through the town today on its way to Clonmel. They are doing two days’ journey in one day in order to be there in time. But I hope to God they will not be needed there.

From four o’clock on, the day was calm and sunny with blue skies. We had a fine meal at the parish priest’s. We were seven merry men and one young woman. We had a leg of lamb, bacon, pulllets and white cabbage, two roast ducks and green peas; white wine and port, and plenty of punch till eleven.

11th ... Saturday. St Stafán of the Fair’s Day. A sunny thin-clouded morning. I went, on the priest’s mare, with Micheál Ó hAlíthiarainn, senior, to Butler Clerke in Newtown to ask him to sign the Protestant Declaration, in favour of Catholic Emancipation. He signed, as did Henry Baker, junior, from Cill Cobhráin, and Arthur Bushe, the son of the Chief Justice.

I must get the name of every Protestant in the parish on it, if I can.

It’s not a bad thing to see the children of the Gael seeking freedom as an alms in their own native land. But they themselves are responsible for being kept in slavery by English foreigners, because of their own failure to agree among themselves since the time of Brian Boru up to the recent O'Connell Peace Movement.

The end of the day was showery with a south west wind. A large number of workers sowing wheat with spades and shovels. A few groups digging potatoes. A shilling a day is the labourer’s pay. It’s not bad pay for the short day at this time of year.

18th ... Although this is good weather for work and business, I am lonely when I no longer hear the voice of the cuckoo from the drooping branch nor the ack-ack of the comcrake in the nettles, nor the ruide-fuide of quail in the field, nor the song of the blackbird in the whitethorn, nor the call of the thrush from the shady branch, nor the warbling of the female blackbird in the briars, nor the song of the lark high up in the air, nor the sweet voice of the linnet in the ringfort. But the chirping robin didn’t leave me, nor did the brown wren, when the busy swallow departed.

26th ... A very fine meal at the parish priest’s house. Maraidein de Barra sang for us there.

27th ... The parish priest, myself and Tomás Ó Flanagáin went to Cnoc an Tóchar to encourage the commons-dwellers there, as we already encouraged those in Callan to oppose the tyrants of this country, who are about to take the commonage from them ...
28th ... A calm dark dry day. People digging potatoes. A slight north east wind. Four cannons passed through the town. But, thank God, Leith Mogha (the southern half of the town) has never been so peaceful. So there is no need to use these big guns against the Irish in the south. The Ulster Protestants and the Protestants in England, namely the Brunswickers, are mad, like bloodhounds, to devour the Catholics.

November 6th ... Raining in the morning with a strong south east wind. Every dike needs to be drained, as they are brim-full from yesterday’s rain, and last night’s and this morning’s. This is the time of year when the English commit suicide, according to the French fiction that in the gloomy month of November Englishmen hang and drown and shoot themselves.

11th ... St. Martin’s Day. Millers don’t turn any wheel today. Nor would a spinner turn her wheel, nor a ploughman put his team to work. No work involving the turning of a wheel is done. I don’t know the reason for this, if there is any reason.

I was at a wedding yesterday. I am thirsty today. Long as the drinking may last, it always ends in thirst.

25th ... Master Richard Corr commenced learning of my son Denis, Nov. 19th, 1828, being Wednesday. A poor bull - I pity him - is being baited these last two days by the wretched street rabble and by the dogs of the town. They are a mad cowardly crowd ...

27th ... I went for a walk to Cill Bhride at Áth an Iúir. I walked from the Áth an Iúir Bridge along the Abha Bheag river through Cill Mhinic Commonage. The boreens between the poor hovels in the Commonage are dirty and muddy. In spite of their wretched condition Lord Cliften, FINISH

January 5th 1829 ... I started writing Ó Súilleabháin’s Diary on the first of April 1826 but God alone knows when I’LL finish it. I am Amhlaobh Ó Súilleabháin from Loch Léin of the delightful islands and the pleasant airy grassland surroundings. I am now living in Callan of the Ructions in the County of Kilkenny ...

The starlings and the fieldfares fly about together in groups, although they are not of the same colour or kind, nor have they the same cry. People behave differently - two different classes or races mix very badly. Light rain from twilight till dawn.

18th ... Black frost this morning. A quiet sharp north east wind. A dark cloudy windy day. At the Parish Church the people are signing an appeal to Parliament for Catholic Emancipation. Snow at nine. Rain for most of the rest of the night.

21st ... A delightful fresh sunny day with a clear sky. Hard frost. Ice one inch think. People sliding on pools. Slight south east breeze. Frost is better than continual rain. Birds are being caught in traps, made with a small loop, a fork, and a ‘treacherous stick’. A small grain of corn is used to tempt them into the trap. It is easy to take advantage of the severe and horrid hunger.
5. **Sample examination questions**

a. Past exam question on Catholic Emancipation and the Tory Party (NEAB 1994)
d. Marking scheme: Catholic Emancipation and the leadership of Daniel O’Connell (Pilot Scheme 1994)
There can be no question that [Catholic] Emancipation was one of the greatest shocks to the Tory Party in its entire history. There was little left in common between the Canningites, at the one extreme, the Ultras, at the other, and those who had reluctantly embraced Emancipation, Wellington and Peel. Even the monarch with the assistance of a well organised extra-parliamentary movement or threat could be coerced.

(a) Why was Catholic Emancipation such a controversial issue in British politics during the 1820s?

(b) To what extent was the issue of Catholic Emancipation the major reason for divisions within the Tory Party in the 1820s?
5b. Marking scheme

Past exam question (NEAB 1994)
Catholic Emancipation and the Tory Party

Standard mark scheme for essays, as from 1997
Target: Understanding and analysis of factors, requiring appropriate conceptual understanding (e.g.) of cause, consequence, change, comparison of issues, factors etc.

Assessment Objectives: i-iv, vii

L1: Either
Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly, or wholly, narrative.

Or
Answer implies analysis, but is excessively generalised, being largely or wholly devoid of specific information. Such responses will amount to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply almost to any time and/or place. 1-6

L2: Either
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands, but will lack weight and balance.

Or
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links. 7-11

L3: Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, explicit understanding of the issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial. 12-15

L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope. 16-18

L5: As L4, but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with the selection of a wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question. 19-20

See next page for the specific mark scheme on Catholic Emancipation.
7(a) Why was Catholic Emancipation such a controversial issue in British politics during the 1820s?

Target: Assessment Objectives ii and iv

L1: Demonstrates implicit understanding of importance of Catholic Emancipation as a major political issue. Material may be used descriptively. 1-3

L2: Demonstrates explicit understanding of the importance of Catholic Emancipation as a controversial issue during the 1820s; but with a limited range of examples. Answers may select from: the idea that Catholic Emancipation was at the heart of the assault on the Anglican-Tory establishment; the issue became the central feature of Anglo-Irish relations following George III’s refusal to accept Emancipation in the Act of Union; the issue was seen by many Tories as threatening the Union of Great Britain and Ireland; the issue split the Tory Party. 4-6

L3: Clear attempt to explain why Catholic Emancipation was a controversial issue with specific examples, such as those indicated in L2 exemplar. L3 answers will be characterised by range of references and precision of argument concentrating upon ‘Why’. 7-8

7(b) To what extent was the issue of Catholic Emancipation the major reason for divisions within the Tory Party in 1820s?

Target: Assessment Objectives ii, iv and v

Mark using essay scheme above, mark as follows:
L1: 1-3    L2: 4-6    L3: 7-9    L4: 10-11    L5: 12

Indicative content
Candidates will be expected to gauge the importance of the Catholic Emancipation issue against other factors leading to Tory disunity, in particular, the death of Lord Liverpool in 1827, the disruptive effects on the Tory right of Canning’s ministry and the issue of parliamentary reform.
5c. Document question (Pilot Scheme 1994)
Catholic Emancipation and the leadership of Daniel O’Connell

Read the following extracts, and then answer the questions which follow.

Extract A: A poem in The Times about O’Connell, 1843

Scum, condensed of Irish bog!
Ruffian, coward, demagogue,
Boundless liar, base detractor
Nurse of murders, treason’s factor.
Of pope and priest to crouching slave
While they lips of treason rave.
Ireland’s peasants feed thy purse
Still, though art her bane and curse.

Extract B: A letter from O’Connell to a campaigner for Jewish Emancipation

Allow me at once to commence my office of your advocate and begin by giving you advice. It is: not to postpone your claim to write beyond the second day of the ensuing session. Do not listen to those cautious persons who may recommend postponement .... You must, I repeat, force your question on the Parliament. You must not confide in English liberality. It is a plant not congenial to the British soil. It must be forced. It requires a hot-bed. The English were always persecutors. Before the so styled Reformation, the English tortured the Jews and strung up scores of Lollards. After that Reformation they still roasted the Jews and hung the Papists.

Extract C: A letter from Mrs Arbuthnot to the Duke of Wellington

A safe measure as so far satisfying the friends of Catholic emancipation in England by setting that question upon fair and safe grounds, as to enable him at the same time to obtain from parliament such powers as will be efficient for checking the progress of the Agitators and putting down the rebellion that seems hanging over our heads.

Extract D: A letter by Sydney Smith

My cry is ‘No Popery’; therefore emancipate the Catholics, that they may not join with foreign papists in time of war. Church forever; therefore emancipate the Catholics, that they may not help to pull it down. King forever; therefore emancipate the Catholics, that they may become his loyal subjects. Great Britain for ever; therefore emancipate the Catholics, that they may not put an end to its perpetuity.
QUESTIONS

(a) With reference to extracts C and D, and to your own knowledge, explain what was meant by the following phrases as they applied to the issue of Catholic Emancipation in 1829:

(i) ‘checking the progress of the Agitators’ (extract C)
(ii) ‘emancipate the Catholics’ (extract D)

(b) Consult extract A.
   Explain how the tone and use of language reveals the Times’s opinion of the leadership of O’Connell. In your answer make reference to the political context.

(c) Consult extracts B, C and D and use your own knowledge.
   ‘Catholic Emancipation was granted to avoid civil war rather than out of a spirit of generosity and tolerance within Britain’.
   With reference to the three extracts and using your own knowledge, how far do you agree with this judgment?
5d. Marking scheme

Document question (Pilot Scheme 1994)

Catholic Emancipation and the leadership of Daniel O’Connell

(a) (i) Level One
(1) Provides basic understanding/definition with limited elaboration
eg. identifies Agitators as campaigners for Catholic Emancipation or acknowledges role of O’Connell/Catholic Association

Level Two
(2-3) Provides a developed understanding with supporting detail to set the term in context
eg strength of Agitators due to economic/social power of Catholic Association and/or O’Connell’s leadership

British objections based on arguments of the 1688 Settlement or divided Catholic loyalties or loss of Protestant ascendancy

Both points discussed = top of level

(ii) Level One
(1) Provides basic understanding/definition with limited elaboration
eg freedoms for Catholics

Level Two
(2-3) Provides a developed understanding with supporting detail to set the term in context
eg removal of Test Acts and/or allowing Catholics to hold certain offices of state such as becoming an MP to ensure loyalty of Catholics to the state by removing restrictions (ie set in context of D)

Both points discussed = top of level

(b) Level One
(1-2) Gives examples of how tone/language is used to present a critical of O’Connell’s leadership
eg highlights language such as ‘demagogue’, ‘boundless liar’, ‘treason’s factor’ with limited explanation

explains briefly how O’Connell is portrayed as inciting rebellion/unrest/treason

Level Two
(3-4) Explains references of language/tone by relating them to the precise context of O’Connell’s leadership
eg ‘demagogue’ stirring up Irish crowds for his own political ends or to incite unrest
‘treason’ emancipation to weaken Protestant ascendancy in Ireland and possibly on the mainland
‘of pope & priest to crouching slave’ Emancipation as first stage in papist/Catholic growth of power in Britain
‘Ireland’s peasants feed thy purse’ Catholic/Repeal Rent being used for O’Connell’s own benefit.

Any two references = top of level
(c) **Targets assessment objectives i, iii and v, but also ii**

**Level One**
(1-3) Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material either from appropriate sources or from own knowledge, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly, or wholly, narrative.

**Level Two**
(4-5) Either
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material either from the sources or from own knowledge, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. (Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight and balance.)
Or
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material either from the sources or from own knowledge, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. (Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links.)
Or
Demonstrates, by limited selection of material both from the sources and from own knowledge, implicit understanding of the relevant issues. These answers, while relevant, will lack both range and depth and will contain some assertion.

**Level Three**
(6-7) Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material both from the sources and own knowledge, explicit understanding of the issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial.

**Level Four**
(8-9) Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material both from the sources and own knowledge, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope.

**Level Five**
(10) As Level Four, but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with the selection of a wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question.
NOTES ON CONTENT

Sources

A highlights establishment hatred of O’Connell and his motives, with references to papism, O’Connell as demagogue and treason.

B highlights O’Connell’s belief in the need to force the issue of Emancipation on the English Parliament and relates to other examples of English persecution and prejudice (vs Jews).

C explains the need to check the agitation of O’Connell and the Catholic Association to prevent rebellion.

D acknowledges fears of Catholic links with foreign papists in a future war, therefore Catholic loyalty should be ensured through Emancipation.

Knowledge

Tory Party was split over the issue, therefore it was a desperate measure to defuse the Catholic Association.

Clare Election paved the way for the possible declaration of an unofficial Irish Parliament, and the beginning of a nationalist rebellion.

Inability of Wellington to use force given the depth of feeling in Ireland and opposition in the House of Commons.

Coercion used as part of the reform package to dampen down discontent.

Answers at high Level Three/Level Four should question the interpretations posed by the sources and discuss the more tolerant attitudes of ‘liberal’ Tories/Whigs, relating their ‘spirit of generosity’ to possible motives and the accusations of O’Connell.
6. **Student work**

   a. Sample of work
   b. Assessment
6a. Student work

Samples

Students answered the pilot scheme’s document question on Catholic Emancipation and the leadership of Daniel O’Connell as a homework exercise. Three of their responses are reproduced here verbatim, illustrating different levels of response.

CANDIDATE A

(a) (i) The quotation ‘Checking the Progress of Agitators’ is from Source C, and was written in a letter from Mrs. Arbithact to the Duke of Wellington. At this time, Catholic Emancipation was a strong political issue, and as the writer of the source is obviously protestant from the content, it is bound to be biased against Catholic Emancipation. The ‘Agitators’ refers to the Irish Catholic peasantry, and the Catholic Association. This was led by Daniel O’Connell and they fought to get Catholics the right to be allowed to become Members of Parliament, and to destroy the oath of transubstantiation. It was important to ‘check their progress’ because as they were a strong, united force they could cause a lot of trouble. The Government were worried that if they didn’t allow Catholic Emancipation, Civil War would break out in Ireland.

(ii) ‘Emancipate the Catholics’ was a phrase commonly used in 1829. It meant Catholics campaigning to be given the right to become Members of the British Parliament, and to get rid of ‘Transubstantiation’. This meant taking an Oath against the belief that communion bread and wine were actually the blood and body of Christ before becoming an MP. This was totally against the views of the Catholic faith. Source D is in favour of Catholic Emancipation.

(b) Extract A is a poem from the Times in 1943 about Daniel O’Connell. He was the leader of the Catholic Association, campaigning for Catholic Emancipation and later, Irish independence. The tone and use of language suggests the Times thought little of O’Connell, which is understandable because it is a British newspaper, typical in opposing Irish views. The language is very emotive. It describes him as:

“Ruffian, coward. demagogue”. These are all highly insulting things to call someone, especially ‘demagogue’. This means to have great power over a crowd, without any responsibility. It continues to say:

“Nurse of murders, treasons factor”. By calling O’Connell a ‘nurse of murders’ it is saying that he agrees with killing people within the campaign, and he is directly responsible for it. In reality this is untrue because O’Connell supported Peaceful Protest. “Treasons factor” means going against the British Parliament and Monarchy in order to obtain independence. The Times further insults him by saying:

"Ireland’s peasants feed thy purse". This refers to the Catholic Rent, which was a fee of a penny a month in order to be a member of the Catholic Association. There is some truth that this ‘feed his purse’ because he did have a privileged lifestyle.

The aim of the Times is to portray O’Connell in the worst possible way to quash any mainland support for him and his causes. It wants to increase British hatred of him, and this can be seen in the mocking language and insulting tone.

(c) Catholic Emancipation was granted to avoid Civil War rather than out of a spirit of generosity and tolerance within Britain. How far do you agree with this judgement?

In 1829 there was an increasing pressure for the Government to grant Catholic Emancipation. This meant campaigning to allow Catholic people to become Members of Parliament. The move was largely pushed by Irish Catholics in the Catholic Association. This was led by Daniel O’Connell, a successful barrister who had great influence over the Irish Catholic peasants.

There is a suggestion that when Catholic Emancipation was finally granted by the British Parliament in 1829 it was more to avoid civil war, rather than a spirit of religious tolerance. This implies that the Catholic demands were simply appeased to avoid more problems for the government. A agitation within Ireland peaked during the 1820s. Source B shows that the Governments concern of an impending civil war was valid. O’Connell wrote to a campaigner for Jewish emancipation:

“You must force your question on the Parliament.
You must not confide in English liberty". Here, it is shown how unco-operative the British Parliament was, from the viewpoint of a campaigner to change the system. The use of the word ‘force’ is meant through pressure, not violence because the campaign for Catholic Emancipation was encouraged to be peaceful. O‘Connell has no faith in the democracy of Great Britain, and this is shown in his mistrust of ‘English liberty’. It shows that O‘Connell was determined to achieve Catholic Emancipation.

O‘Connell also states in source B:
"The English were always persecutors."
Even though this is liable to be biased, it implies that the English had little religious tolerance towards anything that wasn‘t protestantism. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the idea of Catholic Emancipation was passed purely to avoid Civil War is feasible.

Source C was written by someone clearly opposed to Catholic Emancipation because it states:
(he needs to) "obtain such powers as will be efficient for checking the progress of agitators and putting down the rebellion that seems hanging over our heads."
The ‘Agitators’ mentioned are the Irish Catholics campaigning for Catholic Emancipation, in particular the Catholic Association. It is clearly a strong indication that the Government feared ‘a rebellion ‘unless something was done to ease the mounting tension in Ireland.

Source D supports the Catholic Emancipation cause. It states:
"King forever: therefore emancipate the Catholics, and they may be his loyal subjects".
This is clearly a Protestant writer, from the use of the phrase ‘king forever’. It is interesting that this writer can see Catholics becoming ‘loyal subjects ‘to the King because they would have divided loyalty to the state and the Pope. Source D is trying to ensure Catholic loyalty to the state, rather than being entirely pro-Catholic.

There is no evidence in the sources to suggest that the Government granted Catholic Emancipation through religious tolerance. However, lots of evidence suggests that the agitation could accelerate into a Civil War, and this wasn’t just a threat to encourage the bill to be passed.

The system of Government in 1928 grossly discriminated against the Catholic religion. In order to become an M P a person would have to take an oath against transubstantiation (communion wine and bread were actually the blood and body of Christ). This was unacceptable to any Roman Catholic and this was a method used by the Protestant government to prevent Catholics from becoming M . P.s. Opposition for Catholic Emancipation was strong in Great Britain, especially in the Governing Tory party. They feared that if the Catholics were emancipated they could not be relied upon to be solely loyal to the Crown, as the Pope was the head of the Church not the King. Also, it was widely believed that Catholic M. P.s would actively try to destroy Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland and eventually demand independence. King George III and the House of Lords were strongly opposed to Catholic Emancipation.

There was limited support in Parliament for Catholic Emancipation from the Whig party and more liberal Tories. They argued it was immoral to deny the Catholics social justice, and if they were emancipated it would link them into the British state solidly. The Government ‘shelved ‘the issue, ignoring a potentially divisive issue. There was much broader support in Britain from immigrants, Catholics, and sympathetic protestants. Combined with the Irish agitation in Ireland, the campaign gained rapid momentum. Civil war in Ireland became a real threat unless Catholic Emancipation was granted.

I would totally agree that Catholic Emancipation was granted to avoid Civil War in Ireland. The British Parliament struggled to control Ireland, and they had very little sympathy for the country’s problems, often giving them little help in times of crisis. However, a Civil War would have been disastrous for them, and there is evidence in the sources to suggest they had little tolerance towards the Catholics. This is also shown in how the Government reduced the Irish electorate when emancipation was granted, by increasing qualifications from 40 shillings to £10. This was a substantial increase to try to prevent Catholics from voting and therefore retain protestant dominance.
CANDIDATE B

(a) (i) ‘Checking the progress of the Agitators’ was a phrase used during the issue of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. The Agitators during the Catholic Emancipation were the trouble makers who were pushing for Emancipation. The main agitators during the Catholic Emancipation were the Catholic Association, the Irish Peasantry and Daniel O’Connell. Checking the progress means the agitators had to be watched because if they did not think they would not get emancipation they would have turned to violence if they were unable to get emancipation, they also needed to be watched because they tried to form with other groups and fight the government that way.

(ii) ‘Emancipate the Catholics’ was a phrase used during the issue of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Emancipate the Catholics would be, to allow Catholics to become MP’s and in turn gain top government jobs. In the sense of the extract, the person believes that if the Catholics were emancipated, civil war would be avoided which would have meant the Catholics co-operating with other foreign powers, like rivals France, it would then make the Catholics more loyal to the British as they had emancipation. In this sense it also meant the oath against transubstantiation would be get rid of, the Catholics would not believe in the oath.

(b) The use of tone and language by the Times on Daniel O’Connell is very strong and emotive. The use of the word demagogue, is a person who has great power but has responsibility with that power. The line ‘Nurse of murders, treason’s factor’ is one that O’Connell is against Great Britain’s government and that any violence in Ireland is due to O’Connell. The next 2 lines ‘Of pope & priest to crouching slave, While they lips of treason rave’. This means the Tories are getting at O’Connell because they believe he is not responsible to the state but just the pope and another line is that the Catholic rent is paying for O’Connell’s good lifestyle, the final line says that O’Connell should be banned.

(c) Catholic Emancipation was granted to avoid civil war rather than out of a spirit of generosity and tolerance within Britain. I could not agree completely or disagree completely with this statement. From the sources I gleaned that extract B was a point of view of Daniel O’Connell, extract C was saying civil war would take place if Catholic Emancipation was not passed and extract D contains evidence of civil war breaking out, and generosity and tolerance. The letter from O’Connell to a Jewish Emancipator EXTRACT B, said that the government would give no religious freedom or generosity, he was encouraging the Jewish to start civil unrest and should not give up until emancipation had been granted. Extract C was from Mrs Arbuthnot to the Duke of Wellington and she believed that if emancipation was given to the Catholics then this would avoid any forms of civil war. Extract D is mixed and also said that if emancipation was not given there would be no civil war, but Sydney Smith believed if emancipation was not given then they would join up with foreign powers. To add to this the British government was under pressure form both inside the Houses of Parliament and outside. The Whig Party and about 60 or more liberal Tories were all pushing for Catholic Emancipation and their argument was that Emancipation had to be passed because of the importance of morality and social justice to satisfy Catholic demands in order to cement their loyalty to the British State. There was also alot of Agitation in Britain as O’Connell encouraged the printing of newspapers, eg the Truth Teller which was an English paper devoted to the Catholic cause.

Of the sources only source D shows that emancipation was given because of generosity and tolerance, the writer believed that to emancipate the Catholics would make them loyal subjects. To add to this is the Whig party’s argument if emancipation was passed then it would cement loyalty into the British State. All these points show the two areas of why emancipation was passed, to avoid civil war or it was out of generosity and tolerance. I couldn’t say I completely agree with the statement but evidence shows it is more weighted to the side of civil war and not out of generosity and tolerance.
CANDIDATE C

(a) The 'agitators' described in extract C are the people of the UK pushing for catholic emancipation in my opinion these would be in the majority irish catholics including members of the catholic association, under Daniel O'Connell. Wellington was against Catholicism and as prime minister he wanted to keep catholics out of parliament. As such Wellington would like to keep tabs on the progress of their support. The extract says that by checking this progress that this will 'put down the rebellion that seems to be over our heads'. So they wish to prevent the catholics gaining support to fight for emancipation and therefore have the UK parliament over a barrel. Therefore it is in England's best interest to check agitators progress.

(ii) To emancipate the catholics would mean to allow them to enter the British parliament. Smith's Argument i that by doing this you will have the catholics on your side and present a revolution that the agitators push for the extract says 'king forever emancipate the catholics therefore emancipate the catholics, that they may become his loyal subjects'. So it is possible that in this context the meaning of this phrase is deeper than it seems.

(b) The language used is very strong 'Scum, condensed of irish bog'. This is very blatant language which portrays O'Connell as a foul discharge of a man and is quite unusual for the time which suggests that the times was in more hatred of O'Connell and therefore was strongly against emancipation and the catholic association of which he was the leader.

(c) It would appear that Extract B suggests that the emancipation of catholics was involved by the british parliament under force rather than generosity. If it had been generosity surely Jews would have been emancipated also. O'Connell suggests use of force which proves that difficulty was received in the attempt to emancipate catholics and therefore the decision was far from generous. The british are refered to a persecuters not people of generosity. Extract C gives the impression that the Emancipation was granted to prevent a civil war. It says that the Gov't should check progress of all agitators to put down a rebellion. This gives strong evidence of civil war erosion described as 'A safe measure as so far satisfying the friends of catholic emancipation in england'. Extract D says that emancipation should be granted to avoid non-co-operation and 'rebellion of the catholics his giving them what they want the king shall have them 'under his belt'. No real generosity it is purely for their own ends to keep them on side.

A nother side of this argument is that the strength of the catholic association had put pressure on the government and possibly given a hint of a civil war threat or even a nationalist rebellion in ireland. meaning irish independence if emancipation is not granted. The government rushed further reforms however and a ____ split after emancipation, this gives the impression that there would be little choice and that these irishs were with it to prevent civil want. As Wellington believed in party unity so he would not let it happen by choice.
INDIVIDUAL MARKS (MAXIMUM = 20)

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TEACHER’S COMMENTS

Question A

The phrases chosen need to be placed firmly within a valid historical context, and the full implications of the phrases need to be appreciated to reach full marks.

(i) Candidate A has attempted to explain why the Catholic protest had to be ‘checked’ because of the threat of civil war. There is not enough evidence for the top level as both points in the mark scheme are not elaborated upon.

Candidates B and C appreciated that ‘the Agitators’ referred to O’Connell and the Catholic Association, but do not discuss their ‘threat’ within a valid context.

(ii) Candidate A has just provided enough explanation of the nature of the Test Acts, even with an inaccurate reference, to merit a low L2 mark. It is, however, a borderline Level 1/2 response. Similarly Candidate B has appreciated the possible threat to the state posed by the Catholics if they were not emancipated. A combination of these two responses would merit the top of Level 2.

Candidate C hints at B’s argument but supporting evidence is too thin for a Level 2 mark.

Question B

The tone and language of the extract need to be related to the particular historical context of O’Connell’s leadership, and Level 2 responses must therefore show awareness of the implications of the choice of phrases by The Times.

Candidate A’s response achieves this in the explanation of ‘nurse of murders’, ‘treason’s factor’ and ‘Ireland’s peasants feed thy purse’ and hence reaches the top of Level 2. The discussion of ‘demagogue’ is more generalised and not placed specifically in context.
Candidate B produces the makings of a good response, but the arguments for ‘treason’ and ‘of pope and priest to crouching slave’ are not fully elaborated. The response is, therefore, top Level 1.

Candidate C relies on a literal translation of the one phrase and, therefore, achieves a low Level 1 response.

**Question C**

The key objective here is to construct a coherent argument which enters the historical debate as to why Catholic Emancipation was granted in 1829. Both material from the sources and the students’ own knowledge are necessary to reach Level 3, while the top level requires a mature and subtle understanding of the implications of the question.

Candidate A provides a rather descriptive opening, but then shows awareness of the two different interpretations. The candidate begins the argument by effectively marshalling material from extracts B, C and D to debate the issue of concession to avoid civil war. The candidate uses extract D particularly well to add a more subtle dimension to the Protestant Establishment line of thought. The candidate’s own knowledge is well used to support the argument of Protestant reluctance to emancipate the Catholics, while the penultimate paragraph shows a limited appreciation of the MPs who campaigned for Emancipation. The conclusion supports the first part of the question with use of knowledge of the Bill itself. Overall, this is a high Level 3 response, which has a promising analytical approach but which could have developed the issue of ‘religious tolerance’ in great depth.

Candidate B offers a more concise response which begins by giving a brief summary of extracts B, C and D. The candidate attempts to explain the pressure put on the government by Irish Catholics and then uses ‘own knowledge’ briefly to put the argument for religious tolerance, and Irish pressure on the British mainland. The answer shows an appreciation of the historical debate but lacks depth and so achieves a high Level 2 mark.

Candidate C deduces some points from extracts B, C and D without really fully explaining their significance. Some points are perceptive as to the comparison made with the Jewish campaign for Emancipation and the hidden agenda of extract D’s concern for law and order in Ireland and a loyal population. Overall, there is a lack of effective support, but the reference to the Tory Right just pushes the response up to the low Level 2. This is a borderline response.

**OVERALL PERFORMANCE OF THE SIXTH-FORM HISTORY SET**

The standard of answers in the sixth-form as a whole was variable but, on the whole, good, demonstrating a reasonable knowledge and understanding of the salient points regarding Catholic Emancipation and the leadership of Daniel O’Connell and British attitudes towards both. Nevertheless, the students needed reminding of two points in particular. First, the agitation for emancipation drew in all Catholics in Ireland, not simply the peasantry led by O’Connell. The demand was supported by the Catholic aristocracy, the Catholic middle classes in town and country, and the working classes in the larger cities, particularly Dublin. Secondly, discussions of question C would have benefited from at least some reference to the relief afforded to Non-Conformists in Britain in the 1820s. That could have been used as evidence of a growing spirit of religious tolerance.
### 7. Reading - level A

#### ARTICLES FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Chapman, T.  
Ireland 1800-50 (John Bull’s other island)  
(Britain 1815-67) London, Heinemann 1994  
‘Ireland under the Union’  
History Today, January 1984, pp 31-5

#### FOR STUDENTS

Evans, E.  
Political parties in Britain 1783-1867  
London, Methuen 1985  
Britain before the Reform Act  
London, Longman 1989

Watts, D.  
Tories, Conservatives and Unionists 1815-1914  
London, Hodder & Stoughton 1994

#### FOR LIBRARY

Hoppen, K.T.  
Ireland since 1800: conflict and conformity  
London, Longman 1989

McCartney, D.  
The dawning of democracy in Ireland 1800-1870  
Dublin, Education Company of Ireland 1987

O’Day, A. & Stevenson, J. (eds)  
Irish historical documents since 1800  
Dublin, Gill and Macmillan 1992

O’Ferrall, F.  
Daniel O’Connell  
Dublin, Gill and Macmillan 1981  
Catholic Emancipation: Daniel O’Connell and the birth of Irish democracy 1820-30  
Dublin, Gill and Macmillan 1985
8. Reading - level B

The suggestions for further reading are intended to help teachers and, where appropriate, students who wish to study Catholic Emancipation and O’Connell in further depth. There are three sections:

(i) articles to broaden understanding of Catholic question and Catholic Emancipation;
(ii) articles focusing upon role of O’Connell;
(iii) document packs for extra activities.

Articles to broaden understanding of Catholic question and Catholic Emancipation

T. Bartlett
An overview of relationships between Catholic and Protestants in Ireland, and Anglo-Irish relations up to 1793. It includes discussion of the United Irishmen and Catholic Relief Acts of 1792-3.

J. Bossy
An overview of Catholics in England after 1688. He questions the extent of persecution and focuses on material/spiritual ways of life to support thesis. Revisionist; but minimises the importance of the discrimination in place.

G.I.T. Machin
Focuses upon the Protestant reaction to the Catholic Association and O’Connell’s pressure for reform. Particularly useful on Brunswick Clubs and the debates within the Tory Party as to the legality of their existence. Helps to untangle the different threads of Protestant arguments against Emancipation.

D. McCartney
‘From Emancipation to Reform’, The dawning of democracy in Ireland 1800-1870, ch.4.
General ‘text-book’ approach to main events of 1823-29 - ideal for placing events within context of Irish political life.
Articles focusing upon role of O‘Connell

D. McCartney
Good historiographical essay, analysing views of O‘Connell in his lifetime to reappraisal by former Young Irelanders and condemnation by Home Rulers and Sinn Fein members alike up to 1922. Debates about his role persist today, just as Irish nationalism is dynamic and divided between advocates of moral and physical force.

J.N. McCord
Focuses mainly upon the work of ‘HB’ (John Doyle) and how views of O‘Connell changed during the 1830s and 1840s. Useful insights are given into historiographical interpretations of O‘Connell and the symbolism of the time. Note that Doyle was an English Catholic.

M.R. O‘Connell
Assesses nature of O‘Connell’s religious beliefs and views on toleration - notably his views on the separation of church and state per se. Note the limitations and insufficiency of evidence available.

J. Owens
Examines nature of the meetings as a type of extra-Parliamentary pressure on Ireland. A useful comparison to similar meetings in England (especially Peterloo and Chartist demonstrations).

Document packs for extra activities

Catholic Emancipation
Belfast, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland 1978
Daniel O‘Connell
Dublin, National Library of Ireland 1978
CONTENT

It is not intended that all aspects of Britain in the years 1783-1830 will be examined. Rather, the content specified for Part Two will be addressed through three inter-related key questions:

(a) In what ways, and for what reasons, did the nature of government, political parties and extra-parliamentary activity change in this period?

(b) Why, and how far, was Britain involved in war with France, 1793-1815, and with what consequences for Britain’s international role in the period to 1827?

(c) Why, and to what extent, did Britain experience industrial change in this period, and with what consequences?

In this part of the written paper, and in relation to the three inter-related key questions, candidates will be required to have knowledge and understanding of the following:

The peacetime government of Pitt the Younger and the governments of Lord Liverpool; the development of and support for parliamentary reform, 1791-1820, and government response to extra-parliamentary radical activities, 1792-1820; changes in religious policy, in Britain and Ireland, in the 1820s and their political importance.

Reasons for the outbreak of war with France; war strategy of Pitt the Younger; reasons for victory over France; Britain’s role in Congress diplomacy; foreign policies of Castlereagh and Canning.

Appropriateness of the term ‘industrial revolution’; reasons for the increase in economic growth and industrial output; location, extent and nature of change in textile, iron and shipping industries; impact of machinery on these industries and extent of continuity of non-factory production; urbanisation and condition of towns; population growth and patterns of migration; changes in family structure; religion in early industrial Britain.

ASSESSMENT OBJECTIVES: SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE TO BE TESTED

Candidates will be expected to show sufficient knowledge of the syllabus to enable them to demonstrate those aspects of historical understanding and the skills of investigation and communication which are listed below.

(a) Understanding
(i) the factors affecting change and continuity in the past;
(ii) that the process of historical change cannot be understood entirely within a narrow political framework but needs also to be understood in cultural, economic, social, religious, constitutional and technological terms;
(iii) that history is concerned with judgement, argument and debate based on available evidence; conclusions are provisional; and there are different interpretations of historical events;
(iv) the concepts and terms appropriate to and arising from the history studied, as used in past societies and by historians, recognising that past societies had their own distinctive values and assumptions and cannot be entirely understood in terms of present-day values and assumptions.

(b) Investigation
(v) the abstraction of information from and appraisal of historical sources in order to define and analyse the problems presented by an historical issue;
(vi) undertaking independent investigation and enquiry.

(c) Communication
(vii) drawing together the components elements of a topic or argument in order to present a coherent and sustained case.
Appendix B

**Illustrations - context and exercises**

This appendix has been added to the study unit in response to comments by teachers who received the original version which was distributed between September 1998 and May 1999.

The unit has been very well received and is proving useful both in the classroom and for teacher training.

However, teachers have suggested two changes, providing:

1. clearer illustrations;
2. their context; and
3. exercises based upon them.

Clearer illustrations, in so far as the Project’s resources allow, have been provided on pages 12 (SB9), 15 (SB12), 16 (SB13), 19 (SB16) and 20 (SB17).

This new appendix contains notes placing the following illustrations in context and exercises on them:

A. Printed account of receipt and expenditure of New Catholic Rent for year 1827

B. Printed address of O’Connell to the freeholders of Co. Clare, 24 June 1828

C. Cartoon entitled ‘The Reformation’, 1829, showing Wellington on his knees before the Pope and O’Connell triumphant at his ‘conversion’

D. Extracts from the Freeman’s Journal and the Illustrated London News on the death of Daniel O’Connell, May 1847

E. Broadside ballad entitled ‘O’Connell’s no more’, c. September 1847.

**SOURCES**

The illustrations and notes and exercises based upon them are taken from Daniel O’Connell, an excellent collection of twenty facsimiles of historical documents published by the National Library of Ireland in 1978.

On the reverse side of each facsimile are a brief commentary on the document and a set of exercises. Most of the exercises refer to one document but several require a comparison of more than two or more facsimiles. According to the introduction to the collection, ‘For each document a number of questions are suggested but these are intended merely as indications of possible lines of approaches.’

These questions can, of course, be adapted to the requirements of individual examining boards.
A. Printed account of receipt and expenditure of New Catholic Rent for year 1827

CONTEXT

The Catholic Association founded in 1823 admitted members who subscribed a guinea a year. From February 1824 associate members were admitted who paid a penny a month which was mainly collected at parish level through the agency of the priests. These contributions constituted the ‘Catholic Rent’ renamed the New Catholic Rent when the title the New Catholic Association was adopted in July 1825. The Rent provided funds for the campaign for Emancipation and one of the main expenses was compensation for forty shilling freeholders who were victimised by their landlords for voting contrary to their directions, most notably in support of Dawson in Co. Louth and Villiers Stuart in Waterford in 1826.

O’Connell entered Parliament in 1829. He abandoned his lucrative legal practice to devote himself full-time to politics. To compensate him for his loss of earnings (Members of Parliament were not paid) and to provide funds for his political activities the ‘O’Connell National Tribute’ was organised to replace the Catholic Rent and this source of revenue continued until his death. His enemies often made the Rent and Tribute the subject of crude accusations and the term ‘Beggarman’ was often applied to him.

EXERCISES

1. Pick out the seven counties which contributed least to the Catholic Rent. In the case of each consider possible reasons why the amount is small.

2. On the basis of approximate population which province contributed most per head and which contributed least?

3. Consider possible reasons why no funds for relief of forty shilling freeholders were granted to counties in Connaught.

4. From an examination of the contributions of the various counties try to form some general conclusions regarding the organisation of support for Catholic Emancipation in 1827.
CONTEXT

In June 1828 one of the Members of Parliament for Co. Clare, William Vesey Fitzgerald, accepted a post in Wellington’s cabinet and in accordance with custom he resigned his seat and sought re-election as a test of his constituents’ approval. He and indeed his father before him were both supporters of Catholic Emancipation, but the New Catholic Association had decided to oppose Wellington’s administration and so opposed his re-election. Hitherto Catholics did not stand for election to Parliament because if elected they would be unable to take the required oaths without apostasy and normally the Association gave its support to Protestant candidates who were sympathetic to Emancipation.

However, on this occasion it was decided that O’Connell - a Catholic should stand in the hope that if elected the government would feel obliged to repeal the law which prescribed the oath. The decision on his candidature was reached on 24 June and the address to the freeholders was published that evening in the Dublin Evening Post and subsequently in other newspapers. It was also issued as a broadside poster from which the Facsimile is taken. Polling at the election was open but nonetheless the electors defied their landlords, most of whom supported Fitzgerald, and the result was 2052 votes to 1075, in favour of O’Connell.

EXERCISES

1. Calculate what percentage of the address is
   a. concerned with arguments relating to policy
   b. devoted to attacking Fitzgerald?
2. Is O’Connell unfair to Fitzgerald? Ought Fitzgerald be criticised for taking the oath?
3. Of the three pledges given in italics at the end which is likeliest to interest most voters?
4. Consider the content and the spirit of the address and the probable reactions of the people of Clare.
COUNCIL. O’CONNELL’S
GRAND ADDRESS
TO THE FREEHOLDERS
OF THE
Co. Clare.

Fellow Country men - Your county wants a Representative - I respectfully solicit your suffrages to raise me to that station.

It is true that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will take the oaths at present prescribed to Members of Parliament, but the authority which created these oaths - the Parliament [sic], can abrogate them, and I entertain a confident hope that if you elect me, the most bigotted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his King and his Country.

The oath at present required by law is - “That the sacrifice of the Mass and the Invocation of the blessed Virgin Mary and other Saints, as now practised in the Church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous.” Of course I never will stain my soul with such an oath; I leave that to my honourable [sic] opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. He had often taken that horrible oath; he is ready [sic] to take it again, and asks your votes to enable him so to swear. I would rather be torn limb from limb rather than take [sic] it. Electors of the County Clare, choose between me, who abominates that oath, and Mr Vesey Fitzgerald, who has sworn it full twenty times!!!

I do not like to give the epitome of his political life, but I cannot refrain. - He first took off under Percival, who attained [sic] power by raising “the base, bloody, and unchristian cry of No-popery” in England.

He voted for the East Retford Bill, for a measure which put two violent enemies of the Catholics into Parliament. In the case of the Protestant Dissenters in England, he voted for their exclusion, that is, he voted against the principle of Freedom of Conscience - that principle on which we found our right to Emancipation.

Finally, he voted for the suppression [sic] of the Catholic Association of Ireland!!! And after this, Sacred Heaven! he calls himself a friend of the Catholics.

He is the ally and colleague of the Duke of Wellington Mr. Peel; and is their partner in power.

If you return me to Parliament, I pledge myself to vote for every measure which can strengthen the right of every human being to unrestricted and unqualified freedom of conscience.

To vote for every measure favourable to radical [sic] reform in the representative system, so that the House of Commons may truly, as our Catholic ancestors intended it should do, represent [sic] all the people.

To vote for every measure of retrenchment and reduction of the national expenditure, so as to relieve the people from the burden of taxation &c.

Eelectors of the County Clare, choose one who has devoted his early life to your cause - who has consumed his manhood in a struggle for your liberties, and who is ready to die for the Catholic faith.

DANIEL O’CONNELL
C. Cartoon entitled ‘The Reformation’, showing Wellington on his knees before the Pope and O’Connell triumphant at his ‘conversion’, 1829

CONTEXT

Many Irish Protestants regarded the granting of Emancipation as practically treason on the part of Wellington and the cartoon humorously exaggerates the situation. The ‘Brunswickers’ were extreme Orangemen who, in reaction to O’Connell’s victory in Co. Clare, organised a counter campaign throughout the country by means of clubs named Brunswick Clubs - after the Duke of Brunswick, a brother of George IV and a bitter opponent of Catholic claims.

The pope, seated, tells Wellington: ‘Take my benediction and from henceforth I consider you within the Pale of our Holy Church & in a fair way of Salvation!!’

Wellington, kneeling before the pope is saying: ‘I for ever renounce the Errors of the Church of England and embrace and conform to the Doctrine and Tenets of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. I have given my dearly beloved DAN a perfect assurance of my determination to effect and procure an unqualified Emancipation in spite of the Brunswick Faction!’

O’Connell, holding cross and candle declares: ‘Look on and tremble ye Brunswickers. Behold the blessed Reform; see him prostrate before the Holy Father of the Church. Rejoice my countrymen. The day is our own.’ The legend ‘All Stuff’ on O’Connell’s barrister’s gown is a reference to the fact that with Emancipation he was eligible by law to become a King’s Counsel or as it was popularly termed ‘take silk’ and so could discard his gown of ‘stuff’ or common cloth.

On the left Richard Lalor Shiel assures: ‘Friend Dan, I’ll Shiel ‘d him from heretical Brunswickers with the help of my Holy Water. I won’t make a Ballybay job of it.’ This refers to an incident at Ballybay when Orangemen forced the withdrawal of a large gathering of Catholics who had assembled to establish branches of the Catholic Association in Co. Monaghan.

EXERCISES

1. Study the cartoon and consider whether it was drawn by a supporter or an opponent of Catholic Emancipation.

2. The cartoon includes a great deal of what might be termed ‘ecclesiastical paraphernalia’; identify and list the items. Why does the artist include so many?

3. Imagine the probable reactions of Wellington, the Pope and O’Connell on seeing the cartoon; compose a sentence for each one which expresses their feelings.

4. A cartoon or caricature can give a good likeness of a person. Compare O’Connell as here presented with his portrayal in other cartoons or portraits?

5. Caricature consists largely of the exaggeration of certain physical features or mannerisms. In the case of Wellington which features seem exaggerated? Find a portrait of him and compare it with the caricature.
D. Extracts from the Freeman’s Journal and the Illustrated London News on the death of Daniel O’Connell, May 1847

CONTEXT

O’Connell died at Genoa on May 15 but the news did not reach Ireland for over a week. Newspapers around the world reported the death; many Irish papers carried black borderlines as a sign of mourning.

The Freeman’s Journal was generally a strong supporter of O’Connell and indeed in 1844 its editor, Dr John Gray, was one of the traversers imprisoned with him in the Richmond Penitentiary.

The Illustrated London News, a weekly paper published from 1842 to the present day, recognised the need for reforms in Ireland and while it opposed some of O’Connell’s policies it generally respected and admired him. Its report included a portrait of O’Connell as an old man.

EXERCISES

1. Under the mast-head of the Freeman’s Journal is written, ‘Remember the 30th of May 1844’. To what event does it refer.

2. In the second paragraph of the Freeman’s Journal report is the claim that the seeds of O’Connell’s disease ‘were sown in Richmond prison’. To what extent is that claim true? Why is the claim made?

3. How does the Illustrated London News seem to regard O’Connell?

4. Both papers report on the death of O’Connell but do so in rather different ways. Consider the two styles of journalistic approach. Is each appropriate for the particular paper?

5. Study the symbolic drawing which is attached to the initial letter of the report in the Illustrated London News. Consider the possible significance of the various symbols.

* In 1843 O’Connell had been arrested on a charge of creating discontent and disaffection and sentenced to a fine of £2,000 and a year’s imprisonment. He was in the Richmond Penitentiary in Dublin from 30 May to 5 September 1844, accompanied by his six fellow ‘traversers’, including his son John.

The traversers did not occupy cells. O’Connell and his son were lodged in the Governor’s residence. The others (T.M. Ray, Secretary of the Repeal Association; Tom Steele, ‘Chief Pacifcator’; and Charles Gavan Duffy, Dr. John Gray and Richard Barrett, editors respectively of the Nation, the Freeman’s Journal and the Pilot) were assigned quarters in the house of the deputy governor. All had the status and comforts of honoured house guests.

In June an appeal was made to the House of Lords and contrary to the expectations of all interested parties the Lords reversed the decision of the trial court and ordered the traversers to be set free.
E. Broadside ballad entitled ‘O’Connell’s no more’, c. September 1847

CONTEXT

O’Connell was buried at Glasnevin cemetery, a famous Dublin landmark, on 5 August 1847. This broadside refers to the ninth of September and presumably it was composed and published soon after that date in the year of his death. It is typical of this type of publication, being anonymous and rather carelessly printed on poor quality paper. It would have been mainly sold by hawkers at fairs, sports meetings and other public gatherings. Five of the seven verses of the ballad are reproduced.

EXERCISES

1. This is a ballad and intended for singing. Try putting it to an air.

2. Suggest reasons why the scene is set at Tara.

3. Who is ‘Our Hibernian Queen’ in the first stanza? The theme of the poet experiencing a vision is common in Irish poetry. List some ‘vision’ poems or songs.

4. In what respects is O’Connell’s career alluded to in the verse ‘At the Bar and the Senate I have watched his endeavours’?

5. Reference is made to Alexander and ‘the great Caesars’ - names familiar to school children all over the world. Consider O’Connell’s claim to fame in the context of world history.

6. O’Connell is portrayed holding a scroll inscribed ‘Repeal of the Union’, and presumably is delivering a speech on repeal. Is this an appropriate portrayal by which to commemorate him? Suggest some alternatives.