

notes in this volume identify historical incidents and figures; this outline is intended to provide a general framework for the individual notes.

Prehistory The legendary prehistory of Ireland was chronicled as a series of five successive invasions and colonizations—first, the Partholonians; second, the Nemedians, who were harassed by the Formorians, gloomy giants of the sea; third, the Firbolg (fourth century B.C.?) who were characterized as undersized, crude, and earthy; fourth, the Tuatha Da Danann, the race of heroes; and lastly, the Milesians, the sons of Mileadh of Spain, ideal free spirits and artists, who were regarded as the “ancestors” of the royal clans of Ireland. The historical basis for these legends was apparently a series of migration-invasions. Neolithic flint users were displaced by a small, dark people from the Mediterranean (Firbolg?); they were invaded by the Picts; the final invaders in the fourth century B.C. were Celts from central Europe, followed by Gaelic Celts from southern France and northern Spain. Accounts of these prehistoric invasions and characterizations of the invaders were very much alive in the oral traditions of early Irish history, though the oral traditions only indirectly reflect the complex waves of migration which peopled prehistoric Ireland. Indeed, the “Irish Race” is still frequently represented as enjoying a mythical purity which the rich mix of prehistoric peoples and Celtic invaders belies—not to mention the continuing admixtures that resulted from social and cultural interchange with Anglo-Saxons, Picts, and Scots (sixth century ff.), with the Viking invaders (ninth century ff.), with the Anglo-Norman invaders (1169ff.), and with waves of English colonists under the Tudors and since. To this day the sharp distinctions some Irish make between a Celtic *us* and an Anglo-Irish *them* (and vice versa) can strike a visitor as something of an abstraction.

Third century A.D. The High Kingship of Tara reached its apogee under Cormac Mac Art. Tara thus became the quasi-legendary and symbolic capital of “golden age” Ireland, as King Arthur’s even more legendary Camelot was dream-capital of Logres, the ideal kingdom of the Britons.

432 The traditional (but by no means certain) date of the beginning of St. Patrick’s mission to Ireland.

634 The great age of Irish missionary enterprise in England and on the Continent began.

795 Viking raids began.

832–70 Sporadic Viking raids gave way to large scale Viking invasions;

Viking strongholds were established in Dublin and Waterford. Irish missionary enterprise declined. Beginning of an extended period of civil strife: Irish against Vikings; Irish against Irish; Irish and Vikings against Irish, etc.

1014 Battle of Clontarf—combined Irish forces accomplished the defeat of Viking power in Dublin and environs (and promptly started fighting among themselves).

(1066 The Norman invasion of England.)

1155 Pope Adrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear), the only Englishman to be pope (1154–59), was said to have granted the overlordship of Ireland to Henry II of England (king, 1154–89), but the Papal Bull, *Laudabiliter*, which is supposed to have made the grant does not exist in the Vatican Archives.

1169 Some of Henry II’s lords tried their luck at piecemeal (feudal) conquest of Ireland.

1171 The successes of the Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland prompted Henry II to assert his sovereignty and take charge of the invasion. Since that time Irish history has been one long series of Anglo-Irish donnybrooks.

1455–85 The Wars of the Roses in England—the Irish regained a measure of independence while the English were preoccupied at home, but the Irish also supported the White Rose of the House of York (the losers) and eventually suffered the consequences.

1485ff. Henry VII established Tudor policy in Ireland—conquest and colonization. Henry VII imposed English land use laws on Ireland, much to the detriment of Irish agriculture.

1509–47 During the reign of Henry VIII, England sought further consolidation of its power in Ireland and also sought to establish Henry’s new Church, much to the displeasure of many Irish dissidents who looked to the Pope and sought support from Roman Catholic France and Spain.

1558–1620 During the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, a series of Irish revolts gave the English the opportunity to begin the destruction of the old Celtic clan system (onto which the Anglo-Normans had grafted their own feudal system) and to replace it with a “plantation” system under which land was held by Protestant English landlords and worked by the Irish Catholic peasantry. The consequent displacement of the Irish Catholic aristocracy, many of whom fled to the Continent (1607ff.), was called the Flight of the Earls.

- 1642 While the English were preoccupied with their own Civil War, the Irish proclaimed the Catholic Confederacy and declared their independence.
- 1649 After he had consolidated his power in England, Cromwell invaded Ireland. The reconquest began with the massacre of the population of Drogheda (to show the Irish what resistance would mean) and was sufficiently punitive throughout to earn Cromwell a well-merited reputation as the "Great Oppressor." The reconquest was also more methodical and more thorough than any previous conquest. Cromwell extended the land "reform" and intensified the strictures against Roman Catholics, who were forbidden to own land, to carry weapons, to hold military commissions or public office, and to worship without restrictions.
- 1688-1714 James II of England (a crypto-Catholic) was deposed in the Bloodless Revolution of 1688 and fled to France. He was succeeded by the Protestant William of Orange, who became William III of England. The Irish remained loyal to the losing Stuart cause, and in 1689 James II came to Ireland and led the Irish to defeat at the hands of William III in the Battle of the Boyne (1690). The Irish were not only reconquered but also systematically betrayed by English violations (1700ff.) of the Treaty of Limerick (1691). The result was further repressive "reform" which effectively reduced Ireland to the status of a penal colony in the opening decades of the eighteenth century.
- late eighteenth century Under the leadership of Henry Flood (1732-91) and Henry Grattan (1736-1820) an Irish Protestant political party in the Irish Parliament (Catholics were, of course, excluded from office) undertook reforms, especially for the relief of the oppressed Roman Catholic community.
- 782 The Irish Parliament, which had its beginnings in the late thirteenth century, passed Grattan's "Constitution" and established a limited (and historically often overrated) independence under the authority of the British Crown.
- 91 The Society of United Irishmen was founded under the leadership of Wolfe Tone (1763-98), Hamilton Rowan (1751-1834), and James Napper Tandy (1740-1803) in an attempt to unite Protestant and Catholic Ireland for the achievement of independence as a constitutional republic.
- 95 The United Irishmen shifted from a constitutional to a revolutionary strategy and sought military aid from the French Republic. The French made a series of abortive attempts at invasion—in December of

- 1796, in June of 1797, and twice in 1798. Wolfe Tone was captured at sea during one of the attempts in 1798.
- 1795-98 The English took repressive measures, and the oppressive situation was made worse by the formation in Ulster of the Protestant Orange Lodges, which indulged in local and "independent" acts of reprisal against Irish Catholics.
- 1798 The Rebellion of this year was a tangle of conflicting and poorly coordinated revolutionary attempts. The United Irishmen, with their aspirations for a secular Republic of Ireland, were thoroughly infiltrated by British informers and were crushed. At the same time in the south and west the Catholic peasantry rose in what amounted to a religious civil war; they were also crushed.
- 1800 The Act of Union dissolved the Irish Parliament (by its own vote) and merged it with the British Parliament in London. The Act was engineered by a good deal of bribery and skulduggery and against the bitter opposition of much of Catholic Ireland and of many Protestant leaders. Several Catholic Bishops supported the Act of Union in the hope, which proved ill-founded, of achieving Catholic Emancipation as the price of their support. The result of the Union was disaster in Ireland: it displaced Irish political power to London, and scores of Irish landlords moved to England to be near the new seat of political power. Meanwhile, the land and the peasants were pillaged by land agents left in charge by the absentees. In effect, a none-too-sound Irish economy was virtually dismantled just as it had begun to recover from the depression of the "penal colony" period.
- 1807ff. Daniel O'Connell ("The Liberator," 1775-1847) emerged as the political leader of Catholic Ireland (though Catholics enjoyed few direct political rights other than the right to vote). O'Connell used both constitutional procedures and civil disobedience (quasi-illegal "monster meetings" organized to demonstrate Irish unanimity) to agitate for Catholic Emancipation (religious freedom, the right to hold public office, etc.) and for repeal of the Act of Union.
- 1829 The political pressure O'Connell and others managed to generate resulted in Parliament's acceptance of Catholic Emancipation. O'Connell's further efforts to achieve repeal of the Act of Union were frustrated by increasing dissension within the ranks of his own party and by English conservative resistance to further reform.
- 1845-48 The Great Famine—the disintegration of the Irish economy had condemned at least half of Ireland's population of just over

8,000,000 (census of 1841) to abysmal poverty and to dependence on the potato as staple food. (At least three-quarters of the land under cultivation in Ireland was devoted to crops, primarily wheat for export, which the poor simply could not afford; the rest of the arable land was used for grazing.) The potato blight appeared in 1845, destroying the potato crop and reducing the poor to famine. The famine (with its attendant epidemics of cholera, etc.) ruined the Irish peasantry and completed the ruin of the tottering Irish economy. British policy had dictated the suppression of industry in Ireland (Ireland was to supply food to industrial England), and the agrarian collapse was a death blow, not only to the peasantry but also to many landlords because many tried to tide their peasants over and were ruined in the process. The population of Ireland fell by 1,500,000 in three years (through death and emigration to America), and the population continued to fall through the rest of the nineteenth century until in 1901 it was just under 4,500,000. The famine has been repeatedly described as "the worst event of its kind recorded in European history at a time of peace."

1848ff. After the famine there was a "devotional revolution," a marked and widespread increase in religious commitment and activity; there was also a marked increase in violent (if minority) demand for political independence. These two impulses and the crosscurrents they generated reflect two interrelated and continuing conflicts in Irish politics: (1) the conflict between (a) those dedicated to the achievement of Irish independence through violence and armed rebellion—Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen (1798), the Irish Republican Brotherhood or the Fenians (1858ff.), and their heirs including the Irish Republican Army of the post-World War I years and the Provisional I. R. A. of the 1970s; and (b) those dedicated to the achievement of Irish independence through negotiation and through constitutional and parliamentary processes—Daniel O'Connell and apparently Charles Stewart Parnell, though Parnell frequently used rhetoric which suggests that he was straddling on the issue. (2) The conflict between (a) those dedicated to the achievement of a Catholic Ireland (usually styled as moderates, though they had their "bludgeon men") and (b) those dedicated to an Ireland with civil and religious liberties for all (usually styled as Ribbonmen, Fenians, and radicals). Wolfe Tone (and his heirs) were clearly in favor of religious and civil liberties for all; Parnell balanced between the two sides as a matter of political expediency, but after the split in December 1890, he appeared to the remnant of the faithful as more and more the civil and religious libertarian. The Irish Free State

when it emerged in the 1920s was Catholic and moderate-conservative in tone and orientation.

The trouble for one who would like to understand political attitudes in Ireland since the famine is that "left" and "right" are all but meaningless terms and that the two conflicts outlined above did not divide people into two camps but into four and multiples of four.

1867. The Fenian Rising—reenforced by returnees from the American Civil War, the Fenians launched an ill-timed and ill-coordinated rebellion that was thoroughly anticipated by the British and summarily crushed. The traditional British reprisals were surprisingly mild.

1869. The Church of Ireland (counterpart of the Church of England) was disestablished in Ireland by act of the British Parliament. Among other things this meant that Irish Catholics no longer had to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland (which owns all the good medieval real estate anyway).

1877. Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–91), an Anglo-Irish Protestant landlord, emerged as the leading figure in the Irish Parliamentary Party. Parnell not only united most of the Irish nationalist groups under his leadership, he also maneuvered his party into a balance-of-power position between the Liberals and the Conservatives (or Tories) in the British Parliament. The strength of his position made it possible for Parnell to force Parliament at least to consider Home Rule for Ireland.

1879. Renewed fear of famine gave added impetus to agitation for land reform; Michael Davitt (1846–1906) organized the Land League. When Parnell subsequently became president of the League, he was able, with Davitt's help, to fuse the two dominant political issues in the Ireland of his time: land reform and Home Rule. Land reform was gradually undertaken in a series of reform bills, 1882–1903.

1882. Two British officials, Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Burke, undersecretary, were murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin, by the "Invincibles" (a Fenian splinter-group?). The Chief-Secretary was, in effect, responsible to the British cabinet (and to Parliament) for the government of Ireland. The outbreak of violence imperiled Parnell's political campaign for constitutional reform.

1886. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill was defeated in Parliament to the tune of riots in Protestant Belfast (which violently opposed Home Rule as "Rome Rule"), and Gladstone's Liberal Party began to come apart at the seams, on its way to what George Dangerfield was to call *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (London, 1936).

1887 Letters forged by an Irish journalist named Richard Pigott and published with its blessing by *The London Times* accused Parnell of advocating the murder of landlords and appeared to implicate him in the planning of the Phoenix Park murders. Parnell demanded (and got) an investigation by a Special Parliamentary Commission. Pigott broke and admitted the forgery, while *The London Times* tried to put the whole Irish nationalist movement on trial. Parnell emerged victorious, at the peak of his popularity in Ireland and of his political power in Parliament.

1889-90 Captain O'Shea, one of Parnell's political associates, filed for divorce on grounds of adultery, naming Parnell as correspondent. The divorce was not contested; Parnell's relation with Mrs. O'Shea had been all-but-marriage (and a well-kept open secret). After the divorce was final, the two were married. Parnell was discredited and abandoned by Davitt and by most of the Irish nationalist groups except the Fenians. As a result of the scandal and British pressure, Gladstone threatened to resign as Prime Minister if Parnell were not removed from leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party. A majority of the Party, led by Timothy Michael Healy, tried to depose Parnell as leader, but, because Parnell was in the chair, managed only to split the party by a vote of 45 to 26 in Committee Room 15 of the House of Parliament in London. The withdrawal of the 45 left Parnell the leader of a truncated party.

After the Split, the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy, which had held its tongue in calculated inactivity in order not to appear to have intervened, joined in denouncing and openly opposing Parnell's leadership (and the Parnellite candidates he tried to advance in by-elections). The political consensus of the 1880s was shattered, and the bitterness and divisiveness engendered by the Split was intensified by Parnell's increasingly strident attempts to recoup.

1891 Parnell died in England shortly before midnight on Tuesday, 6 October 1891. His body was brought to Dublin on Sunday, 11 October, to lie in state at the City Hall before burial in Prospect Cemetery, Glasnevin. Parnell's life was (and to a great extent remains) a political and personal enigma. Perhaps it is this enigmatic quality which accounts for the violence of the loyalties and antipathies Parnell aroused. Some of this enigmatic quality is reflected in Michael Davitt's assessment of him, "an Englishman of the strongest type molded for an Irish purpose." See F. S. L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell* (London, 1977).

1892 Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill was defeated.

1893 The Gaelic League was founded—overtly cultural, covertly political, its avowed purpose was the revival of Irish language and tradition.

1905 Arthur Griffith (1872-1922) formed the Sinn Fein (We Ourselves, or Ourselves Alone) movement, conceived at first in terms of civil disobedience and passive resistance to British rule.

Subsequent events Home Rule for Ireland was almost accomplished on the eve of World War I, but implementation was delayed by Ulster intransigence and then suspended for the duration of the war in a way that exacerbated an already healthy Irish suspicion of British intentions. There were recurrent outbreaks of violence; the most famous was the Easter Rebellion of 1916; which resulted in defeat but at the same time accomplished a profound revival of Irish patriotic spirit and a renewed sense of political unity. At the close of World War I, Sinn Fein and its military organization, the Irish Republic Army, rose against British rule. The I.R.A. managed to frustrate the best efforts of the British Army and the Royal Irish Constabulary (reinforced by recently demobilized British soldiers and called the Black and Tans). The Anglo-Irish War finally wound down in a negotiated settlement that proposed a sort of Irish independence, compromised, however, by the fact that the British allowed the six northern counties of Ulster to vote themselves out of the Irish Free State. This partition of Ireland, together with the civil war (1921-22), which was triggered by dissatisfaction with that and other provisions of the treaty, has marred the tranquility of the "solution" and given rise to sporadic but continuing acts of agitation and violence—as the recent history of Northern Ireland has made all too clear.

GEOGRAPHY

Joyce uses the geography of Dublin extensively and with precise attention to detail in the whole canon of his work. This is at times baffling, the non-Dubliner, since it is not always clear whether the details are merely incidental bits of "Dublin's street furniture" (*Stephen Hero*, p. 211) or whether they are suggestive of larger meanings. The notes in this volume include specific identification of geographical references and, where appropriate, outline the basis for the "larger meanings" involved. A glance at a map of Dublin, 1900, shows an oval city, encircled north and south by canals and bisected on its east-west, longer axis by the River Liffey; the city's shape and pattern make location by "quadrants" generally feasible, and that practice has been followed in the notes.

In some of the stories in *Dubliners* geographical location and direction of movement come sharply into focus as reflections of states of being: of paralysis (as in the circle of Lenehan's wanderings in "Two Gallants"), of