

**IRISH DIMENSIONS
IN BRITISH EDUCATION**

**REPORT ON
9th National Conference
Saturday 8 February, 1992**

**Soar Valley College
Irish Studies Workshop**



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9TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE - Saturday 8 February 1992"NICE PEOPLE AND REDNECKS": INTERPRETATIONS OF IRISH HISTORY AND THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

This conference was aimed at teachers, parents, first and second generation Irish, Irish community organisations, all those interested in the relationship between culture and education, and students in upper secondary, tertiary and community education.

There were two guest speakers:

1. Dr. BRENDAN BRADSHAW of Queen's College, Cambridge delivered A SURVEY OF IRISH HISTORIOGRAPHY OVER THE LAST 50 YEARS: what position had it reached, and where might it (or should it) go on in the future - a viewpoint. This was a rare opportunity to critically examine the rather monolithic school of established Irish "revisionist" history. The debate had needed opening up and in fact led to healthy discourse and general acclaim from the conference floor.
2. Dr. GRAHAM DAVIS, author of the most recent study of the Irish in Britain from 1815-1914, and a lecturer at Bath College of Higher Education, gave the conference an up-to-date analysis of THE IRISH IN BRITAIN IN THE 19TH CENTURY. This was a much needed survey and appealed to students at all levels. This talk brought together the main strands of research carried out over the last 30 years; its approach was unashamedly in the modern "revisionist" tradition.

There was a wide range of workshops to choose from covering many aspects of development:

TONY BRESLIN, a teacher at a N. London secondary school led a seminar on ANTI-RACIST TEACHING STRATEGIES & THE IRISH DIMENSION. The debate focussed on the status of the Irish dimension on today's multicultural and anti-racist agenda, an agenda that now arguably finds itself marginalised by the impetus towards the new National Curriculum.

IRISH WOMEN IN BRITAIN - IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCE. We were pleased to welcome two colleagues recently graduated from Loughborough University: PAULINE POLKEY (who is of Liverpool-Irish extraction) and DEIRDRE O'BYRNE (who is from Co. Carlow). They recently analysed an extensive questionnaire on the experiences of Irish Women from a variety of backgrounds who are living in Britain and they shared with us the fruits of their research.

CAOIMHGHIN O BROLCHAIN, the well-known Irish Language enthusiast from Sunderland, talked on "The GUID BUIKS" - AN INTRODUCTION TO IRISH LITERATURE, COURTESY OF FLANN O'BRIEN. (Non-Irish speakers were welcomed to this workshop).

IRISH LANGUAGE WORKSHOP: "TEACHING AND PROMOTING AN GHAELIGE IN IPSWICH" - "TEAGASC AGUS CUR CHUN CINN NA GAEILGE IN IPSWICH": this covered different teaching methodologies for different groups and the activities of the local branch of CONRADH NA GAEILGE (Craob Phadraig Ui Dhonnchu). The workshop leader was Mici MacCuULADH (Mickey McCullough).

ALAN MORTON, of Edge Hill H. E. College, Lancs., considered CONTEMPORARY IRISH STUDIES WITHIN SOCIAL SCIENCES DEGREE & MASTERS DEGREE PROGRAMMES - The Edge Hill College Experience. For 13 years there have been annual courses at every year group/degree level. The Workshop examined how this was achieved, what is taught, and what are the current strengths and weaknesses of such work.

JOHN DUNLEAVY, well known writer on the Irish in Britain, examined the CHANGING NATURE OF ORGANISATIONS AMONGST THE IRISH IN BRITAIN, c1870 to c1940. Personalities discussed included Butt, Parnell, Davitt and T. P. O'Connor.

Dr. TERRY BRUGHA, Senior Lecturer and Hon. Consultant Psychiatrist at the University of Leicester/Leicester Royal Infirmary, explored AN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE ON MENTAL HEALTH AMONG THE IRISH AT HOME AND IN BRITAIN.

SABINA SHARKEY, then at the Irish Studies Centre at North London Polytechnic, discussed CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND POST COLONIALISM. Using mixed media, this seminar looked at how Irish artists negotiate issues of place and identity and considered contemporary representation.

ational strategies in the visual arts. (Jack B. Yeats, Ann Tallentire, Willie Doherty and Christine O'Leary).

MAUDE CASEY, author of 'Over the Water', the acclaimed novel about a second generation Irish girl, and her experience here and in Ireland, talked about this work, and the new C.U.P. edition which is related to NATIONAL CURRICULUM ENGLISH 14-16.

The Conference was, as usual, generously supported by the British Association for Irish Studies, Leicester City Council, Soar Valley College and the 2 local firms who sponsor this Report. This Conference was the best attended ever, with around 275 representatives from all areas of the country, from different sectors of education and from contrasting cultural and educational standpoints. We are grateful to all for their continuing interest and support.

Nessan J. E. Danaher, B.A., M.Ed. - Irish Studies Co-ordinator - Soar Valley College.

REPORT ON 'IRISH STUDIES WORKSHOP' ACTIVITIES 1991/92

In the Autumn of 1991 we ran our 9th annual Irish Studies Adult Education Programme - "Celtic Encounters". This is an inter-disciplinary course, with varied inputs (guest speakers, films, videos and drama groups) and proves consistently to be a popular option, attracting 40 enrolments and an average weekly attendance of around 25 persons. The course duration is 15 weeks (please refer to programme, reproduced in full in this Report).

The TRADITIONAL IRISH MUSIC WORKSHOP has run most successfully for the last year and is a popular option with adult students. This workshop integrates the teaching of practical skills in playing Irish traditional music, with a strong emphasis on regional styles and historical background. The aim of the course, therefore, is to provide students with the unique opportunity to learn not only the techniques and tunes that make up Irish traditional music, but also at the same time to gain an awareness that Irish music from different regions has its own very distinct differences in style, repertoire and instrumentation. Emphasis is placed on the vitally important activity of listening to music.

All ability levels are welcome, from complete beginners upwards, and new faces are always welcome. The class provides a friendly and relaxed environment within which students are able to not only gain musical skills, but also to enjoy a pleasant social experience.

The two TUTORs have played key roles in this achievement.

MICHAEL FEELY has taught Irish music in both the Lancaster and Preston branches of Comhaltas, and has been a tutor for Folkworks in the North East of England. He plays concert flute in the Sligo style, having been strongly influenced by the music of that area, which he visits regularly to play with and listen to the local musicians. He has an extensive knowledge of regional styles of music, gleaned from both his years playing in the Lancaster Irish music scene, and from his regular visits to Ireland.

BEVERLEY WHELAN has taught in the Lancaster and Preston branches of Comhaltas, has been a tutor for Folkworks, and has conducted a tin whistle workshop with Mary Bergin. Like Michael, she is also strongly influenced by the Sligo style, and visits that area regularly. She has been a competition winner at regional, national and international Fleadh Ceols; last Summer the Workshop supported Beverley's attendance at the week long Tubercurry Music Festival as a form of in-service training.

The College has also run a successful and popular SET & CEILI DANCING CLASS, over the last year. Our tutor is Lancashire-born Beverley Whelan, who, together with Mike Feeley has produced some excellent musical entertainment in the traditional mould.

A SET AND CEILI DANCING WEEKEND WORKSHOP, our first, was held here on 13-14th June 1992. This workshop was open to everyone; as usual, valued support came from the Newark Irish set dancers. The tutor was **TOM QUINN**, originally from South Armagh, now a set dance teacher in Dundalk. Tom was a member of the team that won the World Ceili Dance Championships in 1976, and is in great demand in Ireland, Britain and America as a teacher of set dancing, so we were very lucky to have him here in Leicester! As well as tired feet, Tom provided us with liaison with his local branch of Conradh na Gaeilge, and we were grateful for some rare and interesting Irish language books and pamphlets sent to the College.

- We are grateful to **MIKE WESTON** a fine Leicester violinist in the classical mode, who is now the resident fiddle player for our Dance Class.
- A large group from the Workshop attended the Leicester Haymarket Theatre's production of O'Casey's "Shadow of a Gunman"; we were, needless to say, well represented in the post-performance discussion with the actors - an event possibly more dramatic than the production!
- Much work has been done on the ongoing PROJECT on the history of the Irish in Leicester, with the Co-ordinator carrying out numerous interviews, with local elderly people, as well as engaging in sustained and systematic research at the Leicester County Record Office. A database now exists of all Irish-born persons in Leicester (and their children) from 1841-1891, based on census analysis. This work led to 2 invitations to the Co-ordinator to speak about his research. Under the title Religion, Politics and Prejudice: The Irish in 19th Century Leicester. Nessel Danaher, visited the Irish Studies Centre at the University of North London to address the Irish in Britain Research Forum; a similar presentation, with suitable slides was mounted at the request of the Chief Archivist of the Leicestershire Record Office for the A.G.M. of the Friends of the LRO. (The Co-ordinator would like to thank publicly colleagues and friends at the Record Office, in particular Robin Jenkins, for their interest in and support for his current research.)
- Again, in another effort to put Irish Studies "on the map", the Co-ordinator of the Workshop and a founder member of the British Association for Irish Studies (also Professional Tutor at Soar Valley College), explored the Irish dimension in the multi-cultural and anti-racist debate, with reference to LEA policy, the National Curriculum and INSET, thereby providing an active, participatory session for the PGCE students at Leicester University School of Education.
- (In July of '91 the Co-ordinator was invited to contribute to the Library Association Conference at Leeds, on Irish dimensions to local library services.)
- In terms of BAIS (British Association for Irish Studies) the workshop is an active participant in most areas, the Co-ordinator currently serving as a Convenor of the Adult Education Sub-Committee. We are currently processing the replies to its Questionnaire - designed to produce a database of information on the Irish Studies Adult Education scene nationally. This will be published in 1993, subject to finance being available.

- One item of long-term significance in Leicester is the advanced stage reached in planning for an Open College Network on the lines of those already established in other parts of the country. This Workshop has made a formal input to the planning group at County Hall and the situation looks promising for the further accreditation of Irish Studies locally. We plan a variety of new Irish Studies modules, subject to satisfactory conditions in terms of central government planning and funding. Like many similar groups we are addressing the problems presented by Schedule 2 vis-a-vis the question: Is Irish Studies simply recreational if it is not geared to an access-type structure? Clearly it is not merely recreational, but new government criteria could limit, and even damage, the current expansion and development.

To date, the Workshop has successfully piloted what may be 2 unique modules at OCN: Traditional Music and Set and Ceili Dance - both for adults. The intention is to add 6 further modules over the next 2 years in Language and Irish Studies generally.

- Our Irish Language Classes for both Beginners and Advanced continue to thrive, ably organised and delivered by Maureen Broderick. The language classes are supported financially by the local Federation of Supplementary Schools; our tutor has attended various in-service courses. We were ably assisted by Mary Warrenner with the Beginners Class in the Autumn Term of '92; this year we welcomed Maeve Hogan and Mary MacDonagh who team-teach the beginners.
- We celebrated the publication and launch of the fascinating Memoirs of a Motorman, the autobiographical diary of the father of one of our students, Alex Acheson; his father had migrated from Ulster to Scotland and then the USA around the turn of the century.
- The Workshop was well represented regionally, the Co-ordinator being invited to address the Leicester Branch of The Victorian Society on the topic of The Irish in 19th Century Leicester, as well as assisting as a guest speaker on Irish Cultural Studies Programmes in Nottingham, Birmingham and Newark on Trent.
- On the traditional music front, we were pleased to welcome the enthusiastic traditional duo SCHITHEREDEE, comprising Fintan Valelly on flute and Tim Lyons on button accordion.
- Finally, we wish to thank Soar Valley College for its continued support and Leicester City Council (Recreation and Arts Department) for its annual grant support - essential for the administration and cultural programmes Workshop.
- We also wish to acknowledge the administrative advice and support from Mrs Wendy Burke of the College Resource Department. BAIS (British Association for Irish Studies) is to be particularly thanked for its support for the annual conference; we also wish to thank our long-term commercial sponsor, Danaher and Walsh Ltd., civil engineering Plant Hire of Leicester, who annually help to fund our Conference Report.

a judgemental way. Those who were perceived to be championing Protestant and nationalist values were presented as the goodies. Those who were opposed to those values were presented as the baddies. So that it was a judgemental kind of history. Secondly, they approached it in an anachronistic frame of mind. They imposed on the historical evidence a false teleology, a movement towards an evolution of a state of perfection: the state of perfection being the constitution of the 19th century, which established parliamentary sovereignty as the political constitution in effect of Britain.

Hitherto the historians had presented English history in terms of a struggle for the constitution, a struggle against tyranny, the tyranny of king and popery, eventually culminating in this victory with the establishment of a parliamentary democracy. So this is the revisionist aspect of their activity, this empiricism. The second aspect of this new approach was that it presented itself as a scientific approach to history. It was scientific by virtue of its methodology which was modelled on the methodology of the natural scientist. Butterfield said the historian should approach his evidence, his data, in just the same way as the natural scientist in the laboratory observing natural phenomena. To do that the historian, like the natural scientist, must, therefore, bring two attitudes to bear on his evidence. First of all he must be value free. The historian must repudiate value judgements. His description must explain the historical phenomena unimpeded by personal bias and ideological commitment. Otherwise it is not scientific. And secondly, his exploration, his studies, his analysis must be past centred. It must explore the past for its own sake not for any light that it would throw on the present, or any implications it may have for the present. Otherwise it is not going to be scientific. It is going to be skewed because of the concern of the historian with present problems. So this was Butterfield's and Namier's empirical and scientific way of approaching history.

You will see immediately how these three young people could see the application of such values in the Irish context. Because after all there was in Irish history just as in English history a

need for a revisionist enterprise. It had been vitiated by the value judgements and the presuppositions and prejudices of the nationalists of the 19th century - if you like, the Catholic nationalism in opposition to the Protestant nationalism of 19th century Britain. Secondly, it was vitiated by an anachronism. There was a false teleology that went into the history. It was seen as the struggle of the native Irish, of the Gael against the Gall, the foreigner, culminating in the establishment of the Free State and the achievement of freedom or at least partial freedom in 1921/22. Irish historians had then turned to telling Irish history in terms of this gradual achievement of freedom, in terms of an epic national struggle.

The particular kind of revisionism that was undertaken by the Irish scholars was disastrous

The three took it upon themselves to purge Irish history of its myths and of its nationalist historical bias. They were to achieve this revision by Butterfield's scientific method. They were to adopt a value-free approach to Irish history and a past-centred approach. They were to ignore any current implications of their history but to describe it and explain it as it really happened without relevance to the present.

They set about revising Irish historical scholarship on that basis and they were assisted by the maintenance of a close connection with Cambridge. This relationship has been a major factor in determining the way Irish historical scholarship has been shaped. The key figure here was none other than Herbert Butterfield, himself master of Peterhouse and - the Regius professor of Modern History at Cambridge. He came frequently in the 1940s and 1950s to give keynote addresses to the serried ranks of the historical scholars in Ireland. Young scholars left, especially from UCD, to go to Peterhouse where they were

funded to undertake research under the benevolent gaze of Sir Herbert. Finally there was this prolonged period during which the external examiner for the National University of Ireland were invariably not only Cambridge men, but in fact Peterhouse men from the late 1930s right through to the 1960s.

The revival of the militant nationalist tradition in the North of Ireland, which was seen as partly the result of the nationalist historiography of the 19th century made the new historians more determined than ever to purge Irish history of that false nationalist ideology.

Revisionism is laudable and necessary. It is in a way the lifeblood of academic history. Academically we advance the frontiers of historical knowledge by correcting our forebears by improving on their versions, by deepening and extending the work of earlier scholars and in that sense we are all revisionists. Undoubtedly the romantic nationalists of the 19th century had infiltrated many myths into Irish history which needed to be expunged. So there was a need for revision. However in practice, the results of the particular kind of revisionism that was undertaken by the Irish scholars was disastrous, as can be seen in the credibility crisis which the historians themselves accepted: that the Irish public simply were not willing to follow their version of Irish history. It was also in purely historical terms a failure as it failed to convey the substance of the Irish historical experience.

The subjects of history are assumed to have rationality and therefore to have freedom. That means the historian must respond to these phenomena in a moral way. He must be morally engaged.

The notion of past-centred history is all very well in a purely narrowly academic way, but in fact it abdicates the responsibility of the historian to ask and to answer what is surely the most important question that can be asked of history; which is to ask why have we got to where we are. If your history is past-centred, you simply cannot ask that question.

If you look at the literature that these scholars have produced since the 1930s there are three criticisms I would make. Firstly there is what can be described as evasion in this literature, evasion particularly in relation to what

is a very special feature of the Irish historical experience, that is its catastrophic dimension. The Irish as a community have been subjected to repeated misfortune in a way which the English have not. They have been subjected to violent conquest, to expropriation, to religious oppression, to famine and immiseration.

The English community has not experienced the totality of those features, nor has it experienced it to the same intensity. The revisionists confronted with this catastrophic dimension have developed various strategies for evading this feature, for evading the evidence. They write them out of the script. For instance you get people writing surveys of the early modern period, the period that was marked by the conquest and by the plantations, and they simply ignore the brutality of the history. You can read for instance the two most recent surveys by Steve Ellis and Nicholas Canny and there is no inkling there that you are engaged in a period of history that is quite as brutal, quite as atrocious, as the 17th century Thirty Years war in Europe, or indeed of the conquest of the Americas. They just gave no hint of that. The other thing you find historians doing is simply omitting the catastrophes from the agenda altogether. The glaring example is the Famine. Between the 1930s and the 1980s the Irish academic profession sought fit to address the subject of the Famine on only one occasion. There was only one study of the famine produced in that period. Here is the central event of the 19th Century and it is simply ignored, written out of history, omitted from the agenda of Irish historical research. Why was that the case? Why this evasion?

It seems to me there is a practical link here between the principle and the practice in terms of this notion of value-free history. If you want to be value free, then you really haven't a way of coping with a disaster of that scale. You cannot be detached in the presence of the holocaust. You may try but it is a very difficult thing to do and you are going to feel distinctly uncomfortable. And so if they could not actually confront the misfortunes, the tragedies, the catastrophes they sought various strategies to avoid them.

The second feature is what I call distortion - particularly in relation to the heroic dimension of Irish history. Irish history, or at least I should say revisionist historiography, is bereft of heroes, heroic moments and heroic movements. Instead there is a sort of radical sceptical way of analysing those people, those moments and those periods. What in effect historians have done is to put the hero in the dock and conduct the case for the prosecution. One example of this is the work of Ruth Dudley Edwards on the subject of Patrick Pearse, in her condescending and mean-spirited biography of Pearse.

***Between the 1930s
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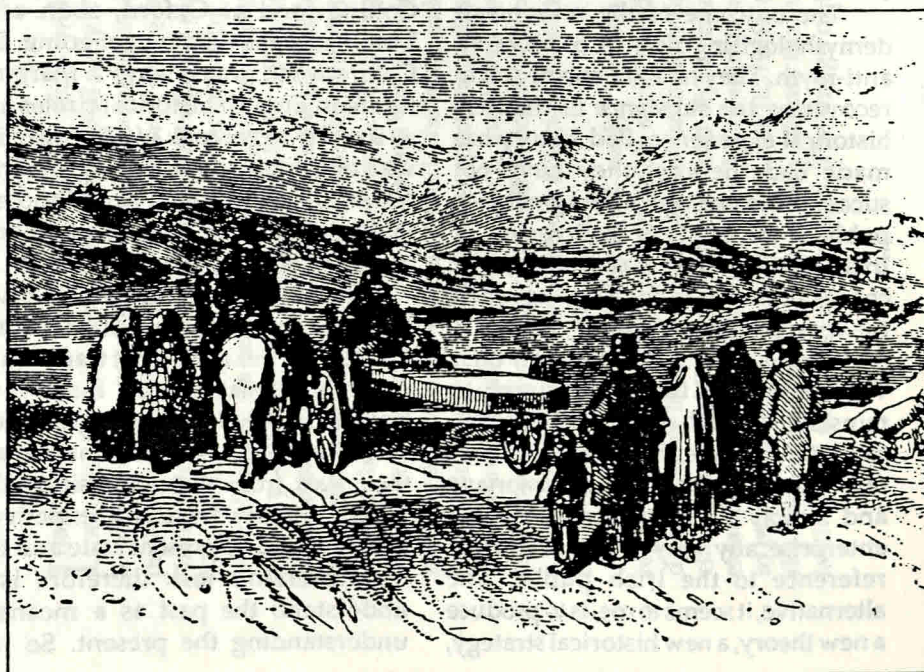
According to this work, Pearse was vain to the point of megalomania; he was naive and insensitive, a fantasist; he idealised the poverty of the peasants in the west and the poverty of slum Dublin, ignoring the social distress of the people. This is her contention. She does not actually provide one shred of

evidence to demonstrate this, she simply asserts it.

He was inept. All his enterprises failed. He failed to revive the Irish language or to reform Irish education; the revolution failed. He succeeded only in one thing, the one thing that mattered to him which was that his fame lived after him. That was the one thing that drove him, according to this work, this obsession with his own reputation and his own image.

When everything else was floundering he saw that this revolution would secure and help to perpetuate his memory among the Irish public and so, if you like, he drove these nationalists into rebellion to satisfy his own ego. Now that is a possible interpretation of Pearse of course, but it does not provide you with any understanding of the capacities that were perceived in him by his contemporaries.

How did this inept, vainglorious, fantasist become a member of the inner council of the Coiste Gnotha, of the most dynamic cultural movement of the time in his mere teens, the Gaelic League. Pearse was nineteen and how could this inept vainglorious chap be taken up by this council to given this signal honour? Why was he made editor of the Claidheamh Solais, the journal of the Gaelic League? Why was he selected as leader of the radical revolutionary movement by the canny members of the IRB, these hard headed revolutionaries, who were of course



A famine funeral (Illustrated London News 1847)

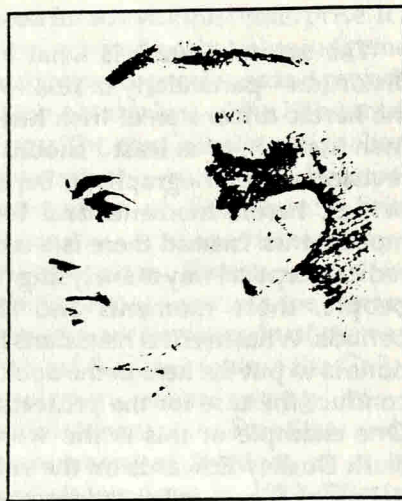
stage managing the whole business? How, as leader of that radical revolutionary group did he manage to head the first creditable rebellion in Ireland since 1798? How do we explain the mesmeric impact he had as ideologist of the revolution both on his contemporaries and on subsequent generations of Irish people to the present time?

We have a possible interpretation of Pearse, but it seems to me to be absolutely distorted and this is the result of a principle that produces bad practice. If the principle is one of revisionism we have got to revise the standard perception. We have got to deflate the hero and so therefore we put him in the dock and conduct the case for the prosecution.

The third feature I want to mention is what I call estrangement or alienation. The revisionists want to emphasise the discontinuity between past and present rather than the continuity. Now this emerges most especially in relation to the notion of an historic Irish community. They are very keen to create a hiatus, if you like between the present Irish community and those various communities that have occupied the island going way back to the coming of the Milesians and before. They do this especially by undermining the notion of some sort of continuing national consciousness, some sort of identity of these communities' conception of themselves as Irish, in that way establishing a continuity from one generation to the next.

The outcome of the revisionists demythologising was to produce an anti-myth. They had not succeeded in recovering the substance of the Irish historical experience. Bad history has made bad therapy; they have not succeeded in persuading the great Irish public of the reality of their version of Irish history. They have turned the corner but in so doing they have left the Irish public behind.

What is to be done about all this? The conclusion, I think is not simply to reinstate the old nationalist history, myths and all. Neither is it to abdicate our social responsibility as historians and simply conduct our revisionist enterprise any way we like without reference to the Irish public. The alternative, it seems to me, is to produce a new theory, a new historical strategy,



Patrick Henry Pearse by Sean O'Sullivan RHA

a more appropriate methodology. Before saying what this is, may I draw attention to one astute observation about this notion of the intellectual as gadfly made by Mary Midgley, the English philosopher, in her recent book. She said about Plato's gadfly; 'the business of intellectuals cannot be merely to annoy people and to undermine their confidence.' ^{Before} using the gadfly metaphor the critics need to share their central standards with their victims.'

That seems to me to be very important. There is such a possibility for Irish historians by adopting the methodology of what is called in the profession, 'Historicism.' Historicism is an approach to the interpretation of history developed on the continent from the mid-19th Century onwards and introduced into Britain by R.G. Collingwood at Oxford, soon after Butterfield and Namier got going. But Collingwood was always a marginal figure in English historical circles and so it really never took off. But here is a way of actually approaching the Irish historical record which would succeed in doing what the revisionists set out to do but abjectly failed to do.

There are two principles involved in historicism which are diametrically opposed to this empiricist tradition. In place of a past-centred history the historicists believe in looking at history as the key to the present. That is to say, they start from the supposition that the community's historical experience has moulded its present state and that the historian's task therefore is to understand the past as a means of understanding the present. So it is

present centred. Secondly, instead of value free history they believe that the key to understanding history is empathy and historical imagination. That the historians task is getting beyond the externals of history, to get beyond the events and the structures of history to the inner experience. And that this is essentially what the historian is concerned to recover.

They also believed, and it was they in fact who were the first to develop the notion of a critical methodology, that the evidence must be examined in a fully critical way, that all the tools of investigation available to the historian must be brought to bear to ensure that the evidence he has is trustworthy, to ensure that he knows what it means. But after that it is only there that his prime task begins, the task of exploring that evidence in order to understand how it was experienced by those people who were subject to the historical process.

I want to conclude by making this distinction between objectivity and neutrality. It seems to me that it is perfectly possible - and in saying this I am simply doing so as one of a great number of practising historians - to be both objective and engaged.

In order to be objective you do not have to be neutral. And in fact it is much better practice to be engaged, to convey a sense of that engagement, to enable the reader to perceive what the nature of that engagement is, than to assume a stance of apparent neutrality and detachment. I hope I have shown in fact that the proper stance ends up as being both engaged and committed in quite a different way. In other words it avoids subverting a myth by putting an anti-myth in its place.

Dr Brendan Bradshaw is Lecturer in History at Queens College, Cambridge and Director of History Studies at Cambridge University. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

IRISH MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN 19TH CENTURY BRITAIN
Dr. Graham DAVIS, Irish Studies Tutor, Bath College of
Higher Education

Irish settlers were caught up in the fears and anxieties surrounding the urban crisis that dominated early Victorian Britain. It was a tragic coincidence that an awareness of acute urban problems in the 1830s and 1840s occurred at the same time as the rising tide of Irish immigration into the cities of mainland Britain. The Irish became a target for denunciation by reformers and officials alike. As numerous investigations and commissions of enquiry revealed the alarming scale of urban squalor, crime, drunkenness and epidemic disease, an explanation was found in the presence of an alien people. The horrific details uncovered were in truth part of an old problem. Slums had existed long before in London and elsewhere but the problems were now perceived to be of epic proportions.¹ The burgeoning cities lacked the administrative and legislative capacities to deal with the crisis and, even if they had been in place, there was no recognition in contemporary understanding of the economic forces that created a slum district. What was seen as a social evil was interpreted as the product of moral degeneracy.

The wretched inhabitants of early Victorian slums were regarded as outcasts from respectable society and, as many such districts were labelled 'Irish colonies' or 'little Irelands', the association between Irish immigrants and slum conditions became established in a crisis atmosphere. More significantly, what was to prove a temporary condition and one that affected only part of the Irish community was to carry a stigma that took on a long-lasting and universal application. The image of the Irish in the

ghetto exerted a powerful influence, fuelling both English prejudice and an Irish sense of injustice. That influence remains a dominant force in shaping modern attitudes on both sides of the Irish Sea. The theme recurs in some recent work on Irish settlement in Victorian cities, depicting an outcast mass of poor migrants, huddled together in squalid ghettos and subject to the hostility and prejudice of the host community in terms of race, religion, politics and employment.² Moreover, discussion of anti-Irish racism, depicting the Celt as a sub-human, ape-like creature, allied to Irish appraisals of their own national character, accepting the much advertised features of stupidity, drunkenness and violence, tended to confirm the well-established 'Paddy' stereotype.³ Taken altogether, this reinforces the contemporary view that Irish fecklessness, allied to the fatalism induced by Roman Catholicism, created a poverty-stricken people destined to fester in the slums of Victorian cities.

Almost certainly this is not the intention of liberal scholars, no doubt moved by the modern problems of racism, religious bigotry and the oppression of ethnic minorities throughout the world. Yet attention focused on the most appalling squalor, the most dramatic incidents and the most extreme examples of hostility and prejudice exhibited against the Irish in the nineteenth century, unwittingly have the effect of not only distorting the scale of the problem but also of lending substance to anti-Irish prejudice.

In order to deepen our understanding of a complex process it is important to review the nature of Irish migration and settlement in the critical middle decades of the nineteenth century. Irish migration developed progressively in the first half of the century, reaching a climax in the famine period 1845–1852. In 1841 the number of Irish-born residents in Britain was over 400,000 and within a decade had risen to over 700,000. By 1861 the Irish-born had reached a peak of 806,000. Thereafter there was a gradual decline to a figure of 632,000 in 1901. Irish settlers formed a higher proportion of the population in Scotland (6.7 per cent in 1861) than in England and Wales (3.0 per cent in 1861).⁴

There were three main emigrant routes—1) the northern route from Ulster and North Connaught to Scotland; 2) the midland route from Connaught and Leinster to the north of England and the midlands; and 3) the southern route, from South Leinster and Munster, often via South Wales or Bristol, to London.⁵ Most Irish immigrants came from rural Ireland but they were by no means

only the poor and destitute who settled in Britain. The famine Irish made destitute by the destruction of the potato crop in the west mostly took the passage to North America. The Irish in Britain tended to come from the more advanced parts of Ireland, especially from the industrialised north-east. As Fitzgerald succinctly puts it: 'Irish society was not homogeneous, and neither was its emigration.'⁶

The great majority of the Irish who came to mainland Britain entered on a short-stay basis as a first step towards emigration to the United States, Canada or to Australia.⁷ Others continued the old pattern of entering and leaving on a seasonal basis, working as harvesters in agriculture or recruited on short-term contracts as navvies or as factory operatives.⁸ Significantly, there was no uniform pattern of permanent settlement. The three main areas of concentration were the west of Scotland, the north western counties of England, and London. In addition, there was a wide dispersal and high mobility among the Irish throughout Britain. In both 1851 and 1861 at least 31 towns in England and Wales had a recorded Irish-born population of over 1,000. Some of the towns listed are not normally associated with an Irish presence—Bath, Colchester, Derby, Newport (Salop), Plymouth, Portsmouth, Southampton.⁹ Although the Irish were very largely drawn by employment prospects to settle in the larger industrial centres, there were differences in the experience of cities with an Irish presence. The character of Irish migrants attracted to particular towns and at particular periods varied in terms of their county of origin, social class and religious faith. Further variations occurred in the rate of influx and in the density of settlement in Irish 'colonies' or 'ghettos'. In turn, the response of the host community varied in relation not only to the scale of in-migration but to local conditions of employment and was shaped by the context of local religious and political allegiances.

In responding to contemporary fears about Irish immigration it is salutary to review the scale of Irish settlement in the context of the overall pattern of migration and population increase in Britain in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. E. H. Hunt has observed that Irish immigration appeared more overwhelming than it was in reality. Even in the famine decade of the 1840s, immigration accounted for less than a third of the population increase. Before the 1840s and throughout most of the 1850s and 1860s the number of immigrants was roughly balanced by

Britons who went abroad. Subsequently, the scale of emigration from Britain, in which the Irish were prominent, exceeded the level of immigration.¹⁰ At the time, Irish immigration was perceived in simple, alarmist terms, not at all a reflection of the actual scale and complexity of the process.

The rapid growth in population of the great cities of England and Scotland was only exceptionally the result of a major influx of Irish settlers.¹¹ London had the largest Irish-born population in 1841, some 74,000 or 3.9 per cent of its inhabitants. By 1851, the Irish-born had risen to 108,548 or 4.6 per cent of the total. During the same decade, the population of London increased by 414,000, out of which the Irish formed only 8.3 per cent, and by 1861 the Irish-born had declined slightly to 106,879 or a mere 3.8 per cent of London's population. Far more important numerically, in the additional population coming into the metropolis, were migrants from the rest of the United Kingdom.

The pattern in London was repeated in Liverpool, Glasgow and Manchester, the cities with the highest proportion of Irish-born population in mainland Britain in 1841. The proportion of Irish-born in the increased population of Liverpool between 1841 and 1851 was 38.2 per cent, but less than 1 per cent in the 1850s, and it dwindled to a minus figure during the 1860s, when the numbers of Liverpool Irish declined by more than 7,000. In Manchester, a third of the 68,000 additional population between 1841 and 1851 were Irish-born, while during the 1850s, as the population rose by 36,000, the number of Irish-born people fell by 428. Glasgow, which in 1841 had the second highest proportion of Irish-born inhabitants (16.2 per cent) in mainland Britain, experienced a more modest Irish immigration in the 1840s. The number of Irish-born increased by 15,456, representing just over a fifth (22.1 per cent) of the increased population of Glasgow of 70,000 between 1841 and 1851. In the 1850s and 1860s, Irish-born newcomers formed only 3 per cent and 6 per cent of Glasgow's additional population.

What these figures reveal is that Irish immigration, even in the peak years of the famine period, was responsible for only a minority of increased urban population. Most of the increase was generated by internal migration to the cities from the surrounding rural areas.

This can be demonstrated by reference to the detailed analysis of census enumerators' books by Alan Armstrong in York and by

Michael Anderson in Preston—two medium-sized towns in the north of England¹². Armstrong has shown that the population of York increased from 28,842 to 36,303 between 1841 and 1851 and, although the Irish-born population rose significantly from 429 to 1,928, it is clear that four-fifths of York's increased population came from Yorkshire (57.7 per cent), the rest of England and Wales (19.7 per cent) and Scotland (3.1 per cent). The dramatic increase in the Irish population of York to 5.3 per cent of its population in 1851, ahead of many other northern towns, still represented only a fifth (20.1 per cent) of the city's increased population in the 1840s. In 1851, the population of Preston, like that of other Lancashire cotton towns, had grown rapidly, having doubled in the previous twenty years. Most of the increased population came from people born outside the town. Between 1841 and 1851 the Irish-born population of Preston increased from 1,703 to 5,122, representing an increased proportion (rising from 3.4 per cent to 7.4 per cent) of the town's population. The Irish presence continued to expand in the 1850s with 6,974 Irish-born recorded in 1861, 8.4 per cent of Preston's population. Yet the predominant pattern of in-migration in Preston, as in other towns, was one drawn overwhelmingly from the surrounding area. Over 40 per cent of Preston's inhabitants in 1851 were migrants from a 10 mile radius and only about 30 per cent were drawn from more than 30 miles from their birthplace. The Irish-born proportions of intercensus increases in the population of Preston between 1841, 1851 and 1861 were 18.4 per cent and 13.8 per cent respectively. Thereafter, the Irish-born population experienced a marked reduction. In short, the figures do not support the sense of being swamped by a flood of Irish immigration, conveyed by contemporary writers and reiterated by some modern historians. Far more numerous were the migrants attracted to the towns from their rural hinterlands. As already noted, Irish immigration had its most intense period in the 1840s, then slowed down or went into reverse in the later decades. The flood was more like a tidal ebb and flow, heavier in some places than others, but everywhere being submerged in a broader inrush of migration from the countryside to the towns.

More influential in alarming the host community than the scale of immigration were the apparent levels of concentration of Irish settlement. Frequent references have been made to the Irish living in the worst slum districts of British cities and the terms

'colony' and 'ghetto' have been commonly associated, by contemporary commentators and by modern historians, with an Irish presence.¹³

The most important example in establishing the notorious association between the Irish and the ghetto is identified in Little Ireland, Manchester. As Werly has pointed out, its very smallness 'made it the target of detailed sociological study during the thirties and forties'.¹⁴ While New Town was inhabited by over 20,000 Irish, Little Ireland's population was only 2,000. Nevertheless, Werly takes the descriptions of Little Ireland as evidence of Irish concentration in ghettos, with the supporting testimony of selected witnesses before the commission of inquiry into the state of the Irish poor:

The physical ghetto consisted both of external and internal features. Black smoke, polluted rivers, unpaved streets, the smell of pig sties, privies, and open sewers, coupled with the filthy, cramped dwellings with their barren, damp interiors, all created a miserable existence for the Irish of New Town and Little Ireland.¹⁵

Among witnesses in Manchester, Werly cites the evidence of a local pawnbroker, James Butterworth who claimed, 'there are very few Irish with whom the English mix; it is like oil and water'.¹⁶ Interestingly O'Tuathaigh refers to Little Ireland by name, along with the unnamed slums of other cities, as a byword for industrial slum living. 'These were the conditions which appalled Engels, terrified Carlyle and absorbed the attention of a generation of social investigators and commentators from the 1830s to the 1860s.'¹⁷ He argues that the Irish presence in the urban slum continued through to the end of the nineteenth century and beyond. 'Booth's description of the rat-infested Irish ghetto of dockside London at the close of the nineteenth century is as chilling as anything penned in the worst years of the famine influx.'¹⁸

So we have an image of the Irish in the ghetto that has lasted a century and a half and has been accepted uncritically as a permanent and universal feature of Irish life in the great Victorian cities. In the circumstances, it is worth reminding ourselves of the immediate context in which Little Ireland was discovered and made infamous to a credulous world. Little Ireland was originally given prominence by J. P. Kay in a pamphlet written at the time

of the 1832 cholera epidemic. In the foreword to a modern reprint, E. L. Burney explains that the pamphlet was written with a frenzied sense of urgency due to the belief that cholera was liable to become endemic among the urban population.¹⁹ Dr Kay, himself, was secretary to the Special Board for the Board of Health and knew the district well. Moreover, he was well placed to communicate his views in giving extensive evidence before the commission on the state of the Irish poor and before the Poor Law commission in 1838. The pamphlet is interesting, not merely for the horrific descriptions of the living conditions in the poor districts of Manchester but in reflecting the intellectual climate of the day.²⁰ Kay was undoubtedly a key influence in identifying the Irish presence with the evil effects of squalid living conditions. More significantly, Kay's writing became a source book for many subsequent books on the subject, including Engels' classic work on the condition of the working class in England (where the debt to Kay is freely acknowledged), and also influenced the literary fascination with Manchester indulged in by Benjamin Disraeli, Mrs Gaskell and Frances Trollope.²¹

Kay's tone was highly charged and his association of urban squalor with a lower form of life appealed to contemporary fears surrounding the 'condition of England question'. The belief in the existence of an abyss, a moral cesspit, below the level of respectable society, with the threat of a savage mass rising up to destroy the institutions of civilised society—church, monarchy, parliament and property—was the dominant fear in early Victorian Britain. Little Ireland, physically located below the river level, subject to frequent flooding and blackened by a pall of industrial smoke, provided a perfect symbol to represent this fear. The very language employed by sanitary reformers like Kay moved indistinguishably between physical descriptions of insanitary conditions and a moral condemnation of the slum dwellers living in squalor. What begins with the 'contagion' of disease leads inexorably to the 'contagion' of Irish immigration. As Kay puts it:

In some districts of the town exist evils so remarkable as to require more minute description. A portion of low, swampy ground, liable to be frequently inundated, and to constant exhalation, is included between a high bank over which the Oxford Road passes and a bend of the river Medlock, where its course is impeded by a weir. This unhealthy spot lies so

low that the chimneys of its houses, some of them three storeys high, are little above the level of the road. About two hundred of these habitations are crowded together in an extremely narrow space, and they are chiefly inhabited by the lowest Irish. Many of these houses have also cellars, whose floor is scarcely elevated above the level of the water flowing in the Medlock. The soughs are destroyed, or out of repair: and these narrow abodes are in consequence always damp, and are frequently flooded to the depth of several inches, because the surface water can find no exit. The district has sometimes been the haunt of hordes of thieves and desperadoes who defied the law, and is always inhabited by a class resembling savages in their appetites and habits. It is surrounded on every side by some of the largest factories of the town, whose chimneys vomit forth dense clouds of smoke, which hang heavily over this insalubrious region.²²

Despite the suspicion that the district had a bad reputation before the presence of Irish settlers, the Irish as a race served as a convenient explanation for urban squalor and depravity:

Ireland has poured forth the most destitute of her hordes to supply the constantly increased demand for labour. This immigration has been, in one important respect, a serious evil. The Irish have taught the labouring classes of this country a pernicious lesson . . . Debased alike by ignorance and pauperism they have discovered, with the savage, what is the minimum of the means of life, upon which existence may be prolonged . . . As competition and the restriction and burdens of trade diminished the profits of capital, and consequently reduced the price of labour, the contagious example of ignorance and a barbarous disregard of forethought and economy exhibited by the Irish, spread.²³

Of its kind this represents a fair parade of ill-considered prejudice. Within a few years many of Kay's assumptions were discredited by more sober analysis. Not least the fear of contamination, both in terms of 'Irish fever' and from a culturally inferior race, was shown to be untenable. A devastating refutation of popular prejudice was made by Dr Lyon Playfair in his report on the sanitary condition of large towns in Lancashire in 1845. He began:

In Liverpool I found that an impression prevailed, not only with its authorities, but also with the public generally, that the excessive mortality of that town was attributable to the migratory character of a large portion of its population, and not upon the structural arrangements or physical causes of disease in the town itself . . . In other towns in Lancashire similar opinions prevail as to the effect of a migrant population.²⁴

Not to put too fine a point on it, the assumption made was that the Irish brought fever with them from their native land which had the effect of inflating the death rates recorded in Liverpool and Manchester to be, unenviably, the highest in the country. After undertaking his own investigations, which included a statistical analysis of age specific mortality, Playfair concluded:

The migratory population of Liverpool is a much more healthy class than the residents of that town. That the migratory population consists generally of adults. That the deaths occurring among such a population must give an appearance of longevity to Liverpool, to which it is not entitled. That the proportion of the population to deaths is elevated by migrants, and that Liverpool is thus rendered apparently more healthy than it really is.²⁵

Popular prejudice was shown to be fallacious but the damage was done by the legitimacy already conferred by Kay's influential pamphlet. Also, those responsible for the appalling sanitary conditions of Liverpool and Manchester, who included employers with property interests and local officials responsive to their political influence, found it easier to blame the Irish than to face the problems of their own making.

Of course what lent credence to the association of the Irish and slum conditions was the undoubted reality that *some* Irish migrants did live in *some* of the most squalid conditions in cities like Liverpool and Manchester, both before the famine migration and for many years afterwards. From that association, the image of the 'ghetto Irish' emerged and with it the package of fears among the host community. Specifically Irish habits—the diet of potatoes, sleeping on straw and allowing the children barefoot in the streets—were identified and deplored as potentially contaminating influences.²⁶ Fears of the Irish lowering wages generally, and

therefore bringing living standards down among the resident labour force, were commonly expressed. The legendary Irish habit of illicit distillation of spirits and heavy drinking was a further source of anxiety. Drinking was itself commonly associated with public disorder and what, it was maintained, was unwisely spent on drink left insufficient for the barest essentials of domestic comfort and decency.

Prejudice, once launched on a tide of righteous indignation, comfortably ignores its own contradictions. If the Irish were accused of living apart in the worst slum conditions, it was difficult to see how they were able to exercise such a malign influence on the decent English and Scots who were regarded as living outside the Irish 'ghettos'. Similarly, the accusation that the Irish would only work a few days in the week, sufficient to provide for their low standards, is difficult to reconcile with the praise from employers about their industry and adaptability.²⁷ English contempt for the potato diet of the Irish would not command the universal support of modern nutritionists, a judgment which may confirm Playfair's conclusion that Irish migrants as a body were healthier than the resident population of Liverpool and Manchester.

An explanation of the conflicting observations and opinions to be found among witnesses before the inquiry into the state of the Irish poor lies in the partial nature of individual responses. All referred glibly to the Irish as a homogeneous group although specific reference is made to labourers, skilled craftsmen and respectable tradesmen. Further distinctions included parents born in Ireland retaining Irish customs and the children assimilating with the practices among the host community. Not all the Irish were ravaged by drink. The twin benefits of temperance and education had rescued some Irish men and women just as they had affected the working class as a whole.

This variety of condition among Irish migrants is echoed in an analysis of the population of St Bartholomew's, reputedly the worst area of Liverpool in 1841.²⁸ Just over half the population were recorded as Irish, a condition that qualifies St Bartholomew's for the hallowed phrase as a district 'chiefly inhabited by the Irish'. Within an area covering twelve streets of varying length and population, only five streets actually had a majority of Irish and these varied significantly in number and in levels of overcrowding. Two streets, Midghall-Lane (containing eight houses

and seven cellars) and Stockdale (containing eighty-six houses and twenty-five cellars), had populations that were 90 per cent Irish. Three streets, Banastre, Oriel and Cherry-Lane, had Irish populations of 60 per cent, 72 per cent and 59 per cent respectively. Average household size was highest in Midghall-Lane at 16.4 persons per household where seven out of eight houses were inhabited by the Irish but the numbers involved were very small. Stockdale was next highest with a comparable figure of 11.7 persons per household extending over eighty-six houses. These undoubtedly represented the worst conditions in the district and they were naturally associated with an Irish presence. What is equally significant is that the Irish who inhabited these two streets represented only about a fifth (21.8 per cent) of the Irish in St Bartholomew's. Almost four-fifths of the Irish lived alongside the English, Scots and Welsh and in comparable and unexceptionable conditions in terms of household size in the rest of the district.²⁹

A further consideration following the concentration of the Irish in particular districts and streets was that it made the Irish presence appear more pronounced than it was numerically. In the case of the notorious Avon Street in Bath,³⁰ where in 1851 1,284 people lived in eighty-four houses and the average household size was 15.3 persons, the 230 Irish-born inhabitants, although less than a fifth of the census population, lived in close proximity in the street. Of the fifteen Irish household heads, seven were adjoining each other and most of the households were situated at one end of the street known locally as the Catholic end. In one common lodging-house thirty-eight out of the fifty-eight inhabitants were Irish-born.³¹ This practice of huddling together can be explained in terms of native loyalties and the bonds of kinship but was also characteristic of recent migration and settlement. Irish lodging-house keepers often specialised in helping new migrants become established.

Essentially two patterns are discernible. One is the concentration of Irish in particular streets and courts in some of the worst parts of Victorian cities, living a life apart. The other, rather more predominant but rather less highlighted, is of the Irish living alongside the English, sometimes in a majority, sometimes in a minority, yet in conditions similar to their neighbours and offering opportunities for assimilation. Added to these two patterns and subjecting them to qualification over time is the transitory nature

of Irish migration and settlement. It seems probable that the most dramatic examples of the Irish living in urban squalor, symbolised by Little Ireland in Manchester, were unrepresentative of Irish settlement in Britain.

Yet it is clear from the more detailed studies of specific Irish communities that the validity of such terms is suspect. Lynn Lees, in her study of mid-Victorian London, argues that poor Irish migrants were not ostracised or locked into urban ghettos but were mostly relegated to the side streets and back alleys of their neighbourhoods.³² They lived close to the English and European immigrants but retained a separate physical and cultural identity. Interestingly, Lees found that the Irish were present in every census district of London.³³ Although commonly identified with notorious streets and with some of the vilest slums of London, many Irish lived in ordinary working-class districts, and a few middle-class professionals or lower middle-class clerks and teachers lived in predominantly English areas. Very high concentrations of Irish settlers, forming over 50 per cent of the population of a district, were comparatively rare and where they occurred it was in the back alleys and courts, tucked away behind the commercial streets. These were just the areas of squalid housing that attracted the attention of sanitary reformers. Understandably, the Irish who lived quietly in equal numbers and in lower concentrations in predominantly mixed centres of population went unnoticed. In addition to this varied pattern of settlement, the London Irish were a highly mobile population, moving from the riverside districts to the south and also returning to the traditional Irish quarters of central London, wherever there was a demand for unskilled labour.³⁴ It is clear that social class and employment opportunities were more decisive factors than mere ethnicity in determining the pattern of Irish settlement in London.

Some of the assumptions commonly made about the Irish presence in Victorian cities require qualification. It is misleading to view the migrant Irish as a homogeneous ethnic group. The 'Irish' label ignores not only the class differences already noted but also the importance of religious allegiance and the near-tribal loyalty of Irish men and women to their county of origin. In the process of 'modernisation' of Ireland since the late eighteenth century, there was a marked disparity in economic development between Ulster and Leinster, on the one hand, and the relative backwardness of Connaught, on the other. The incidence of the

Great Famine was also by no means uniform in its devastation. Paradoxically, the readiness to migrate in the famine period was created by economic progress among farmers, shopkeepers and artisans as well as by starvation and poverty among cottiers and landless labourers.³⁵

The work of Lynn Lees on the London Irish is echoed by John Papworth on the Irish in Liverpool. Papworth has identified a concentration of Irish-born immigrants into seven wards in 1841, located principally in the north and west of the city of Liverpool. After 1851, a shift in population occurred in the outlying districts of St Anne's and Scotland wards. Two patterns are discernible among the Liverpool Irish. There existed both a concentration and a dispersal of Irish settlers. This conclusion is similar to the one reached by Lees about Irish settlement in mid-Victorian London. Significantly, Papworth calculates that only 50 per cent of the Irish-born lived in enumeration districts with a high concentration of Irish population. These areas were situated in the docks, to the north and south of the town centre with a major cluster stretching from the centre outwards, through Exchange, Vauxhall and Scotland wards. Although these were recognised as 'Irish' districts, they rarely contained more than 50 per cent Irish population. Only exceptionally did the Irish presence exceed half the population, in a few streets. Also, as in the St Bartholomew's district, accompanying the Irish concentration in certain districts was a dispersal of the Irish population to areas of medium and low concentrations, like St Anne's and the two Toxteth wards. Papworth concludes that the terms 'ghetto' and 'colony' were not applicable to the Irish in Liverpool. While the 'Irish' districts represented homogeneous social areas, characterised by large numbers of unskilled workers living in poor housing near their place of work and supported by social centres such as Irish pubs and the churches, the Irish, although they lived in areas with some of the characteristics of a ghetto, could not be legitimately described as living in 'Irish' ghettos.³⁶ Here, as Papworth observes, the question of scale is crucial. At the street level, the perception of the Irish presence may have been alarming to the host community. At the level of the parish, township or county, in the way official figures were represented in recording only the Irish-born, there appeared to be less reason for concern.

Differences within the Irish community need also to be recognised. There was no single Irish identity among the Irish popu-

lation. Within Irish communities, Connaught men and the Orange men from Ulster were despised by their fellow countrymen.³⁷ The Irish loyalty to family name, county of origin and to their religious faith remained a frequent source of conflict between Irishmen in Britain, and although it was common to equate Irish and Catholic together, the Catholic Church (while a great strength and support for many) catered for only a minority of settlers.³⁸ Furthermore, Irish communities were subject to high mobility, often over short distances but nevertheless involving a high turnover of different families.³⁹ Determined not to fester in Irish ghettos, alienated from the host community, it was the common experience of many poor Irish families to move frequently and to adapt speedily to changes in the labour market. Constant movement and the changing composition of the Irish presence invalidate the permanent label attached to 'Irish' districts.

In contrast to patterns of settlement, reconstructed with hindsight, the framework of contemporary responses to the influx of Irish migrants was shaped by fears that were powerful and immediate. A common theme in comments at the time was the belief that the Irish would lower standards among the decent English working class. It was shared by such different spokesmen as the socialist Friedrich Engels and the Tory Lord Ashley:

For when, in almost every great city, a fifth or a quarter of the workers are Irish or children of Irish parents who have grown up among Irish filth, no one can wonder if the life, habits, intelligence, moral status—in short, the whole character of the working class assimilates a great part of the Irish characteristics.⁴⁰

With equal certainty could the future Lord Shaftesbury, the great philanthropist and champion of the oppressed, proclaim:

Was it not found that where the Irish appeared wages were lowered, respectability disappeared, and slovenliness and filth prevailed?⁴¹

Part of the fear of the host community lay with the advent of major cholera and typhoid epidemics in the 1830s and 1840s which provoked a fervent hostility to Irish migrants as disseminators of killer diseases. Hard-pressed officials were tempted to use the Irish as a scapegoat in the face of epidemics that were beyond their effective control. J. V. Hickey has shown that the medical

officer of the Cardiff Union identified the main cause of the increase in disease as the 'immense invasion of Irish destitute labourers, navigators and others, who had been brought over to this town by public works', and the majority of cases of fever 'may be said to have been imported direct from Skibbereen and Clonakilty'.⁴² Public officials and the local press represented public hostility to Irish settlers: 'We are accustomed to associate notions of filth, squalor and beggarly destitution with everything Irish from the large number of lazy, idle and wretched natives of the Sister Island who are continually crossing our paths'.⁴³ This was characteristic of the response in many cities to what was often known as 'Irish fever' but it is instructive in gauging the extent of hostility to the Irish to find examples of a more tolerant attitude to Irish immigrants in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Faced with the same coincidence of epidemic disease and an Irish presence in the Sandgate area of the city, Dr Robinson, in making a thorough investigation of the causes of the epidemic in 1846-7, did not even mention the Irish. Again in 1853, when cholera raged in the city, the local press saw it as an issue of public health, the cause of the malady being unknown. Even though 350 lives were lost in the parish of St Mary's in a single month, the Irish were not singled out for public attack. Interestingly, as R. J. Cooter points out, the only body of people who tried to implicate the Irish in the epidemic were the outside commissioners for the Board of Health. Cooter concludes that almost all the available evidence on the Irish in the north east fails to point to any consensus of opinion that the Irish lowered the Englishman's 'superior prudence', morals, drinking habits or living conditions.⁴⁴

Why was there a contrast in attitudes to 'Irish fever' in Cardiff and in Newcastle? Two further studies, of the Irish in York and in Bristol, suggest possible answers. Frances Finnegan identifies a change in the character of the migrants in York as the rate of settlement increased during the 1840s. Before 1846, 'there was little to distinguish York's small pre-Famine Irish community from the rest of the population'.⁴⁵ In 1841, the Irish were distributed throughout almost every parish in the city, with concentrations in the poorest and most unhealthy quarters, Walmgate, Hungate and the Waterhouses. Although particular streets and courts exhibited a strong Irish presence, the Irish formed a small percentage of York's poor. The York Irish were represented in every social class and were employed in a wide variety of occupations.

The extent of inter-marriage between the Irish and the host community suggests that there was no distinctive or beleaguered ethnic minority but rather a group that experienced a fair degree of assimilation. However, post-Famine immigration changed the situation of the Irish community in York. The Irish population (Irish-born and their children) increased from 781 (2.7 per cent) to 2,618 (7.2 per cent) of the population of York between 1841 and 1851. In this period, the newly arrived migrants concentrated in the poorest area, notably the four Walmgate parishes, extending their hold over particular streets and yards. With the arrival of post-Famine immigrants, the social structure of the Irish community experienced a substantial change of character. The percentage of persons in Class II and Class III (dealers and skilled occupations) more than halved and the percentage in Class IV (partly skilled occupations) more than trebled. Subsequently little occupational mobility took place and a decline occurred in the level of mixed marriages.

David Large, in a study of the Irish in Bristol (based on the 1851 census), found that there was no 'little Ireland' in the city and, although there was a tendency to settle close to the docks and Floating Harbour in the heart of the city, the Irish were well distributed throughout the city parishes and were as likely to be found in wealthy Clifton (580 Irish) as in poor St Augustine the Less (475 Irish).⁴⁶ Large concludes that while the Irish concentrated in particular streets and courts, they were also widely scattered throughout the city and spanned the whole range of social class groups. In 1849, the Irish were to be found in cholera-ravaged streets but not all the unhealthy spots included Irish inhabitants. Significantly, in a city with the third highest mortality rate in England, the Irish were not blamed for the incidence of epidemic disease.

The different response to Irish settlement identified in York and in Bristol reflects the character and scale of migration during the famine years and was also influenced by the nature of the local labour market. Whereas York experienced a sharp rise in the numbers of Irish migrants, Bristol experienced a very gradual increase in the number of its Irish-born inhabitants. Also, whereas most of the new migrants arriving in York were poor Irish from a variety of places, including the decaying textile areas of Mayo and Sligo, the Bristol Irish were predominantly from County Cork, Dublin, Waterford and Limerick and, representing a wide

variety of trades, they were more easily absorbed into the variegated labour market in Bristol.

The character and scale of migration and the local conditions in terms of employment opportunities may also explain the sporadic violence and disorder that occurred in some cities but not in others. It is evident also that the political and religious character of a city and the policy adopted by certain police forces towards the Irish community were additional factors in sparking off riots and other incidents that were the cause of public disquiet.

Irish disorder in Bradford has been explained in terms of a predominantly Roman Catholic migrant force, of whom many were Gaelic-speaking from the west of Ireland, settling in a staunchly Protestant city.⁴⁷ The Bradford Irish lived in highly concentrated communities and gained a reputation for inter-Irish feuds and clashes with the non-Irish population. In local police reports, the Irish were singled out for special attention. A similar pattern has been identified in Leeds.⁴⁸ The majority of Irish migrants came from Dublin or the western counties and 83 per cent of them settled in three poor wards in the city. The familiar charge of drunken, violent behaviour and a fierce resistance to arrest was made against the Leeds Irish, and public anxiety supported police supervision of the 'Irish quarters'. Within the Irish community, sectarian conflicts and disputes over loyalty to different Irish counties were characteristic of incidents of disorder. In Manchester, the traditional distillation of spirits and Sunday morning gambling allied to the regular Saturday night brawling, associated with the Irish presence, were the subject of local police activity.⁴⁹

Bradford, Leeds and Manchester are examples of places where police reports identify particular forms of crime and disorder as an 'Irish' problem. To accept this diagnosis may be to take the perspective of the police at face value. A further perspective on 'Irish' disorder and crime is suggested by Roger Swift in a study of the Irish in Wolverhampton⁵⁰. He records the concentration of Irish in Caribee Island, a district of insanitary and squalid housing, and the familiar propensity of the Irish to court the displeasure of the police through illegal distillation and sale of liquor in 'wabble' shops. The shops were singled out for special treatment with an aggressive, paramilitary form of policing, deliberately aimed at suppressing the Irish population. In support of this contention,

Dr Swift argues that other poor districts of Wolverhampton were not subjected to the kind of discriminate policing directed at the Irish quarter. The appointment of Chief Constables with experience of military style policing in Ireland, a policy also followed in the neighbouring county of Warwickshire, appeared to have a clearly designed intention of suppression attached to it.⁵¹ The high proportion of prosecutions made against the Irish population was part of a policy of increasing the general level of convictions to impress the ratepayers as to the efficiency of the borough police force. Irish 'disorder' was being highlighted as a means of justifying the size of the police force.

An absence of serious disorder or conflict represents the reverse side of the coin in the pattern of Irish settlement observed in Bradford, Leeds, Manchester and Wolverhampton. Dundee is an example of a city 'remarkable for its moderation and restraint towards the Irish'.⁵² Yet Dundee experienced a very rapid increase in Irish migration and as high a proportion of Irish settlement as any other Scottish city. In 1851, the Irish-born population of Dundee was 18.9 per cent, slightly higher than the comparative figure for Glasgow. Irish migration to Scotland was also on a larger scale in relation to the national population than Irish migration to England.

Walker argues that only the Catholic Irish settled in Dundee so there was a marked absence of the sectarianism between Catholic and Protestant Irish that occurred in Glasgow. Moreover, the Irish in Dundee were predominantly female and established a reputation as good workers, earning ready promotion in the expanding jute mills in the city. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Dundee was a rapidly expanding frontier town, attracting Highlanders and the rural population of Angus in addition to Irish migrants. These groups were not rigidly segregated and there was an absence of a distinctive Irish ghetto in Dundee. Also, Dundee was a staunchly Liberal town with a proud belief in religious toleration. The local press did not share the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice that Handley identified as the general attitude towards the Irish in Scotland.⁵³

A further example of a relative absence of conflict is the case of the Irish in Hull.⁵⁴ As a mill town and a port, Hull attracted Irish migrants from Lancashire and Cheshire and they were probably more acclimatised to English conditions than newly-arrived migrants in Liverpool. In 1851, the Irish-born population of Hull

represented just over 3 per cent of the total, and thereafter they formed a declining proportion of the city's inhabitants. Mostly employed in the mills and on the docks and concentrated in three areas of the town, the Hull Irish always remained a minority in employment and settlement. As a predominantly Roman Catholic population, they were also distinctive as a religious minority.

By all accounts, housing conditions in Hull at mid-century were appalling. The 1849 cholera epidemic claimed 1,860 deaths, one of the highest rates of mortality in the country. The Irish were identified as living in the poorest areas and being prominent in local disorder. The level of crime in Hull was distorted by the number of Irish vagrants committing offences to obtain a bed for the night. A further potential cause of friction lay in Hull's long tradition as a nonconformist stronghold with its leaders proclaiming a well-developed puritanism.

Yet it is striking that there was no real conflict when the conditions and climate of opinion appeared to favour an attack on the Catholic Irish. The principal reason seems to have been the presence of a few key individuals in Hull, who occupied positions of authority and influence. Most important was E. F. Collins, from 1841 the editor of the *Hull Advertiser* and a man who gave Hull twenty years of outstanding public service. Collins transformed the *Advertiser* from a Tory to a Radical journal. He championed the cause of good housing, attacked religious bigotry, and ended the deportation of Irish paupers. In the field of public health reform he was supported by another Irishman, the local surgeon Edward Owen Daly. Also, the crucial post of Chief Constable of the Hull Police was held from 1836 to 1866 by Andrew McManners who was drafted in from the Metropolitan Police. The presence of Irishmen in positions where sensitive handling of opinion and policy were essential ensured that the Irish in Hull were not made the subject of scapegoat abuse as in some other cities.

Referring back to figures cited earlier on the dispersal of Irish settlers, it is doubtful whether in many cities in England or Scotland the Irish were sufficiently numerous or concentrated to exert a malign influence on the host community. They were merely an easy target, and once the label had been applied in Liverpool and Glasgow it was accepted as universal for the Irish presence in Britain. Hostility was bound up with a host of other issues. Coincidentally, Irish peak migration occurred at a time of

seemingly insoluble problems—overcrowding, epidemic disease, unemployment and disorder; the poor Irish (the only visible Irish), became convenient scapegoats. Long-standing fears of Roman Catholicism and of French invasion, fears played on for political purposes, threw suspicion on the Irish as an alien people.

In surveying the work of the last twenty-five years on the Irish in Britain, a number of key themes emerge. The label 'Irish' is continually employed for convenience but does less than justice to the lack of homogeneity among the peoples of Ireland, including the men and women who migrated to Britain, North America and to Australia. Added to a variety of condition, religion and expectations among Irish migrants were varied patterns of migration and settlement throughout the world. More specific to Britain was the temporary nature of the panic and alarm induced by Irish immigration in mid-Victorian cities and the sporadic nature of outbursts of anti-Irish feeling. English and Scottish attitudes to the Irish presence were complex and ambivalent. The variety of experience and response to Irish migration in Britain was rooted in the specific conditions that obtained in the different communities in which they settled. Important influences on Irish relations with the host community were found in the leadership available and in the prevailing local political, religious and economic climate. New patterns will be identified later, but they are likely to reflect the pluralistic experience of Irish men and women that varied with time, place and circumstances.

Lastly, in comprehending Irish quarters or 'Little Irelands', the subject has not only moved forward but come full circle. As early as 1963, E. P. Thompson observed: 'If they were segregated in some towns, the Irish were never pressed back into ghettos.'⁵⁵

In opposing this view, Werly cited the case of New Town and Little Ireland in Manchester as evidence that the 'Irish of that city did live within two clearly delineated ghettos'.⁵⁶ In the 1830s and 1840s, the idea of a Little Ireland served as a symbol for a generation of polemicists, social investigators, and men of letters in attacking industrial capitalism and urban degeneracy.⁵⁷ It was a product of creative imagination and contemporary ideology. In our own time, the image of the Irish in the ghetto has endured, appealing to historians looking for an oppression model for the emigrant Irish.⁵⁸ Now there is sufficient evidence to show that as many Irish settled outside distinctive Irish quarters as settled in them. This is less potent symbolically than the ghetto but it helps to explain the complexity and variety of response among the host community in Britain.

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- 13 See for example, C. Richardson, 'Irish Settlement in mid-nineteenth century Bradford', *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research*, vol. xx (1971), pp. 40–57.
- 14 Werly, op.cit., p. 346.
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SYNOPSIS OF WORKSHOP SEMINAR LED BY JOHN DUNLEAVY (OXFORD - RUSKIN COLLEGE)

THE CHANGING NATURE OF ORGANISATIONS AMONG THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

c. 1870 - c. 1930

"The fortuitous power of T P O'Connor's ethnic vote in the government of 1885-6 gave the impetus for a nationwide organising of the Irish in Britain." (K O'Connor, The Irish in Britain, p 35)

As O'Connor went on to explain, though the local branches of the Irish National League mushroomed - there were 630 by 1890 - the total number of Irishmen ready to join remained miniscule, approx $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. Yet the influence of the League was by no means negligible.

Only one parliamentary seat in Britain was captured by the Nationalists, that of T.P.O'Connor at Liverpool-Scotland, though bids were made elsewhere. However, at local level the Irish presence was noticeable a century ago: town councils, Boards of Guardians, School Boards usually had at least one Nationalist, while in the nascent Labour movement Irishmen were to be found in the trade unions and trades councils. (Much more research is called for here).

PROBLEMS OF ORGANISING THE IRISH

As victims of the Famine, evictions, etc., the Irish in Britain had few reasons to admire British rule in Ireland. Yet, once in Britain the Irishman obliged to earn his livelihood. Jobs were often menial, low-paid; the work seasonal. Irishmen obliged to be migratory, found it hard to establish themselves. To T.P.O'Connor and his friends this meant the typical Irishman was difficult to organise, still less to ensure a place on the voters roll.

Social activities of Irish often centred, after a hard days work, on the public house. The arduous nature of many jobs, in building docks, etc. left little energy for politics.

WERE THE IRISH IN G.B. SIGNIFICANT?

C S Parnell by securing presidency of the Home Rule Confederation of G B in 1870s was able to use the post as a springboard for his bid to lead the Home Rule party in the late 1870s. (Parnell thus early recognised the value of his supporters here in G B.)

Parnell in 1883 delegated the presidency of the Irish National League of G B to T P O'Connor. Few could have predicted then that T P would occupy post until his death in 1929. By then, the League was a shadow of its former self.

The position in Ireland had changed even more dramatically. 1916 saw the Rising; Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921; Irish Free State.

In G B, the League (restyled the United Irish League in 1900) was at its peak in 1914 in terms of members and funds. The Great War had a devastating effect on the U I L, with branches closing or just ticking over (many men in forces).

After the war, some branches reformed or revived, though events in Ireland meant the mood had changed here too. The League found itself challenged by a rival in the shape of the Irish Self-determination League, an auxiliary of Sinn Fein. (The U I L continued to proclaim its loyalty to the Irish Party of John Dillon, decimated in the 1918 election). Again, research is needed here, though it seems I S D L appealed to the younger element, often men who

had served in the war and who were impatient of the Irish Parliamentary Party/U I L approach.

In 1923 O'Connor held a convention of the U I L at Leeds, adopting the title of Irish Democratic League. He stressed the need to work for the social and educational improvement of the Irish in Britain, and announced plans for a fund to be set up to achieve this. Yet by then the league was reduced to branches largely in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and while some branches appear to have tried to follow the advice sent out by O'Connor and the Leeds delegates, most branches by then were content to confine their activities to providing social and recreational activities in their various clubs. Politics and broader issues were left to other organisations (the Labour party, trade unions, co-ops, etc.)

OTHER ASPECTS

In the 1860s many Irishmen in Great Britain claimed to be Fenians, members of clandestine Irish Republican Brotherhood, an organisation prepared to use force to secure Irish freedom. Yet, actual operations were few - the Chester Castle raid in 1867 proved to be abortive. With the arrest and imprisonment of Michael Davitt in 1870 little more was heard of Fenians in Great Britain apart from popular mythology ...

Turn of the century saw a cultural revival in Ireland, with Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association - some activity in Great Britain, though one authority suggests restricted largely to professional-mid class. (Again, more research needed.)

1920, with formation of Irish Self-determination League opportunity to give support to Sinn Fein, yet never had the same support as O'Connor's organisation. A O H ... Foresters.

SUMMARY:

Home Rule Confederation of 1870 committed to securing self-government by constitutional means; the same held true for the Irish National League, and later the United Ireland League. The bulk of the Irish in Britain seemed to be law abiding and not drawn to violence in pursuit of Irish freedom - the forces tempering their views would be worth researching, notably the Catholic church leadership over this period.

In the 1920s following the end of Act of Union the Irish in Great Britain under the leadership of O'Connor determined to look to their own welfare and development. But the League declined, the need for an ethnic organisation seemed less important than in the 1880s.

J Dunleavy

REPORT ON WORKSHOP/SEMINAR LED BY TONY BRESLIN:

ANTI-RACIST TEACHING STRATEGIES AND THE IRISH DIMENSION

CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

CONSTRAINTS

- * Continuing colour focused emphases within 'Ethnicity' Resources/Campaigns
- * The National Curriculum
 - the exclusion of the Social Sciences
 - the denial of Modern History
 - Ethnocentricity
- * The trend away from coursework, notably in English
- * The ridicule of anti-racist strategies in general
- * The (apparent) end of the GLC era
- * The continuing conflict in Northern Ireland
- * The refusal to take anti-Irish racism seriously

OPPORTUNITIES

- * Space for 'innovation' in certain national curriculum subjects (eg English)
- * Cross-curricular themes - notably Citizenship
- * The resourcesfulness of community and teacher groups that value an Irish input

FACTORS CALLING FORTH AN IRISH ETHNICITY

- * The perceived benefits of being a 'minority'
- * A growth of awareness with respect to minority rights
- * A growing expression of Irish culture
- * A vocal (and sometimes divided) second generation
- * The continuing conflict in Northern Ireland
- * The realisation of the strength of the Irish vote in Britain
- * The difficulties associated with colour focused multi-ethnic strategies

"... if it is the intention to develop a non-ethnocentric educational model in terms of policy and practice in all schools, regardless of their ethnic intake, it is surely misguided to limit recognition of ethnicity on the basis of a skin colour criterion. Ironically, while such a perception is slow in occurring to innovators in multi-culturalism, it has for some time been part of the ideology of extreme right wing groups ..."

Nessan Danaher (1984)

FROM ASSIMILATION TO ANTI-RACISM

ASSIMILATION: Minorities/entrant groups abandon their "own norms values ideas language and culture and take on those of the majority".
(Allcott, 1986)

INTEGRATION: Minorities retain their own identity but express this only within their own communities.

CULTURAL PLURALISM/CULTURAL DIVERSITY/MULTI CULTURALISM: 'Difference' is welcomed and celebrated, the proviso being that knowledge will bring initially toleration and then respect.

ANTI RACISM: POST COLONIAL/POST IMPERIAL STRUCTURES

Produce/sustain racist attitudes amongst the majority. ie the racism of the majority, not the difference of the minority is the problem.

... by the early 1980s the focus in much multi-ethnic education was shifting towards anti-racism.

Anti racist strategies focus on 'minority experience' not 'majority need'.

Within this context the Irish experience can be instructive.

NB Historical background
 Discrimination (eg housing and employment)
 Anti Irish jokes
 Stereotyping
 Marginalisation

IRISH DEMOCRAT 1939 - 1980

(Incorporating Irish Freedom)

244-246, Gray's Inn Road, London, WC1X 8JR

During the war and post-war years the Irish Democrat was the dominant source of Irish news published in Britain. The Connolly Association at that time ran the Immigrants Advice Bureau to help claim lodging allowances for the thousands of Irish workers who came to help rebuild a shattered Britain.

For over fifty years the Connolly Association has issued a monthly newspaper specialising in Irish political analysis, news and reviews. Published in Britain since 1939 the archive now offers the historian an ideal source of information on the campaigns of the Irish community in Britain. Details of their demands, campaigns, allies, achievements and failures are analysed with comments on the period and conditions of the time. During this half-century there has never been a period when the Irish Democrat failed to give a lead on the issues of the day that affected the Irish people. While not condoning political violence the Irish Democrat campaigned for the release of the two previous generations of Irish prisoners in England, as it continues to campaign for the third generation now. (years 40, 56, & 70) Never banned in Britain the paper was however banned for six years in Northern Ireland under the Special Powers Act.

It is not commonly known that the first civil rights demonstrations were in fact held in Britain in the early sixties, starting with a CA march from Liverpool to the House of Commons in London to demand civil liberty for the people of Northern Ireland. The Irish Book Centre forerunner of the Four Provinces Bookshop was established in 1966 to supply the increasing demand for Irish literature in Britain. The CA campaigned for a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland which was debated in both Houses of the Westminster Parliament in 1971.

The Irish Democrat now represents a substantive history of the campaigns of the Irish community in Britain and its effects on the Government of the day and the British Labour movement. What were their demands, who were their allies, what were their achievements, their failures. It is all there in the back issues of the Irish Democrat.

No history of the Irish community in Britain can be complete without reference to this archive of source material.

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Ormskirk, Lancashire

1991 / 1992

Irish Studies Courses and Elements in the Social Sciences Degree Programmes

Undergraduate Work

ASS 102 : The Political, Economic and Social Development of Britain and Ireland

This Core Course is taken by students who are majoring in the APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES. **There are currently 80 Majors taking the course.** There is a three week block of work on Ireland which immediately follows work on the British Empire and the roots of racism. Three lectures connect Civil Rights and the last twenty years of struggle, to the 17th century plantations and the partition of Ireland. Seminars follow up these lectures run by the main course team of two tutors. The seminar themes are:

- 1.) Understanding 'the Troubles'
- 2.) The Media and Northern Ireland
- 3.) Anti-Irish Racism
- 4.) Why partition?

At the beginning of the last week of this block students see the 1984 film 'Ascendancy'. There is opportunity for assignment writing on either the roots of anti-Irish racism or of sectarianism.

ASS 201 : Understanding Post-War Britain

This is also a compulsory Core course, **taken this year by 75 Majors.** The Spring term focuses on the question of 'Is Britain an Equal Opportunities Society?' There will be two 2 hour presentations, (lecture combined with video,) on Northern Ireland since Direct Rule. This will follow work on Gender, Sexuality and Race and will be followed up by seminars led by the four members of the Course Team. The sessions on Northern Ireland will address critically the record of British reform initiatives, but must also address the oppression of women and the import and export of repressive state practices between Britain and Ireland. Again, students have the opportunity to write an assignment comparing issues of discrimination and social justice in Northern Ireland with the social construction of Britain as a democratic and equal opportunities society.

ASS 211: Irish Studies 1: Understanding Northern Ireland

This is a specialist option course spanning three terms. This means that students who undertake fieldwork at the end of the course, (to Derry and Belfast,) study for three hours a week over thirty weeks under tutor direction. Each week combines three forms of experience:

1.) **Workshop discussions on contemporary issues** as they happen. Each student keeps a research field notebook, recording broadcast news items, monitoring newspaper coverage and examining public debate on controversial issues concerning Irish people at home and abroad. A key concern is to empirically establish the extent to which Northern Ireland violence dominates media and public debate, relegating other social issues to secondary status.

2.) **Lecture analysis of the links between key historical events and present commitments of people in Northern Ireland.** A central concern is to critique the simplification of the North as about two different cultural traditions. The importance of establishing the complexities of community politics, involving a spectrum of class backgrounds, political allegiances and religious belief, is stressed throughout the work.

3.) **Video presentation to critique the record of journalistic and media response** to the so called 'Troubles'. The crude left position of the journalists as 'tools of the establishment' is rejected. So too is

the hard right position that media workers are irresponsible pawns of subversive propaganda. Again the 'reality' is much more complex, involving enormous pressures on all programme makers and journalists. The strengths and weaknesses of a range of media material are assessed, paying particular attention to the historical moment of cultural production i.e. the political context in which programmes are made and articles written.

This course is **currently taken by 8 Majors and 4 Minor students**. Majors write one assignment and Minors write two, an apparent anomaly related to the current complex structure of the Applied Social Sciences Degree.

In the Spring term the course has been joined by three (exchange) American students. Two have family connections distantly to Ireland and one plans to enter journalism as a career. The nature of the exchange arrangements creates difficulties for both students and staff. The Americans begin studying half way through the course, having missed much of the historical background dealt with in the Autumn term. They also leave before the fieldwork exercise, so they are disadvantaged at both ends of the course. To resolve these problems, an individualised 'crash programme' of history has been devised to enable the students to access the course. The lack of fieldwork exposure has been partly resolved by the group accompanying the course leader to the Cork Conference on the subject of 'Where in the World is Ireland?' Given that contributors to this Conference come from all over Ireland, including the North, this five day excursion to Southern Ireland is an important cultural challenge to complement the academic, College based work. These students will submit one assignment and a diary relating to their response to the challenge of media defined social issues. This will be a more open ended piece of writing, less subject to the academic constraints of referencing and bibliography. However, the students have been encouraged to relate their feelings, their assessments, to the course content of the Spring term and it remains to be seen what results from this project assignment.

For the remaining students, there is opportunity to prepare for a ten day, intensive, June, fieldwork period in the aftermath of second year examinations. Residence with families in Derry and the Ulster People's College in Belfast will provide the bases from which fieldwork members can meet people from a range of political, community and religious backgrounds. Contact with such 'key informants' will be planned to further the sensitivity of students to the dangers of over simplification and facile acceptance of mainstream political and media definition. Experience has shown that such fieldwork provides a rich source of inspiration for the construction of third year, 10,000 word, Irish Studies dissertations.

ASS 301: Irish Studies 2: Ireland and the British State

This third year specialist option course is usually taken by students who have studied the second year option, ASS 211. However, major students can transfer from other second year options into Irish Studies, if they are prepared to undertake an extended study programme in the post examination, Summer term period and during the Summer vacation. One student has done so this year. **The current course involves 10 Majors**, six of which are writing dissertations. Minor students did not have the opportunity to access this course in 1991/92. This situation will be corrected next year.

The course sets out to examine history, political parties, community and paramilitary activists from a range of political and academic standpoints. In critiquing 'revisionist history', students are encouraged also to critically examine the standpoint of all authors, whether academic, political activist or journalistic. In this sense, third year studies picks up on the sociology of knowledge traditions established in the 1960's, 70's and 80's. The course also builds on the critical theory of this period, with a consistent focus on:

- 1.) Class and capitalism, in process as social and economic formations, in the post Second World-War period, both in Ireland and Britain.
- 2.) Gender and patriarchy and the oppression of Irish women.
- 3.) Ethnic origins/identities and colonial and neo-colonial state institutions and practices.

The course lasts 26 weeks and includes a 5 day period of fieldwork in the Irish Republic. Last year students visited Dublin and met members of the Department of Foreign Affairs staff to discuss the 'Brooke Initiative'. It is hoped to broaden this work this year by crossing to Galway to meet 'key informants' for discussion of Unemployment and emigration in the context of the current debate on the status of Ireland, as

between First and Third World Countries. Whilst the North continues to dominate this curriculum development, it becomes apparent that this course is attempting to locate Irish experiences at home and abroad, within the context of the development of the 26 counties since partition. Ireland's relationship to Britain and the rest of the Western Alliance becomes an important course theme, reflecting recent debates in Ireland, which have arguably been crystallised by the challenge to Europe and the Irish political elite of the Raymond Crotty, Single European Court Action in 1987.

ASS 306: Criminology 2 : Crime Conflict and the State

This course has proved one of the leading edges of critical social analysis in the Applied Social Sciences degree programme since the return to Edge Hill of Phil Scraton, after a three year secondment to the Open University in the early 1980's. Phil was quick to recognise the significance and overlapping concerns of Irish Studies for the development of critical criminology. His own family origins are in Ireland, but most significantly, his first research work was to document the experiences of gypsy travellers on Merseyside and to locate their specific oppressions within the dominant ideologies of advanced capitalism and the British State. Critical analysis of the institutions of the criminal justice system, in relation to public concerns about traveller lifestyles, provides a focus for the study of legal harassment and the specifics of a wider anti-Irish racism deeply entrenched within British society.

In the Autumn term 1991, seven years on from the introduction of the first block of work on law, the state and Ireland, **over 50 students, some 33 Majors and 20 Minors, had the opportunity to follow a six week block of work**, now entitled 'Internal Security Operations, the Shaping of the law and the Criminal Justice System'. Using a combination of video, handout and lecture presentations, the six week block of one and a half hour sessions, set out to locate emergency legislation, militarised policing and community/individual surveillance, within the record of the British and Irish States since the 1801 Act of Union. This analysis is not confined to a critique of the Northern Irish State, urgent as such work clearly is, but also addresses how partition forced the Southern State into parallel repressive state forms and practices. Moreover, both before and after partition, the nature of the British state has been consistently shaped by the need to respond to Irish insurgency caused by Britain's continuing role in Ireland. We need only consider the formation of the Special Branch in the 19th century and the passing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1974 to give such a broad generalisation sharp empirical support. Yet the sharpness of experience, derivative of the unresolved national question, must lead students and staff concerned with this area into a critical consideration of a multiple of controversial institutions, practices and causes for concern. We can appreciate this by simply considering some of the key terms necessarily employed in any Library based 'Literature Search' of this field. Consider the following:

Admissable Evidence; Amnesty International; Bullets, Lead, Plastic and Rubber; Confessions; Counter Insurgency Theory and Practice; Diplock Courts; Emergency Legislation; European Court of Human Rights; Extradition; Gardai; H Blocks; House Searches; Internal Security Policy; Internment; Interrogation; Lethal Force; Miscarriages of Justice; RUC; Riot Control; SAS; Shoot to Kill; Strip Searching; Supergrass System; Surveillance; Torture, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment; UDR.

Undergraduate Developments: Some Qualifications

This range of Contemporary Irish Studies did not happen overnight. It began in 1978 with one lecture reviewing the academic and media debate on the failure of journalists to inform the British public on what was happening in Northern Ireland. In 1979 this lecture was complemented by another on the 'technologies of political control' employed in Northern Ireland, the lecture reviewing the work and concerns of the British Society for Responsibility in Science. This was the period of the prison struggles, blanket and dirty protests, building up to the hunger strikes of 1981. It is not then surprising that the response of students to this work was one of keen interest. On the one hand there was agreement that the result of schooling and media omissions they were poorly informed. Students welcomed the challenge to their lack of political awareness. On the other hand, they were quick to point to the contradiction of an academic lecturer criticising the failure of other cultural educators, when the Edge Hill Social Sciences programme contained a similar absence of

background and critical location. Thus began the fourteen year period of self education and progressive curriculum development which has culminated in the relatively fully blown Irish Studies undergraduate programme documented above. The process followed the following path:

1978/79 : 1 lecture	Third year	Option course	Contemporary Social Issues
1979/80 : 2 lectures	Third year	Option course	Contemporary Social Issues
1980/81: Ditto			
1981/82: 4 lectures	Third year	Option course	Contemporary Social Issues
1982/83: Ditto			

1983/84: 7 lectures	Third year	Option course	Contemporary Social Issues
Same Year: 4 lectures	Third year	Option Course	Crime, Conflict and the State

1984/85 and 1985/86	Same Pattern as above but with the Contemporary Social issues course expanded to 9 lectures in 84/85 and 11 lectures in 85/86		
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1986/87	Third year	Option courses in Social Issues and Criminology join to follow the first two term course on 'Ireland and the British State'.	
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This course ends with the first Irish Studies fieldwork to Dublin for a sub-group of 12 of the 30 students taking the course. The particular focus of this fieldwork was a critical examination of the Anglo-Irish Accord.

1986/87 Also sees the introduction of second year fieldwork for some core ASS 201 students, especially those following Critical criminology courses. This Summer term work is in Belfast.

1987/88 and 1988/89 The integrated third year, two term course continues. The second year fieldwork to Belfast likewise, again based on the Ulster People's College. Irish Studies is now well established within the degree programme, popular with students and accepted as integral to the developing degree scheme by a majority of Colleagues. In consequence, the pattern of studies outlined above for 1991/92 is written into a new, third cycle, Lancaster University validated, Applied Social Sciences Degree scheme.

From 1989/90 Irish Studies Option courses recruit, on average, 15 students for both the Second Year ASS 211 and the Third Year 301 course. So specialisation begins to limit the number of students addressing controversies around the British State and Ireland. This has led to a progressive introduction of the issues into core degree courses, ASS 102 and 201 in order to avoid ghettoisation of the subject.

Conclusion

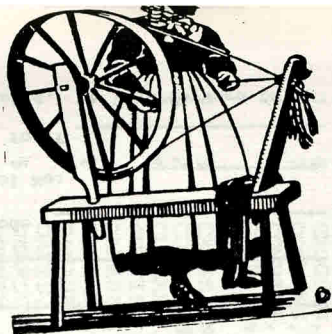
By 1990 there are also two staff from Ireland working on the courses, one from Derry and the other from Belfast. In the space of two years both these staff have moved on to other appointments, one at the Open University and the other at Hull Polytechnic. The crisis of resourcing, in part brought on by creation of Edge Hill College as a business corporation, has led to neither of these posts being replaced by staff with Irish Studies expertise. So the 14 year curriculum innovation programme now rests on the shoulders of the initiating tutor, as a burden to be born alone. Moreover, this is before we review the parallel developments that have happened since the introduction of the Master's Degree programme in 1984. The formidable responsibility for this work prompts recall of the famous final phrase of Gerard Hoffnung's (1958) Bricklayer's letter to his employer's after a building site accident!

" I respectfully request sick leave" or early retirement !

Alan Morton
Irish Studies Co-ordinator, 5th February 1992

1991

Grant Aided by Leicester City Council



TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.
IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations
 who have received their freedom, Ireland, through us, summons
 you to the same freedom.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

permanent National Government, and we pray that all men and women, elected by the sufferings of all her men and military affairs of the Most High God, convicted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Most High God, the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God. Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government,
THOMAS J. CLARKE.
THOMAS MACDONAGH.
JAMES CONNELLEY.
JOHN MCGEE.
MICHAEL HART.
PATRICK DUFFY.
WILLIAM LADD.
THOMAS WATSON.
THOMAS CANNON.
THOMAS COUGHLIN.
THOMAS KELLY.
THOMAS MEENEHAN.
THOMAS RAY.
THOMAS SULLIVAN.
THOMAS SWANEY.
THOMAS TERRY.
THOMAS WHELAN.
THOMAS WILKINS.
THOMAS YOUNG.

- 1916-
- 1991- 75th Anniversary



Irish Studies Workshop

Co-Ordinator: Nathan J. Danaher, B.A., M.Ed.
Soar Valley College,
Glensagles Avenue,
Leicester, LE4 7GY Tel (0533) 669625/666377

HISTORY * LITERATURE * POLITICS * TRADITIONAL MUSIC, SONG AND DANCE *
EMIGRATION * RELIGION * CURRENT AFFAIRS * ARCHAEOLOGY *

Course Co-ordinator: Mr. Nesson J. Danaher, B.A., M.Ed.,

THE IRISH POST

Emigration inevitable

GOVERNMENT LOOKS TO TRADITIONAL 'SAFETY VALVE'

Ruralists

Education



FAMINE IN IRELAND: SEARCHING FOR POTATOES

CELTIC ENCOUNTERS(1991/2)- ASPECTS OF THE IRISH EXPERIENCE
(Irish Cultural Activities - Informal Talks & Discussion Evenings)
ACTIVITIES PROGRAMME - IRISH STUDIES, SET/CEILI DANCE SESSIONS
& IRISH LANGUAGE MEETINGS

"CELTIC ENCOUNTERS" - YEAR 9 - ASPECTS OF THE IRISH EXPERIENCE

VENUE: Soar Valley College, Gleneagles Avenue, Leicester, LE4 7GY
Tel: 666377. Course organiser is Mr. Nesson DANAHER.

DURATION: 7 weeks, commencing on Wednesday, 4th September and continuing on **WEDNESDAYS** until 16th October. (Licensed lounge open after meetings.) Each year, this informal programme has been popular and well attended. **Note:** A SET and CEILI DANCE class programme will run from September to December (see details below).

TIMES OF SESSIONS: 7.30-9.00pm. Some sessions will include audio-visual presentations (slides and films or video). There should be opportunities for questions and discussion in the second half of each session.

REGISTRATION FOR IRISH STUDIES: will take place between 7.00-7.30pm on the first evening (**Wednesday 4th September 1991**). It can also be arranged by post before the course begins. Registration for the first half of the SET Dancing Class will take place at 9.00pm on the same night.

COURSE FEES: will be £14.00 for 7 sessions of Irish Studies; see section on Set Dancing below for fee information.

Please note: there are substantial **reductions** for those receiving state benefit and Senior Citizens; (Special arrangements for under 18's).

NOTE: IRISH LANGUAGE CLASSES resume on Tuesday 10th September 1991. There will be one class for the recent beginners (£15 for 10 weeks). Language classes will continue after Christmas depending on demand. (Free to under 16's). Our tutor is **Mrs. Maureen BRODERICK**.

BACK-UP RESOURCES: We have about 40 different document packs from the National Museum and National Library in Dublin, and similar packs from the Public Record Offices in Belfast and Dublin. The Workshop has built up its own 4,000 item collection of fiction and non-fiction items, 300 of which were kindly donated by the Irish Government.

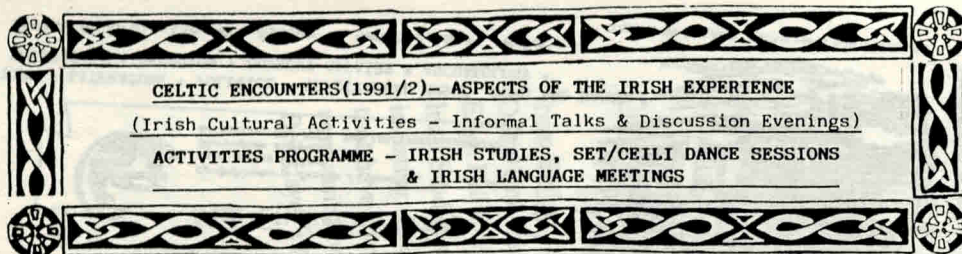
**** CEILI and SET DANCING CLASSES:** There are 2 programmes, both of which will take on **WEDNESDAY EVENINGS**.

PROGRAMME ONE is for 7 weeks, from 4th September to 16th October, from 9.00pm-10.00pm (straight after the Irish Studies, but separate from it). This is a practise session course for those who attended since last Easter. The emphasis will be on perfecting dances already learnt. The fee for this is £10.00 (£5.00 unwaged etc.).

PROGRAMME TWO: is for 8 weeks, from 30th October to 18th December.
This is for learning new dances. The fee will be £16.00
(£8.00 unwaged etc.). 8.00 - 9.30pm.

The TUTORs for both Courses will be BEVERLEY WHELAN and MIKE FEELEY.

PLEASE USE BOOKING FORM TO REGISTER IN ADVANCE FOR ANY OF THE ABOVE COURSES:
send cheque or postal order made out to Irish Studies Workshop.



BOOKING FORM

Please return before August 31st
with cheques or P.O.'s made out to:
Irish Studies Workshop

MR. N. DANAHER, B.A., M.Ed.
Irish Studies Workshop
Soar Valley College
Gleneagles Avenue
Leicester LE4 7GY
(Tel: 0533-669625, ext. 246)

The PROGRAMMES available are as follows:-

SUM ENCLOSED
£

- * 'CELTIC ENCOUNTERS' (Irish Studies)
4th Sept - 16th Oct (7.30 - 9.00 pm) Weds
Fee £14.00 (£7.00 for unwaged, etc)
- * CEILI & SET DANCING (Programme 1)
4th Sept - 16th Oct (9.00 - 10.00 pm) Weds
Fee £10.00 (£5.00 for unwaged, etc.)
- * CEILI & SET DANCING (Programme 2)
30th Oct - 18th Dec (8.00 - 9.30pm) Weds
Fee £16.00 (£8.00 unwaged, etc)
- * IRISH LANGUAGE (Intermediate, for those
who started 1990/91). For 10 weeks,
from 10th Sept, on Tuesdays, 7.30 - 9.00 pm.
Fee £15.00 (£8.00 unwaged, etc).

TOTAL SUM ENCLOSED

£

THIS FORM MAY BE USED FOR BOOKING MORE THAN ONE PERSON

Number of persons booked

First Name _____ Surname _____

Address _____

Post Code _____

Home Tel No: _____ Work Tel No: _____

Date: _____ I enclose cheque/P.O. for £ _____

Thank you for filling in the information requested. We look forward to
meeting you after the summer holidays.

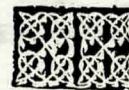
STOP PRESS

4th SEPTEMBER - THE EASTER RISING - 75th ANNIVERSARY -



To mark the occasion, the Workshop Co-ordinator, Nesson DANAHER, will lead a special session, using a variety of historical evidence and resources: The record of the BBC 50th Anniversary broadcast of 1966, using the voices of many of the original participants; over 300 slides covering all aspects of the Rising, and the Irish Times Special Report of 1917. Whatever your own political views are, the event is of great significance for modern Irish history and 20th Century Anglo-Irish relations.

11th SEPTEMBER - IRISH WOMEN IN BRITAIN - IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCE.



We are pleased to welcome two colleagues recently graduated from Loughborough University: **Pauline POLKEY** (who is of Liverpool-Irish extraction) and **Deirdre O'BYRNE** (who is from Co. Carlow). They have recently analysed an extensive questionnaire on the experiences of Irish Women from a variety of backgrounds who are living in Britain and they will share with us the fruits of their research.

18th SEPTEMBER - Our resident archaeologist, Maggie GARVEN, will take a look at THE WAY OF DEATH IN PREHISTORIC IRELAND.



This will examine the ways in which Stone Age people in Ireland disposed of their dead and will involve looking at famous sites such as Newgrange, Knowth and Dowth. These sites have been previously viewed in an isolated way; recent research shows them to be an integral part of a wider social structure. This talk will be illustrated with slides and film strips.

25th SEPTEMBER - EASTER 1916, 75 YEARS ON.



This session will reflect on the 75th Anniversary celebrations (official and otherwise) in Dublin over the Easter weekend of 1991. It will be illustrated with slides - some taken inside the GPO. The guest speaker is **JOHN WOODHURST** who runs the new and successful Irish Studies Programmes at Newark Technical College, and who liaises closely with us here in Leicester.

2nd October -



Another local speaker, **Ellan STAGG**, of Wigston FE College, will lead a discussion on the interesting topic: **BEING IRISH IN BRITAIN: IS IT DAMAGING TO HEALTH?** This will explore Ellen's small-scale research results from the Irish in Coventry, covering issues such as the experience of emigration, how people see their life in Britain and has it affected their health in any way?

9th October -



The Workshop Co-ordinator **Nesson Danaher** will take an **HISTORICAL LOOK AT THE IRISH IN LEICESTER 1840-1920**. Using a variety of sources of evidence, how did the developing Irish Community react to the political events of their day: Chartism, trade unions, the Fenians, the Home Rule questions, the visits of important historical figures such as the Irish Chartist Feargus O'Connor, Daniel O'Connell and Michael Davitt.

16th OCTOBER - The last session will be a **FILM/VIDEO** evening, **IRELAND'S EMERALD TREASURES**. Ireland, the Emerald Isle, land of stone castles and white sheep, opens its heart to you. Walk along the wide boulevards of Dublin, past stately Georgian mansions and the River Liffey, to the National Gallery. Enter the library of Trinity College to view the Book of Kells; go inside a typical pub for a Guinness and Irish folk music; watch crystal being shaped into works of art at the Waterford factory. Travel to County Wicklow and stroll through the gardens of Powerscourt. Continue on to the horse country of County Kildare; medieval Kilkenny Castle; the ruins of Clonmacnois, a sixth-century monastic center. Visit the friendly people of Cork and be sure to kiss the Blarney Stone. Take a walk along the cliffs of the Atlantic.

HOW TO GET THERE: No. 21 Bus to Rushey Mead from the stop outside C & A's store. By car, head for Thorn Lighting on Melton Road and the College is only a few minutes away.

We hope that you will join the Course and we look forward to meeting you in September.

1992 IRISH DIMENSIONS CONFERENCE - ATTENDANCE LIST

Workshop No.	Name	
	ABBOT, Teresa;	Coventry
1 9	ACHESON, Alex;	Irish Studies Workshop, Leicester, S.V. College.
	AYLING, Mick;	Irish Studies, Newark, Notts
7 1	BEAN, Kevin;	Irish in Britain Rep. Group, East Lancs
5 3	BELL, Bob;	Lecturer/Organiser, The Open University
	BENNETT, John;	Irish Studies, Newark, Notts
8 7	BIRTILL, Toni;	Skelmersdale F.E. College, Lancs, Conradh na Gaeilge
	BOND, Paddy;	Four Provinces Bookshop, London
	BOND, Mrs;	Four Provinces Bookshop, London
	BOND, Steve;	Irish Studies Organiser, Loxley College, Yorks
	BRADSHAW, Brendan;	Rev, Lecturer, Queen's College, Cambridge Univ.
2 6	BRENNAN, Mary;	Hall Green, Birmingham
2 3	BRENNAN, Veronica;	Student at Aston University, Birmingham
5 5	BRESLIN, Tony;	School of St. David & St. Katherine, Hornsey, London
7 8	BRODERICK, Maureen;	Irish Language Teacher, Irish Studies Workshop, S.V. College, Leiceste
9 1	BROMLEY, Michael;	Luton H.E. College
2 2	BRUGHA, Dr Terry;	Senior Lecturer Leicester Royal Infirmary/Univ. of Leicester
7 3	BURGESS, Eleanor;	Chelmsford, Essex
1 2	BURLEY, Robert;	Sparkhill, Birmingham
6 5	BURNS, Mary;	Minority Group Support Service, Southfields, Coventry L.E.A.
1 4	BYRNES, Frances;	Waltham Forest Irish Studies, London
	CAHILLANE, D;	Leicester
	CAHILLANE, S;	Leicester
3 9	CAIRNS, Dr David;	Hums Dept, Staff Polytechnic, BAIS Nat. Exec
5 2	CAMPBELL, Ann;	Leicester
1 3	CANAVAN, Bernard;	Irish Studies Tutor & Irish Antiquarian Book Stall
2 6	CARR, Lindsey;	Netheredge, Sheffield, Loxley College Irish Studies
4 4	CASEY, Maude;	Author of "Across the Water", Brighton, Sussex
5 4	CASSIDY, Mary;	Allesley Park, Coventry
3 7	CASSIDY, Patricia;	Luton, Bedfordshire
7 1	CASSIN, Walter;	Manchester Irish Educ. Group, Conradh na Gaeilge
3 7	CLARK, Julia;	Irish Studies Group, Sheffield
1 8	CLEMENTS, Rose;	Irish Studies Group, Manchester
1 3	COLGAN, Maurice;	Shipley, West Yorks
8 7	COLLINS, Anne;	Irish Studies Workshop Student, S.V.College, Leics
2 6	COMERFORD, Sr. Bernardine;	Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, Rearsby, Leics
	COOKE, Amanda;	Set/Ceili Dance Class, Irish Studies Workshop, S.V. College, Leics
1 4	COSTELLO, Sally;	Waltham Forest Irish Studies, Leyton, London
2 5	COWAN, Clare;	Handsworth, Yorks
8 7	CRAWSHAW, Eva;	Irish Language Group, Irish Studies Workshop, S.V. College, Leics
1 4	CROGHAN, P.C.;	Barton-under-Needwood, Derbyshire
5 7	COMMINS, Carmel;	Irish Music Teacher, Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann
5 4	COMMINS, Verena;	Irish Music Teacher, Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann
	CREE, Leena;	Irish Studies Class, Newark Tech. College, Notts
	CREMIN, Cathy;	Bradford
2 3	CROSS, Nicola;	Ireland Course/Take Ten, Fairfield House, Sheffield
8 2	CUNNINGHAM, P.B.;	St. Philip's Junior & Infant Sch., Smethwick, W. Mids
9 4	CURRAN, Michael;	Irish Chaplaincy in Britain, London
1	CURTIS, Liz;	Author "Information on Ireland" titles
	DANAHER, Maureen;	Christ the King Junior School, Leicester
1 2	DANAHER, Nessan;	Co-ordinator, S.V. College Irish Studies Workshop, Leic
	DANAHER, Vera;	Danaher & Walsh Plant Hire Ltd, Conference Sponsor
	DAVIS, Dr Graham;	Lecturer, Bath College of H. Education
2 5	DEARLOVE, Josephine;	Hall Green, Birmingham
	DOWNNEY, Tony;	Irish Studies A/S Levels, St. Phillips VI F. College, Birmingham
6 3	DOYLE, Sr. Anne Maria;	Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, Rearsby, Leics
	DOUGLASS, Mick;	Mansfield, Notts
7 8	DUFFY, Patrick;	Irish Studies Org. Bilston C.C./Wolverhampton Irish Cult. Association
	DUTTON, Fred;	Lincoln
1 1	DUNLEAVY, John;	Irish Studies Speaker, F.E. Lecturer, Abingdon, Oxford
	DUNNE, Lana;	Waltham Forest Irish Studies, London
2 7	ENGLISH, Marie;	Coventry
5 3	FALAHEE, Eddie;	Irish Studies Org. Brooklyn F.E. College, Birmingham
	FARRELL, Brendan;	Photo-journalist, "The Irish Post", Birmingham
	FEELEY, Mike;	Trad. Music Tutor, Irish Studies OCN, S.V. College, Leicester
9 6	FEENEY, Cath;	Set/Ceili Dance Class, Irish Studies Workshop, S.V. College, Leics

4	6	FEENEY, Josephine;	Set/Ceili Dance Class, Irish Studies Workshop, S.V. College, Leics
1	3	FERGUSON, Kevin;	Ernesdord Grange School & C.C., Coventry
2	4	FINNEGAN, Bernadette;	Irish Studies Class, Manchester
2	4	FINNEGAN, Ellen;	Irish Studies Class, Manchester
		FLYNN, Joe;	Co-ordinator, Manchester Irish Education Group
		FORREST, Ann;	Breadsall, Derbyshire
		GALLAGHER, Marian;	Student, St. Paul's R.C. Comp., Leics; Irish Studies, S.V. College
5	6	GAMBOLD, Mel;	Nottingham
5	6	GLASS, John;	Grobby Community College, Leics; Leics Belfast Youth Exchange
2	6	GREENSLADE, Liam;	Lecturer, Inst. of Irish Studies, Liverpool Univ.
6		GREW, Debbie;	Irish Studies Class, Manchester
1	7	GROGAN, Michael;	Willenhall, Wolverhampton
2	7	HANNIFY, Cyril;	Irish Studies Student, Wolverhampton
4	6	HANSON, Alice;	Colne, Lancs
2	4	HARRIGAN, Patrick;	Irish Studies Class, S.V. College, Conference Sponsor
7	3	HARTNETT, Bill;	Coventry Irish Theatre Group
7	3	HEDGELAND, Neil;	Hammersmith Library Service, London
5	7	HEFFERNAN, Mark;	St. Leonard's on Sea, East Sussex
2	3	HENNESSY, Steve;	Sparkbrook, Birmingham
		HENRY, John Joe;	Lincoln
4	5	HESLOP, Sean;	March, Cambridgeshire
2	6	HETHERINGTON, Pat;	Selly Oak, Birmingham
1	2	HICKMAN, Dr Mary;	Director, Irish Studies Centre, Poly of North London
5	2	HOBAN, Martin;	Tantobir, Stanley, Co. Durham
4	1	HOLIAN, J.J.;	Willenhall, West Midlands
		HUTTON, Sean;	Irish Studies Lecturer, Executive Director, Brit. Assn. for Irish St
1	7	HYNES, Paddy;	Manchester Irish Studies, Conradh na Gaeilge
3	7	JEEVES, Michael;	Irish Studies Class, S.V. College, Leicester
6	1	JOYCE, Kate;	Post. Grad. Student, Irish Studies Inst. Univ. of Liverpool
5	8	KEANE, Alan;	Sneinton, Nottingham
1	5	KEATING, Patrick;	Grimsby, South Humberside
		KEELEN, Mary;	Our Lady & St. Chad's Sch. Wolverhampton
6	9	KELLY, Carmel;	Hammersmith Library Service, London
		KERSHAW, Monica	Irish Language Student, Leicester
9	4	KEILY, Fr. Jim;	Irish Chaplaincy in Britain, London
2	6	KILLEEN, sr Olivia;	Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, Rearsby, Leics
		KILMARTIN, James;	History Teacher, St. Philip's 6th Form College Birmingham
		KIVNEEN, James;	Lincoln
1	4	LEAHY, Michael;	Whetstone, London
3	1	LEWIS, Jo;	Admissions Co-ordinator, University of Bradford
8	2	LINT, Kevin;	Irish Language Student/Musician, Leicester
6	2	LAPPIN, Mary Rose;	Selly Oak, Birmingham
		LOWE, Noreen;	Waltham Forest Irish Studies, London
		LUCEY, Mick;	Irish Studies Group, Newark, Notts
5	6	LONGONI, Ruth;	Minority Group Support Service, Coventry L.E.A.
3	5	LUDDY, Maria;	Lecturer, Dept. of Arts Educ., Univ. of Warwick, Coventry
2	4	LYNCH, Margaret	Irish Studies Class, Manchester, Conradh na Gaeilge
1	9	MCALISTER, Ciaran;	St. Pancras, London
7	1	MCANDREWS, Tom;	Manchester Irish Education Group
9	7	MCALLION, Sean;	English Dept. Bishop Ullathorne School, Birmingham
8		MacCuULADH, Mici;	Conradh na Gaeilge, Ipswich
		MCDONAGH, John;	English Department, St. Philip's 6th Form Coll. Birm.
		McGILLIAN, Bernadette;	Newark Irish Studies Group
3		McGOVERN, Mark;	Post. Grad. Student, Irish Studies Inst. Univ. of Liverpool
4	5	McGRATH, Bernard;	Beeston, Leeds; Fed. of Irish Societies
6	5	McGRATH, Maureen;	Lenton, Nottingham
		MacIONRAIC, Colin;	Greenford, London
5	1	McLAUGHLIN, Mark;	H.M.I. Her Majesty's Inspectorate/DES
		McMAHON, John;	Breadsall, Derbyshire
2	3	McMANUS, Sr. Veronica;	Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, Nottingham
1	5	McNALLY, Tony;	Minority Group Support Service, Coventry L.E.A.
6	5	McPHILLIPS, Ann;	Egham, Surrey
		MacSTIOFAN, Tomas;	Wembley, London
2	7	MacSTIOFAIN, Tomas;	Whetstone, London
1	2	MAGUIRE, Dr. Michael;	West Hampstead, London
6	3	MASEBO, Liz;	Walthamstow, London
2	4	MINNS, Hilary;	Dept of Arts Educ., University of Warwick
3	7	MONTAGUE, Mary;	Luton, Bedfordshire
		MILLS, Paddy;	Newark, Notts, Irish Studies Group
2	9	MOORE, Maurice;	Irish in Brit. Rep. Group, Coventry
7	8	MORGAN, Seamus;	Manchester Irish Education Group

9		MORTON, Alan;	Irish Studies Org. Edge Hill, H.E. College, Lancs
		MURPHY, Gerald;	Long Eaton, Notts
1	2	MURPHY, Patrick;	Irish Studies Organiser, Clarendon C.C., Nottingham
5	4	MURPHY, Patrick(Snr)	Long Eaton, Notts
		MURPHY, Patrick(Jnr)	Long Eaton, Notts
5	6	MURRAY, Paul	Leics. Poly. Student, Youth & Community, Evington
5	6	NEAL, Dr Frank;	Manchester
8	2	O'BROIN, Seoirse;	Aras na nGael, London
7	7	O'BROLCHAIN, Caoimhghin;	Author, Sunderland, Tyne & Wear
6	6	O'BYRNE, Deirdre;	Post. Grad. Student, Univ. of York
		O'CAOLLAI, Breandan;	Third Secretary, The Irish Embassy
7	8	O'CONCHUIR, Padraig;	Celtic League, London
6	9	O'DRISCOLL, Rose;	Tantobie, Stanley, Co. Durham
2	4	O'DWYER, Mary;	Victoria, London
1	8	O'FIONNAGAIN, Pol;	Wembley, Middlesex
2	6	Ui FHIONNAGAIN, Padraig;	Wembley, Middlesex
5	6	O'GRADY, Kevin;	King Edward VII School, Sheffield
3	2	O'HARA, Jim;	Dept. of Irish Studies, St. Mary's College, BAIS Vice Chair
3	5	O'HARA MURRAY, R.J.;	Leamington, Warwickshire
8	2	O'hARRACHTAIN, Frainc;	Whetstone, London
6	2	O'NEILL, Jane;	Cambridge
3	7	O'REILLY, Ursula;	Luton
2	3	O'ROURKE, Dr Alan;	Gleadless, Sheffield
5	4	PEERS, Anthea;	King Edward VII School, Sheffield
6	6	POLKEY, Pauline;	Post. Grad. Student, Univ. of Loughborough
6	4	PURFIELD-CLARK, Ria;	Selly Oak, Birmingham
6	3	PAYNER, Helen;	Hammersmith Library Services, London
7	8	REDFORD, Aidan;	Comhaultas Ceoltoiri Eireann, Bradford
		RELF, Seamus;	Irish Language Student, Leicester
3	9	RICHARDS, Shaun;	Lecturer, Hums. Dept., Staffordshire Poly.
6	2	ROCHE, Pauline;	Balsall Health, Birmingham
6	5	ROSSITER, Amy;	Irish Studies Tutor, College of North West London
		RYAN, Marian;	English Martyrs Comp. Leicester
1	5	SAVAGE, Stephen;	London
2	5	SCULLY, Judith;	Hall Green, Birmingham
6	4	SEVER, Linda;	Manchester Irish Education Group
3	3	SHARKEY, Sabine;	Irish Studies Centre, North London Poly.
4	6	SHEERAN, Deirdre;	Irish Studies Course, Bradford, W. Yorks.
1	5	SHEERAN, Joe;	Irish Studies Organiser, Bradford, W. Yorks
2	4	SIMMONS, John;	Irish Studies Group, Nottingham
		SIMMS, Mark;	Architectural Student, Horsham, W. Sussex
		SIMPSON, Sean;	Manchester Irish Education Group
		SMITH, Kathleen;	Irish Studies Group, Newark, Notts,
6	2	STOJANOVIC, Vanessa;	Doncaster College, S. Yorks
		SUMMERILL, Maureen;	Irish Studies Group, Newark, Notts
2	5	SWEENEY, Ann;	Irish Studies Class, S.V. College, Leics.
8	7	THOMPSON, Kate;	Irish Language Sub-Committee, BAIS, Coventry
7	5	TORMEY, Clement;	Irish Language Student S.V. College, Leics; Nottingham
7	8	TWOHIG, Marie'	"Lonceol" Roger Casement Centre, Islington, London
8	7	WALSH, Delia;	Bethnal Green, East London
3	5	WALSH, Lorcan;	Cambridge
7	5	WARD, Brendan;	Easford, Notts, Irish Lang. Student, S.V. College, Leic
2	6	WARRENER, Mary;	Irish language Teacher, S.V. College, Leicester
		WAYNE, Elizabeth;	Hums. Dept. S.V. College; Irish Set/Ceili Class S.V. College, Leics
		WHELAN, Beverley;	Irish Set/Ceili Dance Teacher OCN, S.V. College, Leics
1	4	WHITING, Audrey;	West Hampstead, London
		WOODHURST, John;	Irish Studies Tutor, Newark Tech. College, Notts

Late Enrolments

3	1	BREEN, Cass;	Southwark Inst of Adult Ed. London
4	8	DERRANE, Ronan;	Irish Social Centre, Nottingham
1	2	GARRETT, Ian;	Great Barr School, Birmingham
		GARVEN, Maggie;	Head of History, S.V. College, Leicester
		KELLY, Ann-Marie;	St. Philip's 6th Form College, Birmingham
		KENNALLY, D;	Leeds
		KENNALLY, Helen;	Leeds
		JENNINGS, Stella;	Student, St. Philip's 6th Form College, Birmingham
2	4	LILLIS, Teresa;	Sheffield
8	7	O'COILEAIN, Seamus;	London Assn. for Celtic Education
		SUES, Sara;	Student, St. Philip's 6th Form College, Birmingham
		WEIR, Susan;	Student, St. Philip's 6th Form College
		O'DONOVAN, Frank	

