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SEARCH UR 2325
Université de Strasbourg

Radicalism, Radicalisation, and Deradicalisation in Ireland From 1798 to the present day



STUDY DAY, 17 APRIL 2024

CLSH Nancy, Bat G s.04

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Registrations via Eventbrite (QR code)

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:

Prof. Peter GRAY (Queen's University Belfast)

**Prof. Eugenio BIAGINI (Sidney Sussex College,
Cambridge)**

SOFEIR
Société Française d'Études Irlandaises



GIS
eire.
Études Irlandaises - Histoire et Espace

8h30

9h-10h15

Coffee

KEYNOTE LECTURE: Prof. Peter Gray, Queen's University Belfast, 'The Revival of Ulster Protestant Radicalism and the Sharman Crawford, c.1830-1880'

Chair: Pauline Collombier (Université de Strasbourg)

The collapse of Ulster Protestant radicalism in the decades following the 1801 Union has been widely commented on and attributed to such factors as the trauma of the failed 1798 rebellion, the rise of Protestant evangelicalism, the expansion of the Orange Order, the growth of Belfast industry within the Union's free-trade area, and anxieties around the rise of a mass Catholic majoritarian movement led by Daniel O'Connell. All of these certainly contributed to the eclipse of United Irish politics, even if, as Guy Beiner has reminded us, its memory in Ulster remained potent, albeit opaque. Nevertheless, Ulster Protestant radicalism did persist, and revived from the 1830s with a new colouration in counterweight to the dominant conservative political dispensation in the province. The renewed movement found a figurehead and inspiration between 1830 and 1861 in the person of William Sharman Crawford, and his memory would continue to be cited by Ulster liberals through to 1900 and beyond. This paper considers the forms of radicalism espoused by Sharman Crawford, in uneasy alliance at different times, with Belfast liberals, O'Connell's Repeal movement, and British Chartism, and the significance of the memory of the Volunteer movement of 1778-93 in offering an alternative radical ancestry to that of the now more problematic United Irishmen. Ultimately Sharman Crawford was most successful in gaining traction for renewed mass radical movement through his articulation of an agrarian reform platform, especially after 1845 as the impact of the Famine radicalised northern farmers. He did so in alliance especially with Presbyterian lay and clerical agents, most especially James McKnight, and brought significant northern support to the Irish Tenant League, a movement which posed a serious threat to the landed social order before its disintegration from 1853. Despite such setbacks, Sharman Crawford retained a dedicated personal following and remained committed to promoting radical democratic and social reform through to his death in 1861. His ideas, sometimes labelled 'Sharman Crawfordism', played a role in the political revival of Ulster liberalism in the 1870s and survived the political crisis of 1885-6, albeit as a minority strand in northern politics.

Prof. Peter Gray, is Director of the Institute of Irish Studies and Chair of the Wiles Lectures Trustees at Queen's University Belfast. Prof. Peter Gray held the O'Donnell Visiting Fellowship in Irish Studies at the University of Melbourne in Jan-Feb 2023. A specialist of the history of British-Irish relations c.1800-70, especially the nineteenth-century political history, he also has interests in comparative imperial history (especially nineteenth-century Ireland and India), as well as in historical memory and commemoration.



His latest book *William Sharman Crawford and Ulster Radicalism* traces the legacy of William Sharman Crawford's politics through the political careers of his children James in Gladstonian liberalism and Mabel in the women's suffrage movement, both of whom sought, in common with Presbyterian allies such as James McKnight, to carry his ideas into the later nineteenth century. It concludes with the collapse of the family's radical tradition in the following generation, as his grandson Robert Gordon came to reject liberal unionism and take an active role in the Ulster Unionist movement from the 1890s. Through an assessment of the Sharman Crawford family over four generations, *William Sharman Crawford and Ulster Radicalism* explores the resilience of the Ulster Protestant radical tradition in the wake of the setbacks of 1798, its strengths and weaknesses, and its relations with Irish Catholic nationalism, British radicalism, the conservative landed, and Orange traditions within Ulster.

Pauline Collombier is a Senior Lecturer at the university of Strasbourg in British and Irish history. She was awarded her PhD from the university Paris 3 – Sorbonne Nouvelle in 2007 and her accreditation to lead research (HDR) in December 2023. Her research work focuses on Irish parliamentary nationalism in the long nineteenth century, home rule and Anglo-Irish relations, Ireland and the British empire. Her latest publication is a book entitled *Imagining Ireland's Future, 1870-1914: Home Rule, Utopia, Dystopia*, published by Palgrave Macmillan in January 2023.

10h15-10h45

Break

Panel 1

10h45-12h15

Questioning the nature of Radicalism

Chair: Tim Heron (Université de Strasbourg)

Online - Mathieu Ferradou (Université Paris-Nanterre), 'The early Irish Republicanism as a Radicalism? Questioning the political categories used in historiography'

The prevalent (revisionist) historiography on the 1798 rising has produced a narrative of a violent episode, ending in bloodshed, one in which the enlightened, secular and reformist agenda of the United Irishmen was corrupted by the sectarian impulses, parochial vision, and narrow nationalism of the Defenders. The history of the early Irish republicanism, written in the context of the 'Troubles' in the 1970s and 1980s and (des)informed by the different memorial strata since the seminal event of 1798, back projected on the 1790s a vision of republicanism synonymous with sectarian extremism. Recent research, however, demonstrated the need for a reconsideration of this interpretation. Recontextualising the Irish republicanism of the 1790s, by replacing it within its larger – Atlantic and transnational – contexts, allows to bring

forward another narrative. In this paper, I will focus on several individual trajectories: Theobald Wolfe Tone, Nicholas Madgett, William Jackson, William Duckett, and Lawrence O'Connor. Three Catholics, two Protestants – all of them decided to devote their life (and for two of them in the literal sense of the word) to the 'cause' for an independent Irish republic within the larger ideal or battlefield of the Atlantic Republic. Favouring a micro-sociological and cultural approach allows to showcase the different steps in the process of commitment, permitting in turn a reappraisal of their supposed 'radicalisation' to question this concept as an expression of our own modern dismay in the face of political commitment.

Mathieu Ferradou is a senior lecturer/ associate professor (maître de conférences) at the Université Paris Nanterre and a member of the Centre d'histoire des sociétés médiévales et modernes (MéMo). He completed his PhD in 2019, which he is currently revising for publication under the (provisionary) title 'Aux Etats-Unis de France et d'Irlande': une hétérotopie transnationale à l'époque de la République atlantique.

Rémy Duthille (Université Bordeaux Montaigne), 'Celebrating Irish Radical Heroes in the *Northern Star* (1837-1852)'

The relations between Daniel O'Connell's Repeal movement and the English and Scottish Chartists, especially Feargus O'Connor (whose uncle was a United Irishman) have long been a fraught subject, although no one denies the importance of the Irish in the largest working-class movement in nineteenth-century Britain. Recently Matthew Roberts has reinterpreted the stormy relationships between O'Connell and the Chartists, trying to integrate British and Irish radicalism in an interconnected essay. Roberts and others have also examined the memorial cultures that helped to build up genealogies and pantheons of heroes, thus inventing and perpetuating radical traditions. Drawing on this recent historiography, this paper offers to examine the cult of Irish radical heroes in O'Connor's paper, the *Northern Star*, focusing especially on the republican leaders of the 1798 rising, Robert Emmet (1778-1803) and Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-1798). The *Star* was the most influential and widely-read Chartist newspaper, running from 1837 to 1852; it incorporated a large variety of material honouring the Irish, as was made clear by studies of Chartist drama by Greg Vargo (including the much-loved courtroom speech in *The Trial of Robert Emmet*, 1841), of poetry in the *Northern Star* by Mike Sanders, and of Chartist culture in general by Malcolm Chase. I will pay attention to all the genres involved in the cult of Emmet and Wolfe Tone, including biographical or historical vignettes, and reports of dinners which served to pantheonize the Irish heroes. The leading questions will bear on the heroic construction of Emmet and Wolfe as heroes, rebels, and/or martyrs, and on their presentation as typically Irish, or members of a broader, perhaps even universal, brotherhood of freedom fighters.

Rémy Duthille is *maître de conférences HDR* (Reader) in British studies at Université Bordeaux Montaigne. He holds a PhD jointly awarded by the Sorbonne Nouvelle Université Paris 3 and the University of Edinburgh. His work bears on British

radicalism and on political sociability, clubs, societies and practices like dining and toasting in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. He has also written on memory, cultural transfer, and male feminists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He is currently revising for publication a manuscript entitled “Celebrating Revolution: The British People and Foreign Revolutions, 1789-1848”.

Claire Dubois (Université de Lille), ‘Constance Markievicz (1867-1927) and the fight for the creation of an egalitarian Irish Republic’

Constance Markievicz was an Irish nationalist and feminist who is known for her involvement in the 1916 Easter Rising and her opposition to the Anglo-Irish Treaty. In an article entitled “Wolfe Tone’s Ideals of Democracy” published in *An Phoblacht* on 26 June 1925, she claimed that Wolfe Tone’s intention to reform “the colonial Parliament of his time, by extending the franchise to all sections of the community, Catholic as well as Protestant, poor as well as rich” was, “at that time (...) as revolutionary a change as ‘Bolshevism’ would be today”. At a time when a socially conservative Irish Free State was being fashioned, Markievicz portrayed Wolfe Tone as an anti-imperialist hero, who encouraged an “international revolution” that would “link up the oppressed people and classes of the world”. It is clear from such quotations that Markievicz was not only fighting for the independence of Ireland, but also for the creation of an egalitarian Republic in which people would be offered equal opportunities and women would be recognized as full citizens. For the purposes of this presentation, several articles and columns by Markievicz will be studied, together with a few photographs and drawings. It will be shown that Markievicz fostered a radical model of female agency and militancy, repudiating social and moral conservatism, reconciling nationalism, social awareness and feminism in a period dominated by a military male ethos.

Claire Dubois wrote a PhD on representations of the Gaelic Past and their use in the construction of Irish identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She is an assistant professor in Irish Studies at Lille University, in France. She works on visual culture, architecture, the press, travel writing, national identity and its expressions. Notable publications include The Foreignness of Foreigners: Cultural Representations of the Other in Great Britain (18th-20th centuries) (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) co-edited with Vanessa Alayrac- Fielding, “The Wooing of Erin: Irishwomen as Victims in the Visual Arts” (Ireland and Victims: Confronting the Past, Forging the Future, eds. Lesley Lelourec and Grainne O’Keeffe-Vigieron (Dublin: Peter Lang, 2012), “The Representation of Ireland in Two Nineteenth-Century French Journals” (Irish Studies in Europe vol. 4, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2012), “‘Through Darkest Obstruction’: Challenging the British Representation of Ireland (1880-1910)”, (Authority and Crisis, Reimagining Ireland vol. 70 eds. Carine Berbéri et Martine Pelletier (Dublin: Peter Lang, 2015) and “Constance Markievicz’s Politics of Dissensus” (Nordic Irish Studies, volume 18 (2019/2020)). Her book, L’art comme arme en politique. Les combats de Constance Markievicz, is forthcoming from Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.

AFTERNOON

13h30-14h45

KEYNOTE LECTURE: Prof. Eugenio Biagini, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 'The rise and rise of the minority question in Ireland, 1641 to the present'

Chair: Géraldine Vaughan

Minority issues have bedevilled the formation of modern states especially from the late 1870s. However, suspicion of, and discrimination against, distinctive enclaves of different religious opinion or ethnic background has existed for a much longer time. Reaching a first climax with the Reconquista and the creation of modern in Spain from 1492, the minority issue is a feature of modernity and its concern with identity and equality. In Ireland, religious minorities became politically explosive from the crisis of 1912, which eventually resulted in territorial partition from 1920-5. This left enduring cultural and political tensions – and de facto self-imposed apartheid – within each of the resulting jurisdictions between Catholics and Protestants. Throughout the rest of the 20th century and the first quarter of the 21st, politics in Northern Ireland – including the Troubles, the Peace Process, and the whole question of the future of the Island of Ireland – hinged on minority issues and their management in a contested and fluid polity. This lecture explores these theme and seeks to place them within a wider conceptualization and historical understanding of minorities in the the making of modern Europe.

Prof. Eugenio Biagini is Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at Sidney Sussex College. His research focuses on the social, economic and political history of democracy. He has written on Gladstonian liberalism and the Italian Risorgimento, but Ireland is his main area of research. His *British Democracy and Irish Nationalism, 1876-1906* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007) examined the way the Irish Home Rule campaigns affected the making of democracy in the two islands. He has published (with Daniel Mulhall), *The Shaping of Modern Ireland* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2016) and edited (with Mary Daly) *The Cambridge Social History of Ireland since 1740* (Cambridge, Cambridge University press, 2016).

His current research focuses on the history of religious and ethnic minorities in twentieth-century Ireland, in a comparative perspective, and on the speeches of Charles S. Parnell. He focuses on the challenge of nation building, the redefinition of 'public interest', civil liberties and 'the constitution' in deeply divided societies.

Géraldine Vaughan is Professor of British and Irish modern history at the University of Lille (English Studies Department / CECILLE research group). She explores the history of politico-religious identities in Britain, Ireland and the British empire in the nineteenth century. Her recent publications include: *Anti-Catholicism*



and British Identities in Great Britain, Canada and Australia, 1880s-1920s, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022; and ‘Catholic violence in anti-Catholic British discourse in the nineteenth century,’ in F. J. Ramon Solans (dir.), *Religious Violence, and Hate Speech in Nineteenth-Century Western Europe: Memories of Intolerance*, London, Routledge, 2024, p. 26-42.

14h45-15h

Break

Panel 2

15h-16h

Religion and Irish radicalism

Chair: Karina Bénazech Wendling (Université de Lorraine)

Martin Powell (University of Bristol), ‘The Rise of a Separatist Public Sphere: Club-Life and O’Connell’s Catholic Association’

This paper seeks to explore the ways in which Daniel O’Connell’s Catholic Association can be viewed in the context of the forms of club-life and associational culture that were so important to the Irish public sphere in the long eighteenth century. Irish historiography has tended to favour the actions, and nationalist trajectories, of radical associations over their sociable structures – Vincent Comerford’s book on the Fenians being a notable (and controversial) exception. Using the case-study of Daniel O’Connell’s Catholic Association, this paper seeks to analyse the shifts that occurred in the public sphere following the rebellion of 1798, looking at the sociable structures that developed in this society and the continued relationship with print culture. It will also examine the changes brought about by a very obvious process of Catholicization. This approach is not intended to take the politics out of this organisation, but rather demonstrate that sociable structures were themselves inherently political, with important ramifications for our understandings of Irish political movements – for example in relation to class, religion and identity. This study will show that in terms of club culture, the petty obsessing about rules, the rituals, the complications between public and private, all remained the same, or very similar as the eighteenth century moved into the nineteenth. But the much more open nature of this type of society also brought with it major changes: its approach to admission – even allowing public attendance at meetings – left it vulnerable to hostile reporting and misrepresentation.

Martin Powell received his PhD from the University of Wales, and after a brief period lecturing at the University of Nottingham he returned to Wales as Lecturer, Senior Lecturer and then Chair in Irish History at Aberystwyth University. In 2018 he moved to Bristol as Head of School of Humanities, and became Dean of Arts in 2022 (now Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Law and Social Sciences). He is a specialist in Irish political, cultural and social history in the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries. His books have, in particular, reshaped our understanding of associational culture and sociability in Ireland in this period. They include, *Britain and Ireland in the Eighteenth-Century Crisis of Empire* (2003), *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (2005), *Piss-Pots, Printers and Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (2009) and *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (2010) (edited with James Kelly), along with many articles and essays. He is currently working on a study of violence in Irish society, 'Houghers and Chalkers: The Knife in Revolutionary Ireland, 1760-1815', a book on the early club-life of Wolfe Tone, an edited volume with Rémy Duthille on political drinking in northern Europe, and a multi-volume edition of the political works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, part of a Leverhulme-funded research project, for Oxford University Press.

Online - Patrick Duffy (Trinity College Dublin), 'Religion and radicalism in the tithe war in County Monaghan, 1832-33'

This paper focuses on the different aspects of anti-tithe agitation in County Monaghan on the south Ulster frontier in the years 1832 and 1833. In the centre and north-east of the county, where Catholic and Protestants were relatively equally distributed, opposition to the tithe was motivated by religious tension. Tithes were portrayed as religious oppression, and biblical imagery was used to criticise the Anglican clergy for their lack of Christian charity. In south County Monaghan, bordering Counties Meath, Louth and Armagh, where the population was overwhelmingly Catholic, opposition to tithes had economic motives. Protests against rent on potato ground coincided with anti-tithe agitation. Campaigners for tithe agitation used similar language to radicals and reformers by emphasising their rights as British subjects. The leader of the agitation in the south, Michael William Reddy, used tactics similar to Daniel O'Connell in that he collected subscriptions to fund a petition to parliament to abolish tithes. However, the Catholic clergy opposed Reddy's agitation. The nephew of the Catholic bishop of Clogher was a lay tithe owner and agitators criticised the bishop's reluctance to support their cause. One subscriber to Reddy's petition fund withdrew his subscription when he was informed that his parish priest disapproved. Catholic clergy in Magheraclone physically removed attendees at Reddy's meeting from outside their church after Mass when the refused Reddy permission to use their church yard. This paper therefore reveals an uneasiness among some Catholic clergy to radical politics.

Patrick Duffy is a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of History at Trinity College, Dublin and an Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholar. His research investigates the emergence of a cultural, religious, and ethnic frontier between Ulster and the rest of Ireland during the campaigns for Catholic emancipation and repeal of the union from 1823 to 1845. This is done by studying popular politics and sectarian relations in County Monaghan. He has a B.A. in history and modern Irish from University College, Dublin and a master's in modern British history from the University of Oxford.

Panel 3

Radicalism, violence, and de-radicalisation

Chair: Pauline Collombier (Université de Strasbourg)

Frank Rynne (Cergy Paris Université), 'Populism and radicalisation: Popular mobilisation and trans-national extremism during the Irish Land War 1879-82'

In the mid-1870s the separatist Fenian organisation in Ireland, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), while deemed ultra-radical by the British government, had become moribund and its executive Supreme Council split over strategy. However, senior members of the movement had broken with Fenian orthodoxy which eschewed engagement in parliamentary politics and senior members had entered parliament. The clash between doctrinaire revolutionists and pragmatists led to a superficial split in the movement that catalysed when the Irish National Land League (INLL) was founded in 1879. The INLL had the support of the main branch of Irish American Fenianism, Clan na Gael. The INLL, led by the charismatic protestant landlord and MP, Charles Stuart Parnell, was superficially a popular movement advocating for tenant rights for farmers in Ireland. However, its guiding council included former IRB Supreme Council members and its local branches absorbed and repurposed the local IRB cadre. While radical at its base, the radicalism of Irish Advanced Nationalism in the 1870s and 80s ranged from moderate to ultra-extreme. This paper will examine the quandaries that the official IRB organisation in Ireland faced when a populist movement which appeared to have hollowed out their base switched their revolutionary focus and organisational skills to a national populist organisation. The latter could draw on unlimited funds from various sources in the USA. However, in parallel with the popular movement, ultra-radical actions by elements of the same revolutionary organisation fomented. Sublimated in a period of popular protest, the ultra-radical face of the transnational Fenian movement manifested in political assassinations and urban terror.

Frank Rynne is a Senior Lecturer in Irish History and British Studies at CY Cergy Paris University and a Visiting Research Fellow attached to the Department of History, Trinity College Dublin. He is a member of (EA 7392) CY Agora research group at CY Cergy Paris and an associate member of (EA 4398) Primes/Erin at Université Sorbonne Nouvelle. He recently curated The Year of the French exhibition at Centre Cultural Irlandais and the extended online exhibition to mark the 225th anniversary of the French participation in the 1798 Rebellion. The online exhibition runs until June 2024 on the following URL:

<https://archives-en.centreculturelirlandais.com/digitized-collections/online-exhibitions/heritage/1798-the-year-of-the-french>

Luca Bertolani Azeredo (Scuola Superiore Meridionale, Napoli), ‘There are things stronger than Paliamentary majorities’ : For a political use of violence in ireland, 1909-1916’

With the conclusion of the Decade of Remembrance one of the main aims of today's Irish historiography is to expand the limits that it had imposed to itself. The “revolution” must be analysed considering its causes and consequences in a deeper mean. This paper will discuss the historical and cultural roots of one of its cornerstones: paramilitarism and the political use of violence in the Third Irish Home Rule Crisis. It will be recognised how, before the establishment of the main popular organisations, paramilitarism and citizen volunteer groups had long been established both in Irish and British societies. The liberalisation of the possession – and use – of guns, the militarisation of the society, and the radicalisation of its policy, all led to the acceptance – or its menace – of violence as a rightful instrument. Four cases of study will be taken into consideration, starting from Na Fianna Eireann and the Young Citizen Volunteers, two youth paramilitary organisations established in Dublin and Belfast between 1909 and 1912 as a reaction and counterreaction to the popularity of uniformed movements meant for the education and drilling of children and the youth. The political and cultural use of guns will then be analysed with two other groups, the Unionist Enniskillen Horses, established in 1912 in Fermanagh, and the Irish Citizen Army, the Dublin labour group of self-defence. These cases of study will help to understand the evolution and the radicalisation of Irish politics, recognising the shared background, and the role of law, culture, history, and modernity.

Luca Bertolani Azeredo [he/him] is a PhD candidate in Global History & Governance at the Scuola Superiore Meridionale, Naples, where he is currently working on a research project on early 20th century paramilitarism and political violence in Ireland. He has a BA in History (University of Bologna), a MA in Historical Science (University of Padua) and has spent three semesters between Ireland and Northern Ireland for his research (Dublin, UCD, Erasmus+; Belfast, Queen's University, Visiting Student; Cork, UCC, Visiting Student). His interests are the history of ideologies, political violence and its impact, intersectional feminism and decolonialism.

Caroline Lehni (Sciences Po Strasbourg), ‘The political mural paintings of Northern Ireland: From visual radicalism to limited de-radicalisation’

The emergence of mural paintings in the North of Ireland is deeply connected to moments of strong political radicalisation. Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist murals emerged in the 1900s at the time of the Home Rule crisis, which saw the forceful rejection of Home Rule by Ulster Unionists. In the Catholic/Nationalist/Republican (CNR) community, murals became a primary medium of political expression during and after the 1981 hunger strike, coinciding with a peak in IRA recruitment. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, depictions of armed members

of paramilitary organisations (besides a few other themes) covered the walls of Belfast and Derry, mirroring the levels of unrest in the province. The radicalness of these images is unquestionable, in terms of their militant iconography, the ideologies they reflected and the uses they served. After the ceasefires and the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, violence gradually receded from Northern Ireland; murals, however, did not suddenly transform into peaceful, innocuous pictures. The de-radicalisation of Northern Irish murals was a slow process, in spite of a comprehensive government-led programme (Re-imaging Communities, set up in 2006), which aimed at replacing some of the most sectarian and militant murals by a more moderate imagery. Today, the de-radicalisation of Northern Irish murals appears very incomplete, partly because of resistance to change on the part of various actors, from paramilitary groups to the tourist industry. Applying the methodologies of visual discourse analysis to a wide corpus of mural paintings produced since the early twentieth century, this paper aims to assess their radicalness at various stages in their history and to explore the conditions under which a (limited) de-radicalisation has taken place in the recent past.

Caroline Lehn is a senior lecturer in British civilization at Sciences Po Strasbourg. Her research centres on British and Irish visual and cultural history. She has published several essays on the British representations of Egypt in nineteenth-century travel book illustrations and co-edited Geographies of Contact: Britain, the Middle East and the Circulation of Knowledge (Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2017). Since 2015, she has been working on the visual representations of the conflict in Northern Ireland, and has written several essays on the iconography and uses of mural paintings since the ceasefires.

