



**Irish Committee of
Historical Sciences**

IRISH CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS

XXXIII

PROGRAMME PROGRAMME

**BORDERS &
BOUNDARIES:
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

**NUI GALWAY
ONLINE
21-22 MAY 2021**

About us

The Irish Committee of Historical Sciences, founded in March 1938 to provide for the representation of Irish historical interests on the Comité International des Sciences Historiques/International Committee of Historical Sciences (CISH/ICHS). Our purpose is to represent historians and the historical discipline in Ireland, to promote historical scholarship and public engagement with history, to advocate for the discipline, to provide a forum for discussion, to promote and disseminate research and encourage students and early career researchers.

Constituent Societies

Archives and Records Association (Ireland)
Catholic Historical Society of Ireland
Church of Ireland Historical Society
Comhaltas na gCumman Staire – Irish History Students' Association
Economic and Social History Society of Ireland
Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society
Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement
History of Science, Technology and Medicine Network Ireland
History Teachers' Association of Ireland
History Teachers' Association of Northern Ireland
Irish Association of Professional Historians
Irish Genealogical Research Society
Irish Historical Society
Irish Labour History Society
Irish Legal History Society
Irish Society for Archives
Methodist Historical Society of Ireland
Military History Society of Ireland
Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
Society for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Ireland
Sports History Ireland
Transnational Ireland Network
Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies
Women's History Association of Ireland

About the Irish Conference of Historians

The Irish Committee of Historical Sciences has held a conference of historians since 1939, both to transact routine business and to hear papers on historical subjects. From 1953 a conference on a larger scale was held biennially, with proceedings from the Conference published in the *Historical Studies* series. Since 1955 the conference has been circulating among the university colleges of Ireland.

Keynote Lectures

Thursday 21 May – 15.45

Raingard Esser

"Good fences make good neighbours"? Borders and their management in early modern times.

The management of borders has become a new urgency, as we can see in the complicated negotiations between the EU, Northern Ireland and Britain to implement the Brexit agreements. In early modern times borders were not conceptualised as strict lines of demarcation between two states. Early modern borderlines are therefore conceived as 'moving' or 'fuzzy,' and subject to, among others, dynastic regimes and war. In recent years, historians have been increasingly interested in the negotiation of these borders, the practicalities of drawing and maintaining borders and the day-to-day consequences of border management for border societies and travellers. The lecture will address the debates and the practice of early modern border management.

Raingard Esser is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Groningen.

Friday 22 May – 10.45

Jim Livesey

"Beyond the Rich Country/Poor Country Debate: David Bindon and the Debate on Money in the mid Eighteenth Century"

The recent recovery of the history of eighteenth-century Irish political economy has disturbed accepted narratives and frames of analysis. Introducing the Irish material to the debate has revealed the range of options for basic institutions that were politically available to thinkers and politicians in the British realms between the Peace of Utrecht and the outbreak of the Seven Years War. The accepted narrative in the history of political economy centers on the imperial dilemma of how to stabilise the Poor Country/ Rich Country relationship, culminating in Hume's articulation of the autonomous economy regulated by the quantity theory of money. Attention to the Irish debate explodes this view, and opens up new foundations for contemporary debates about money and politics.

Professor James Livesey is Vice-President for Research and Innovation at NUI Galway.

PANELS

Thursday 20 May - 9.00-10.30 Session 1

Panel 1A

‘Re-discovering St. Willibrord, Patron Saint of Luxembourg, First Apostle of the Netherlands and his County Carlow Connection’

County Carlow is a county with an exceptionally rich ecclesiastical heritage. There are at least twenty-two early saints associated with Carlow and its area. Some were born in the County and spent their lives there; others came to be educated or to found monasteries. The saints of early Carlow still play an active role in the religious lives of contemporary Carlovians and indeed contemporary Europeans.

St Willibrord, (AD 658-739) Patron Saint of Luxembourg, First Apostle of the Netherlands, is one of the most important Saints in Europe. He spent twelve years being trained and ordained at Rath Melsigi, County Carlow at Ireland’s most important 7th and 8th century ecclesiastical settlement. In AD 690, Willibrord led a mission to the Netherlands, Germany, Luxembourg, and Belgium where he has an impact to this day. His County Carlow connection had been virtually forgotten until 1982 when Professor Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, published his first paper on St Willibrord and highlighted the importance of the Carlow mission and St Willibrord’s European monastic foundations. This laid the foundation for contacts between Echternach, Luxembourg, where he is buried, and County Carlow. In 2009, Mary McAleese, President of Ireland, visited Echternach and spoke of the historical connection thus initiating the 2017 celebrations in both countries.

In June 2017, 60 people travelled, as an ecumenical pilgrimage, from County Carlow to Echternach and partook in the UNESCO World Heritage Status ‘hopping procession’ in honour of St Willibrord. This is the first recorded Irish pilgrimage to have taken part in this ancient procession. While in Echternach the group was presented with a beautiful ‘Relic of St Willibrord’. In late June, 29 people travelled from Echternach to County Carlow. During their visit, the relic was walked 13 kilometres in a public procession along the Barrow Way from St Laserian’s Cathedral, Old Leighlin (Church of Ireland) to the Cathedral of the Assumption, Carlow (Roman Catholic) where it is permanently housed. In August 2019, Carlow County Council and Echternach Council signed a Friendship Agreement and together unveiled the restored 7th century Cross of Rath Melsigi. This multi-agency reconnection project has been coordinated by Carlow County Museum.

According to Prof Ó Cróinín “Rath Melsigi is at the heart of the Irish and English engagement with the continent in the Early Middle Ages. From here a group of Irishmen and Englishmen set out in AD 690 on a voyage that would transform the religious and political landscape of Europe forever and lay the foundations for the great cultural revival of the decades leading up to AD 800 that scholars call the Carolingian Renaissance.”

Recent research by Michel Summer focuses on Willibrord's 'horizon' on the continent, i.e. the political and ecclesiastical landscape he encountered and how he developed his own network after his arrival, particularly on his interaction with the dioceses of Maastricht, Trier and beyond.

Prof. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, Department of History, NUI Galway, is well recognised for his expertise on the history of Ireland & Europe in the Early Medieval Period. He has published widely on the Anglo-Saxon mission of Rath Melsigi, County Carlow. Among other interests he is Editor of Peritia, the Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland, Chair of the Royal Irish Academy Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources, and a Member of the Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Michel Summer is a PhD candidate at Trinity College. His PhD project is funded by the Luxembourg National Research Fund and focuses on the political context of St Willibrord's continental activity. Michel received a MA in Medieval History and a BA in History and Archaeology from the University of Freiburg, Germany in 2017 and 2014, respectively. From 2012 to 2013, he studied at Trinity College through the ERASMUS programme. Besides the history of Europe in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, his research interests include the development of medieval studies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, early medieval military organisation and burial archaeology.

Dermot Mulligan, a native of Carlow town, is a history and geography graduate from NUI Maynooth and a graduate from UCC with a Post Grad in Heritage Management. Since 2002, he is the Museum Curator of Carlow County Museum, the redevelopment of which he oversaw, reopening in 2012. He coordinates the international multi agency project "Rediscovering St Willibrord, Patron Saint of Luxembourg and his County Carlow Connection". Dermot was 'designated' by the National Museum of Ireland to collect archaeological objects on its behalf for County Carlow. He is co-coordinator of the award winning 'Carlow Trails of the Saints' project."

Panel 1B: The Border

Martin O'Donoghue (University of Sheffield)

'Faith and Fatherland'? The Ancient Order of Hibernians and the border question, 1912-25'

Associated chiefly with Belfast home rule MP Joe Devlin, the Ancient Order of Hibernians was the fastest growing nationalist organisation in Ireland on the eve of the third home rule crisis and the Irish Party's principal constituency body in Ulster. Drawing on the Order's archival collections, this paper will investigate how Devlin and the Order contended with the contentious issue of partition in the revolutionary decade. It will interrogate how the AOH reconciled proposals to exclude counties in its Ulster heartland from home rule proposals with its traditional message of 'Faith and Fatherland'. It will also analyse the dissension among Hibernians which followed, the suspension of divisions, and the defections to Sinn Féin which undermined AOH organisation in Ulster and elsewhere. As it remained unstintingly loyal to the IPP, the Order was left more than a little bereft by the results of the 1918 election; yet, it retained significance both in Northern Ireland and in the border counties of the Free State. Drawing on the minutes of its governing Board of Erin, this paper highlights how the Order sought to sustain itself against the spectre of partition, but also the outbreak of violence which threatened Catholic communities throughout the north-east.

Dr. Martin O'Donoghue is a lecturer in Modern British and Irish History at the University of Sheffield. His research examines the dynamics of political activism in modern Ireland, the development of party politics, Irish-British relations, the Irish revolutionary period (1912-23), and commemoration. His first book, "The Legacy of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Independent Ireland, 1922-1949", was published by Liverpool University Press in 2019.

Brian Hughes (Mary Immaculate College, Limerick)

'The 'wrong' side of the border: organised loyalism in Cavan, 1912-31'

This paper concerns the loyalists of County Cavan who, by 1920, were left 'abandoned' by their Ulster brethren; a minority on the wrong side of a new border they had never wanted. These were people for whom the border became both a physical and symbolic boundary. But the fate of 'partition's loyalist

discontents', as Tim Wilson has described them, still remains relatively neglected in the growing historiography of the Irish Revolution.

Reports on the annual Twelfth of July celebrations, those for the Relief of Derry in August, and other public Orange events will be used to trace scale, symbolism, and rhetoric before, during, and after partition. The paper will also treat a number of questions about the nature of loyalist resistance to republican hegemony at a grass-roots level in the county after 1919. How willing and able were Cavan loyalists to defend the union with violence? What impact had the Ulster Unionist Council's final acceptance of six-county partition in 1920 on the nature of loyalist organisation in Cavan? How did organised loyalism manifest itself in post-partition Cavan and how did Cavan loyalists view their own place in independent Ireland?

Dr. Brian Hughes is a lecturer in history at Mary Immaculate College, his research interests cover twentieth century Irish history, the Irish Revolution (c. 1912 - 1923), southern Irish loyalism, violence and counterinsurgency in the twentieth century.

Ian d'Alton (Trinity College, Dublin)

'No border? The idea of the 'Protestant Free State' within independent Ireland after 1922'

The central premise of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement was that political and cultural allegiances, particularly in Northern Ireland, could largely be self-determined. This isn't particularly new: the fracturing of empires after the Great War ushered in an age of invisible borders and myriad stockaded communities in the successor states. One such was that of the southern Irish unionists. Deprived of a political *raison d'être* after Irish independence, they used their Protestantism to construct, though perhaps not consciously, a version of the new Irish Free State that could speak to a natural human desire to belong; that jelled with the maintenance of their relatively privileged position within southern society; and that would provide anchoring for the historic beliefs and predilections that had hitherto defined them. This paper - utilising a wide range of cultural source material, biographical, literary and historiographical, - interrogates the characteristics of this 'Protestant Free State' and argues that against much of the historiography and wider literature that has presented the Protestant situation after 1922 as profoundly negative, it was an important psychological construction in easing a wary people through an alien political and cultural landscape.

Dr. Ian d'Alton is a historian, primarily of southern Irish Protestantism and the author of the monograph Protestant Society and Politics in Cork, 1812-1844. With Dr. Ida Milne he has co-edited a volume of essays "Protestant and Irish: the minority's search for place in independent Ireland" in 2019.

Panel 1C: Boundaries in 20th Century Irish Society 1

Barry Keane

'The boundaries of Protestant Sex before 1916: Abstracts from the 1901 and 1911 census data'

Irish Protestant population dynamics before and during the early years of the twentieth century remains a lively topic of debate in Irish history since the publication of the late Peter Hart's 'The IRA and its enemies' in 1998 set off a storm of controversy over whether undeniable persecution of Protestants led to ethnic cleansing between 1920 and 1923. It had long been known that since 1926 Protestants lived longer but had fewer children many of whom married Roman Catholics and were 'lost' leading to almost terminal decline. The debate has often been hamstrung by an apparent lack of pre-revolutionary data but this paper shows that there is a wealth of detail buried in the 1901 and 1911 census that shows there was not one but three 'boundaries when it come to Protestant sex during this period. The paper demonstrates the value the census a a key analytical tool far outside its traditional role of solving family

history problems. The paper suggests that Hart's 'ethnic cleansing' thesis is no longer tenable based on the evidence and is actually part of a much longer termed pattern. It vindicates previous research by the late Professor David Fitzpatrick, Dr. Andy Bielenberg, and the current author.

Barry Keane is an historian and geographer who has had a long interest in Protestant population decline before and during the Irish Revolution. A regular contributor to "History Ireland" his books include "Massacre in West Cork", which examines the 1922 'Dunmanway' killings, and Cork's Revolutionary Dead, which records the reason for all conflict related deaths between 1916 & the end of 1923 in Ireland's most violent county.

Barry Sheppard (QUB)

'A peripatetic university of social ideas' –John Hayes and the international origins of Muintir na Tíre's 'Rural Weeks'

Canon John Hayes (1887 – 1957) was the founder of the rural Irish organisation Muintir na Tíre. The organisation which was formed in 1931 (before being reconstituted in 1937), was guided by papal teachings, notably *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). The same papal documents inspired other organisations in the period and would bring Hayes and Muintir na Tíre to the attention of many of them, resulting in a transnational exchanging of ideas which crossed national borders.

The Muintir leader was also vocal in praising a number of European Catholic social movements, from which he took as inspiration, and which gave the rural Irish organisation a strong international flavour.

This presentation will examine the French gatherings known as the *Semaines Sociales* (Social Weeks) and how these were adapted by Hayes for his organisation's 'Rural Weeks'. In addition, this presentation will examine the international origins of this model of discussion forum, demonstrating that the genesis of the gatherings went beyond France and became international in scope. To finish, it will examine why Muintir na Tíre is largely absent from the historiography of the 'Semaines' model.

Barry Sheppard is a final year PhD student in Queen's University Belfast researching Irish priest John Hayes, and the transnational connections networks his organisation Muintir na Tíre were involved in.

Barry is the presenter of History Now on Northern Visions Television in Belfast and is a previous recipient of the Robert Dudley Edwards History Prize (2012), and the Giving Northern Ireland research bursary (2015). His most recent publication is 'The Function of Art: The Great Depression, Papal Encyclicals, and Editorial Cartoons' in "Seanchas Dhroim Mór Journal" 2020.

Ciara Molloy (UCD)

'Beyond the pale? Representations of the Teddy boy subculture in Irish theatre, 1955-1965'

The Teddy boys, the first prominent teenage subculture to emerge in the post-World War II period, were typically presented by Irish newspapers as troublesome, violent and delinquent. This paper examines how the 'folk-devil' status ascribed to the Teds by Irish media was both renegotiated and reaffirmed through contemporary popular culture. In particular, James McKenna's play *The Scatterin'*, which was produced by Pike Theatre in 1960 and whose plot revolves around four Dublin Teddy boys, is analysed in light of its nuanced and complex portrayal of the Teddy boy mentality. While the play challenged assumptions surrounding the origins of and societal reaction to the Teds, it fell into conventional stereotypes when describing their internal composition and activities. The contrasting receptions of the play by literary critics following both its Dublin and London debuts will then be examined, with emphasis on how commercialisation and nationalism shaped perceptions of the play. Overall, this paper considers

the role of popular culture in both reifying and contesting the boundaries between acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour of Irish working class youth.

Ciara Molloy is currently an Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholar, and formerly a UCD School of Law Doctoral Scholar. Her research focuses on the intersection of crime and culture in twentieth-century Ireland. She is a former scholar of Trinity College Dublin (2015-2017) and holds a B.A. in History and Political Science from that institution. She also holds a MSc in Criminology and Criminal Justice from University College Dublin (2018) and was awarded the UCD Walsh Scholarship in Law during the period 2017-2018. She is a member of the Irish Penal Reform Trust, the European Society of Criminology, and the Women's History Association of Ireland.

Thursday 21 May – 10.45-12.15 Session 2

Panel 2A: Medieval Borders

Limerick c. AD 1200 – A frontier city in Europe's Wild West'

A walled settlement on King's Island, Limerick, was created by incoming Norse speakers in the early tenth century and was taken into the overlordship of Thomond kings for the first time in 967. The city continued to have a Norse-speaking identity although also increasingly serving as a political and economic base for Irish kings, culminating with the death of Domnall Mór Ua Briain in 1194. It was then taken over by an early Anglo-Norman adventurers involved in creating the greater lordships such as the de Burgos and the Butlers before being brought under tightened royal control by King John from c. AD 1208. The town of this period reflected these very diverse political and ethnic currents as is witnessed in the charters of the Black Book of Limerick. This is a largely untranslated cartulary of St Mary's Cathedral containing some 174 charters, many of which are of twelfth and thirteenth-century date. The language is Latin but the placenames and personal names found therein illustrate the full range of languages being used in Limerick and highlight the mixed cultural identity of a royal Angevin city on the very edge of Europe, surrounded by a hinterland divided into a patchwork of mutually hostile groups, both secular and ecclesiastical. The town itself was dominated by a population who made their living in international trade and this is reflected both in the names they adopted and the women they married.

For too long, medieval Irish history has been studied as a simple tale of colony and conquest; the Black Book of Limerick provides us with important insights into the full complexity of the frontier nature of medieval Irish urban culture and in so doing, allows us to see our towns as living precursors to modern realities.

Catherine Swift has postgraduate degrees in History, Archaeology and Old Irish from UCD, Durham, Oxford & TCD. Her publications emphasize the European aspects of medieval Irish society and culture and she lectures in Irish Studies and History in Mary Immaculate College.

Seán Ó Hoireabhárd (Maynooth University)

'Territorial changes in late pre-invasion Ireland'

'Some Irish provincial kingdoms underwent territorial changes in the period immediately before the English invasion of 1167/9. These changes were the product of wars led by major and minor kings, and they concerned strategically important locations across the island. In this paper, changes in the holdings of the major kingdoms will be discussed. The relationships between Irish provinces on the eve of the invasion will be made clearer, and it will be shown how this influenced the approach taken by the invaders themselves. As several Irish kingdoms survived intact into the following centuries, their

strategic aims remained important not only for themselves, but also for colonists and the lordship of Ireland under the English kings.'

Kieran Hoare (NUI Galway)

'Urban Oligarchies and Border Society in later medieval Ireland'

While the port-towns of later medieval Ireland were described by James Lydon as 'the anchor sheets of the state', what this meant in terms of their obligations to the defence of the lordship remains to be explored. This paper examines the role of the civic elite in financing and, on occasion, their support of royal administration efforts to defend the borders of the Irish lordship from the later fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. As part of political communities threatened by internal factional rivalries as well as hostile Gaelic and Gaelicised lordships, these merchant civic elites took a lead role in defending their towns, utilizing all means at their disposal to do so. This military role shaped their identity, and was central to their view of themselves and their role in society.

Kieran Hoare is an archivist at the James Hardiman Library, NUI Galway. His research looks at the evolution of urban oligarchy in the later medieval Irish town.

Panel 2B: North American Borders

David T. Gleeson (Northumbria University)

'Didn't those cowardly Lincolnlites Tremble': Irish American Identities in the 'Border' States

When the American Civil War broke out in 1861, the Irish in America faced an opportunity to become, as legal historian, Christian Samito, has put it, 'American under fire.' On both sides of the conflict, the Union and the Confederacy, Irish immigrants had the chance to 'prove' their loyalty to whichever republic they found themselves in. Thousands did, earning a reputation for bravery, which they found useful in asserting their full citizenship after the conflict. However, for those who lived in the so-called Border states of Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, they faced a more difficult choice. These three states were all slave states but proved reluctant to secede like their southern neighbours had and join the Confederacy. They were just too divided to decide, with some hoping to try neutrality, in what would become America's bloodiest conflict. This paper will examine how the Irish of the Border states negotiated this breakdown in American identities. In the process we can learn how Irish identity influenced choices immigrants made regarding integration into their new homes, and how the contours of American identity itself changed in a period of national crisis. Ultimately, it will show how borders provide excellent case studies for understanding ethnic identities.

David T. Gleeson is Professor of American History at Northumbria University in Newcastle upon Tyne. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. His research is focused on Irish and English immigrants in nineteenth-century America as well as issues of race, ethnicity and class in the antebellum and Civil War eras.

Bryan McGovern (Kennesaw State University)

'Young Ireland and Transnational Borders'

My current project is an historical examination of the influence of Young Ireland, particularly those who emigrated to the United States, on the Irish-American community. It focuses on how influential expatriates like John Mitchel, Thomas Francis Meagher, Richard O'Gorman, Thomas D'arcy McGee, Michael Doheny, Terence McManus, and others acculturated to American society and influenced the

transatlantic nationalist community. This paper focuses on Richard O’Gorman’s role within the community.

For O’Gorman, nationalism was tied up in national identity. As an American he believed that immigrants had to choose a new identity to be considered true Americans, otherwise they would be viewed as suspect outsiders. For O’Gorman this meant embracing American middle class rather than working class or revolutionary values. It also meant creating a united community based on similar values, dissipating class and religious differences. Hence, his version of Irish American nationalism meant subduing a desire to join either the fight for Irish freedom or working class movements, as well as the refraining from embracing a hyper Catholicism that ignored the secular capitalism of American political culture. It also meant elevating Irish Americans above marginalized racial groups to improve their socio-economic status. Since there were few state devices to accomplish this, he utilized the main resources available in the mid-to-late nineteenth century: the Catholic Church, the Democratic Party, and fraternal societies. *Bryan McGovern is Professor of History at Kennesaw State University. His research interests focus on 19th century Irish and Irish-American History. Publications include “The Fenians: Irish Rebellion in the North Atlantic World, 1858-1876,” “John Mitchel: Irish Nationalist, Southern Secessionist”, as well as various articles on Irish immigration.*

Panel 2C: Partition Perspectives 1

‘The Conservative Right, Ulster Unionism, and the Partition of Ireland’

Dr Neil Fleming (University of Worcester).

It is often assumed that there is a close connection between Ulster unionism and right-wing British Conservatism, or even an ideological overlap between the two. On the surface, the Conservative Right appeared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Ulster Unionists in the 1910s and 1920s, just as, more recently, hard-line Conservative ‘Brexiters’ stood with the DUP. Indeed, in the earlier period, right-wing Conservative parliamentarians were among the most prominent in mirroring Ulster unionism’s militancy in the 1910s. Yet, on closer inspection their parallel behaviours reveal some significant contrasts. This is most striking in their divergent responses to the partition of Ireland, as it manifested itself in 1913-14, 1916 and in 1920. This paper argues that these successive proposals to partition Ireland brought into sharp relief the contrasting ideas and outlooks of the Conservative Right and Ulster Unionism, and that these in turn were the products of their different purposes and methods of organisation, and the differing historical contexts in which each of them developed.

Neil Fleming is Principal Lecturer in Modern History, University of Worcester. He is the author and co-editor of seven books, including “Britannia’s Zealots, Volume I: Tradition, Empire and the Forging of the Conservative Right” (2019).

Thomas Leahy (Cardiff University)

‘The British Intelligence War Against the Provisional IRA in Rural Borderland Counties of Armagh, Fermanagh and Tyrone, 1969-1998’

Based on particular sections of my book with Cambridge University Press *The Intelligence War Against the Provisional Irish Republican Army*, this paper investigates British security and intelligence successes and failures against the IRA in the rural borderlands of north, mid and south Armagh, Fermanagh and Tyrone between 1969 and 1998. I discuss UK and Irish archival sources, interviews with key conflict participants, memoirs and other sources to explore the impact of informers, watchtowers, special forces

and other security measures against the IRA in the rural borderlands. I argue that the secretive and elusive nature of most rural border IRA units, the indiscriminate nature at times of British security and intelligence actions, and the maintenance of an unpopular and disputed border, meant the rural IRA became the driving force behind the republican armed campaign by the 1990s, including in England. This research suggests the long-term disputed nature of the border, alongside further artificial security boundaries created by British forces from 1969, enhanced the IRA's campaign. The result was rural IRA units being crucial to sustaining the militant republican campaign at an 'unacceptable level' for British forces by the 1990s, encouraging peace talks to include Sinn Féin.

*Thomas Leahy is a Senior Lecturer in British and Irish Politics and Contemporary History at Cardiff University. His first book *The Intelligence War Against the IRA* is out now with Cambridge University Press (paperback and hardback), and has featured in *History Ireland*, *RTÉ*, *Irish Times* and more.*

Thursday 21 May – 14.00-15.30 Session 3

Panel 3A: Partition Perspectives 2

Elaine Callinan (Carlow College)

“We go forward not accepting the Partition of Ireland Act, but rejecting it...”: Partition Propaganda during elections campaigns from 1918 to 1921’

In 1912 the formation of a home rule parliament in Dublin seemed almost tangible, but by 1918 all had changed. The Great War, volunteer split, Easter Rising, and particularly the elections during the years 1917-21 transformed the face of Irish politics and the future of the island. Embedded in the propaganda of these elections was the contrasting and often polarised views on the partitioning of Ireland and the creation of a border between counties in Ulster and the rest of Ireland.

Unnerved and flustered by Unionist intransigence in general election campaigns the Irish Parliamentary Party leaders believed it would be ‘fatal’ if the government assented to ‘any policy of partition’. The drive for complete independence among separatists in the form of the Sinn Féin party became politicised in 1917 with ‘No Partition’ and ‘a united Ireland’ being their two constants. Sinn Féin’s unyielding approach was similar (but contrary to) the Unionist partition demand and gave little leeway for compromise. Labour similarly disparaged the ‘claim of a minority government to pass [the] ... partition of Ireland’.

This paper intends to examine how the main political parties and movements – Unionists, Constitutional Nationalists, Separatist Nationalists and Labour – propagandised their views on partition and Ireland’s borders in election campaigns from 1917 to 1921. Did propaganda on partition sway voters to align with a particular political approach? How was division understood during this crucial era in Ireland’s political history? And, did these political battles pave the way for the establishment of a border on the island of Ireland in the 1920s? To understand what we mean when we talk about borders and partition in Ireland it is essential to return to the voices of political candidates in the hotly contested election campaigns of 1918 in an all island context and 1921 in Ulster.

*Dr Elaine Callinan is a lecturer in Modern Irish History in Carlow College, St. Patrick’s. Elaine is a BA graduate of Humanities, and M.Phil. in History graduate from Trinity College Dublin. She completed a PhD study with Trinity College Dublin on *Electioneering and Propaganda in Ireland 1917-1920*. She has written chapters, a number of journal articles, delivered conference papers and peer reviewed books and journal articles on modern Irish history.*

Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh (NUIG) & Liam Weeks (UCC)

'The Prospect of an Irish Border: The Response in Dáil Éireann during the Treaty debates, December 1921–January 1922'

As is generally recognised, Dáil Éireann's tacit acceptance of a border on the island of Ireland – when it approved the Anglo-Irish Treaty on 7 January 1922 by sixty-four votes to fifty-seven – was not a major cause of the subsequent Irish Civil War (1922–3). For instance, the issue of compromised sovereignty motivated anti-Treaty republicans to a much larger degree. This paper examines, though, the extent to which during the Dáil debates on the Treaty, which were held between December 1921 and January 1922, the 124 Sinn Féin TDs that comprised Dáil Éireann were concerned with the prospect of an Irish border. Adopting an innovative approach, it establishes the frequency with which the border, or anything relating to it, was discussed. Moreover, it compares this to the frequency with which other issues were discussed during the Treaty debates. In addition, the paper identifies how many and what TDs referred to the prospect of a border, and it analyses and contextualises what they said and how they voted on the Treaty. Through this, the paper determines if there was continuity between the attitude of Sinn Féin TDs during the Treaty debates to the prospect of an Irish border and anti-Treaty republicans, latterly.

Biography

Cormac Moore

'The Day-to-Day Effects of Partition'

This paper looks at some of the day-to-day effects of partition in and around the time of the division of Ireland. Instead of focusing on the political and political violence perspectives which have dominated studies on partition previously, it looks at how partition impacted on business and trade, on infrastructure and services, on the law, on religion and education, on the labour movement and on sporting bodies.

The paper shows how matters of state policy impacted on people and the organisations they were involved in. Given the piecemeal and haphazard implementation of partition, it was only natural that there were multiple reactions, counter-reactions, and interactions from people and organisations to it, resulting in, by and large, the political partition of Ireland not being accompanied by a social and cultural partition.

Cormac Moore has a PhD from De Montfort University, Leicester. He is an historian with Dublin City Council on its Decade of Commemorations Programme and is author of "Birth of the Border: The Impact of Partition in Ireland" (2019), "The Irish Soccer Split" (2015), and "The GAA V Douglas Hyde: The Removal of Ireland's First President as GAA Patron" (2012).

Panel 3B: Beyond the Pale

Neil Murphy (Northumbria University)

'The 1529 Laws of Guînes, the defence of the Calais Pale and the re-emergence of English colonialism'

In 1529, the English monarch Henry VIII appointed a commission to look to the settlement and security of the county of Guînes, the highly militarised zone located which lay on the very frontier with France in the Calais Pale. The laws the commission devised were designed to encourage English settlers to come to these disputed lands to assert English control over them. They directly addressed the problems of living on a highly militarised frontier and provided incentives to encourage settlers – particularly arable farmers – to relocate there. As well as expelling non-English tenant farmers, the laws also contained a

series of highly restrictive measures against the native French and Flemish populations as part of a particularly strident form of anglicisation, which including marriage restrictions and stipulations that all residents of these lands had to learn English and baptise their children with English names. This paper will examine these important laws in detail and explore notions of border control and identity. It will compare the laws of Guînes with similar measures introduced in other parts of the frontiers as part of a much wider concern to anglicise the frontiers of kingdom under the Tudor monarchs, while also considering the role these laws played in the re-emergence of English colonialism.

Biography

Steven G. Ellis (NUI Galway)

'Ireland's English Pale: the making of a Tudor region'.

Conventionally, the English Pale's development in early Tudor Ireland is seen as the final manifestation of the medieval English kings' strategy of erecting a frontier to preserve the English character of the colonial parts, keeping Ireland's two medieval nations apart by 'driving a cultural barrier between them'. Despite this, the frontier's limits gradually contracted to small parts of 'the four obedient shires' around Dublin. Allegedly, The strategy proved 'a complete failure'. Instead, English kings launched the Tudor conquest to shore up English rule.

In reality, replacing the medieval frontier's extended marches, was a Tudor system of fortifications (earthworks and towerhouses) to defend 'the four obedient shires', with statutes regulating coign and livery (notably the 1488 Act of Marches and Maghery) and promoting English-style militia service. The English Pale extended across the four shires – partly military frontier, partly march with military outposts – and it obviated the need for money and troops from England, making the Dublin government self-financing. The earls of Kildare, as ruling magnates, also extended the English Pale's borders in south Dublin and into the Irish midlands, restoring tillage in districts under Irish rule since the 14th century. With the collapse of Kildare power after 1534, however, Henry VIII soon found that 'direct rule' by English army and governor cost over £4,000 a year, more than the cost of Lancastrian governors a century before. Instead, the king granted English law to Irish chiefs by 'surrender and regrant'. This made redundant the English Pale's frontiers, but ideologically ideas of 'English civility' still survived, and 'the wild Atlantic way' remained 'beyond the Pale'.

Steven G. Ellis, MA, PhD, DLitt, MRIA, FRHistS, taught history in English and Irish at NUI Galway for forty years until his retirement in 2015 as Established Professor of History and Head of the School of Humanities. He is now Chair of the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences, and his latest book, Ireland's English Pale, 1470-1550: the making of a Tudor region, will appear in the Irish Historical Monograph series later this year.

Chris Maginn (Fordham University)

'The Final Tudor Frontier: the north-west of Ireland'

Within months of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, she agreed as a term of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, to the surrender of Calais, the last of the crown's Continental possessions. The Tudor territories had assumed their final form: the queen now ruled over two kingdoms, England, which included Wales, and Ireland. So far as Elizabeth and her government was concerned, her kingdoms were possessed of only one landed border: the one which England shared with the kingdom of Scotland. That border, historically the source of international conflict and chronic lawlessness, became less of a concern as Anglo-Scottish relations broadly improved in Elizabeth's reign. In Ireland, Elizabeth saw a

kingdom of perfect territorial integrity: an island without landed borders. But Elizabeth and her ministers understood perfectly well at the start of her reign that there were areas of Ireland which were beyond royal control. Indeed, for the next two and a half decades, they pursued policies which sought to erase the de facto political, social and cultural border which continued to exist within the kingdom of Ireland. Government efforts to this end were concentrated in the west and north. For here, in a crescent running from the O'Neill lordship of Tyrone to the O'Flaherty lordship of Iar-Connacht, independent native lineages predominated and English structures of government and social organization were unknown. The introduction in this region by the mid-1580s of English county administration and the establishment of a strong provincial government removed the kingdom's last political borders; cultural borders remained, but these would soon wither, so the thinking went, as English county government matured. This paper offers a journey along the final landed frontier of the Tudor state. In so doing it will highlight the complexity of interaction between crown government and the region's native inhabitants. It will also argue that despite the veneer of English government established by the 1580s the region remained beyond the effective control of the state. It will conclude by suggesting that the continued existence of a border in the north-west of Ireland into the final decade of the reign of the last Tudor helps to explain why this frontier zone became the heart of the last great challenge to Tudor authority made by Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone.

Chris Maginn is Professor of History at Fordham University.

Friday 21 May - 9.00-10.30 Session 4

Panel 4A: Boundaries in 20th Century Irish Society 2

Lia Brazil (University of Oxford)

'Rooted in Rebellion: The Red Cross in Ireland'

In 1914 Maud Gonne wrote to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Geneva, requesting permission to establish an Irish Red Cross branch to cooperate with the recently formed Irish Volunteers. The ICRC refused to sanction this request, unless the branch was affiliated with the British Red Cross Society. As a result, no independent Irish Red Cross Society was founded. Yet when the Easter Rising broke out just two years later, Irish nurses, doctors and volunteers formed makeshift hospitals and tended to the wounded using the symbol of the Red Cross and claiming protection under international law.

This paper looks at this unauthorised use of the Red Cross insignia and claims to the protection of the Geneva Convention during the Irish revolutionary period. It explores contestations over the emergence of the Red Cross and the development of codified international law in the nineteenth century, exploring the lines of exclusion and inclusion drawn by their codifiers, and the sources of legal authority and legitimacy. It then looks at the Geneva Convention on the ground as a legal barrier, tied to an idea of state sovereignty and military authority, which restricted the activities of ad hoc medical volunteers during the 1916 rising. Finally, it considers the Red Cross as a potential bridge, allowing for the communication of medical neutrality and aid provision across lines of fighting.

Lia Brazil completed her PhD in history at the European University Institute, Florence in 2021 on the history of international law in the British Empire, a project which focused on Ireland and South Africa from the late-19th century to the interwar period. She recently started an Arts and Humanities Research Council postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Oxford on the history of INGOs and humanitarianism from the 19th century to the present.

Gerard Hanley (DCU)

'Fault Lines of Trade Union Disunity, 1922-1939'

Following the adoption of the Democratic Programme by the First Dáil in January 1919 and on the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922, prospects looked bright for the trade union movement in Ireland. Was Labour's time in waiting finally over? However, after Irish independence in 1922 the Irish labour movement was beset with division which hindered the development of both trade unionism and the Labour Party. This paper examines the issues, weaknesses, reasons and causes which gave rise to disunity within the labour and trade union movement from 1922 to 1939 and considers how disunity not only threatened the future of the labour movement but also threatened to undermine state development. The paper appraises three principle causes of disunity between 1922 and 1939. First, the organizational structure of the labour movement witnessed an unwieldy combination of political and trade union blocs under a single governing body, the Irish Labour Party & Trade Union Congress. This ultimately proved unworkable. Second, the cause of labour was gravely damaged by destructive personal animosities among trade union and labour leaders, in particular the vendetta between James Larkin and William O'Brien, the leading Irish trade unionists of the era. Third was a misplaced Anglophobic nationalism within trade unionism which occasioned a breach between Irish and British-based unions. The three fault lines compounded one another with the result that the prospect of a thriving labour movement was always remote during the opening decades of independent Ireland.

Gerard Hanley is a Research Fellow in the School of History and Geography at Dublin City University. He holds a PhD in history from Dublin City University. The focus of his PhD research was Labour relations, Government and Trade Unionism in independent Ireland, 1922-1946.

Tomas Finn (NUI Galway)

'Politics and the praxis of power: the political establishment and the talented young in post WWII Ireland'

Speaking at his Fine Gael party's Ard Fheis in 1958, John A. Costello proclaimed that "The challenge to Irish democracy must be met [by] the talented young". Given criticisms of apathy, political indifference and 'aloof neutrality' Costello and others had directed specifically at Donal Barrington, the future Supreme Court Justice and other members of the intellectual society, Tuairim and more generally at the younger generation, the process by which Ireland modernised from the 1950s to the 1970s is contested. How the political establishment accepted that the emerging generation should have a greater voice in the governance of their country is then the topic with which this paper is concerned. The extent to which this was simply a response to increasing demands from younger people and a recognition of the need of political parties to attract new members and to seek support from this, an emerging electorate, or more accurately attempts to limit, direct or control the impact of a more radical youth is to be determined. In what ways and in which settings did such views manifest themselves and how in the longer term did the youth from the 1950s through to the 1970s come to have different forums including in youth political organisations to be better able to articulate their needs and seek to influence public policy and public opinion? This, the process whereby politics and political parties were modernised and the younger generation gained a voice therein is key to the emergence of modern Ireland.

Dr. Tomás Finn is a lecturer in the Department of History at NUI, Galway. His research interests include modern Irish and British history and politics, the role of intellectuals, public policy, Church-state relations and Northern Ireland. He is the author of a book, namely Tuairim, intellectual debate and policy formulation: Rethinking Ireland: Rethinking Ireland, 1954-75, and articles on the modernisation of Ireland.

Panel 4B: Breaking Boundaries

Ann Marie O'Brien (Maynooth University)

'Pushing boundaries: the transnational activities of Irish women, 1915-39'

A women's peace initiative emerged from the outbreak of the First World War. In April 1915 1,300 women gathered at The Hague for the International Congress of Women to consider ways of ending the conflict. A feminist peace initiative emerged from this gathering and the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace [ICW] was established. Politically active Irish women were attracted to the discourse of peace and international cooperation which emerged from the congress and in November 1915 an Irish branch of the ICW was founded. This initiated a role for Irish women in international activism.

Relatively little is known about the transnational activities of Irish women in the first decades of the twentieth century. Louie Bennett, Helen Chenevix and Rosamund Jacob were internationally active in the period 1915 to 1939, yet they are more commonly recognised for their involvement in trade unionism and suffrage. Using sources from the National Library of Ireland this paper will shed light on the leading Irish female figures in the international women's movement. By situating Irish women in an

international framework, it will explore the organisations Irish women were involved in and how they pushed the boundaries in the male dominated area of international politics.

Caoilfhionn Ní Bheacháin and Angus Mitchell (UL)

'Rethinking Irish (Proto)Diplomacy: The Case of Alice Stopford Green and Jean Jules Jusserand'

This paper explores the (proto)diplomatic efforts of Alice Stopford Green and other Irish cultural and political activists in the early years of the twentieth century. For stateless nations, protodiplomacy is used in pursuit of international alliances and political recognition, strategically cultivating support for the achievement of independence. Without statecraft or professional diplomats, protodiplomacy relies on unofficial meetings, networks and modes of communication. The paper focuses on the friendship of Stopford Green with the French historian and diplomat, Jean Jules Jusserand. Mapping their connection over four decades allows the faint contours of their social and intellectual landscapes to emerge, highlighting their engagement with learned societies, networks of historians, salon culture, and political activism. As scholar-diplomats, with formal and informal roles, their interventions were instrumental in changing the course of national identities and international relations. By tracing the contours of this scholarly and diplomatic connection, a picture emerges of the role of History in the making of history.

Caoilfhionn Ní Bheacháin is a Lecturer in Communications at the University of Limerick. Her current research focuses on intellectual and cultural networks, and her essays have appeared in the Irish University Review, Journal of Victorian Culture, Estudios Irlandeses, Women's History Review and Éire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies.

Angus Mitchell is a historian and lives in Ireland. He has written essays for Irish Historical Studies, Women's History Review, Journal of Victorian Culture and Field Day Review. His edition of The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement was recently adapted into a film: Segredos do Putumayo.

Leslie Herman (Columbia University)

'Building Narratives: Ireland and the Borders of Architectural History'

In 1952, the American architectural historian Hugh Morrison published a chart to illustrate the structure of the history of American architecture from the establishment of Jamestown in 1607 to the start of the American Civil War on 1860. Included were the various nationalities, periods and styles that defined the matrix of American architectural history, each one located within clearly defined historiographical boundaries. The chart serves a visual counterpart to the structure of traditional surveys of American architecture, whose content is still defined by similar borders today. The role of the chart was to organize a multitude of disparate objects into some sort of order in the service of defining the pre- and post-national architectural story of the United States. Though there were spaces for the Spanish, French, Swedish and Dutch, and an unwritten assumption the rest were English, nowhere on the chart was there a space for Ireland, and the one famous Irish figure in American architecture, James Hoban, was included without any identification as such. In reading Morrison's chart it might be assumed that Ireland made no contribution to early American architecture or the American cultural landscape. But that would be false. In fact, in ways large and small, rhetorical and methodological, Ireland was effectively written out of the story, obscured through a combination of motives and norms that constructed a history of colonial America in which Ireland played no part, despite evidence to the contrary. This paper will examine some of the ways that Ireland was erased from the story of American architectural history.

Leslie Herman has a BS in Architecture from the University of Virginia, and an MS in Historic Preservation and PhD in Architectural History and Theory from Columbia University, where she was awarded the Ali Jawad Malik Memorial History/Theory Award.

Panel 4C: Early Modern Boundaries

Ciarán O'Scea (Independent Scholar),

"The spatial dimensions of Irish residence patterns in the parish of San Justo y Pastor in Madrid (1620-1680)"

As a consequence of socio-political events in Ireland between 1601 and 1650, the emigration of the traditional Irish elites and their related kin and followers to continental Europe increased dramatically. Up until the 1640s Spain and its dominions continued to be the preferred destination. This paper looks at Irish residence patterns in the parish of San Justo y Pastor in Madrid, which remained one of the foci of Irish immigration to the Spanish court and to Madrid. The Irish presence in this parish, predominantly of Gaelic Irish origin, remained effectively under the protection of the O'Sullivan Beares, counts and countesses of Bearhaven, first under Elena Ó Sullivan Mór, widow of Domnall Cam, then under Dermot, councilor of the Spanish exchequer, and then under his daughter Antonia. Based on diocesan and notary archives, the Irish numbered some 500-600 individuals between 1620 and 1680. The counts of Bearhaven adapted the parishes local characteristics to recreate a neo-Gaelic lordship, based on their role as mediators of patronage to the royal court, by giving an Irish religious focus to the parish's dependent chapel (San Millán), which was located near to their residence, relocating the Irish college to within the parish's boundaries, and adapting Madrid's evolving urban developments to resolve Irish accommodation demands. Finally, it was extremely rare to find any of these same Irish immigrants, resident San Justo y Pastor, present in other Madrid parishes.

Ciaran O'Scea has written extensively on Irish emigration to Spain, and the socio-cultural adaptation of Irish immigrants to the norms of Spanish society. His monograph, "Surviving Kinsale: Irish emigration and identity formation in Early Modern Spain, 1601-40", which deals with the Irish community in Galicia, was published by Manchester University Press in 2015. He is currently working on a project to map the Irish presence in Madrid in the seventeenth century.

Tracy McCarthy (Mary Immaculate College)

'The earl of Carhampton's extra-legal suppression of Defenderism in Connacht, 1795'

This paper discusses the extra-legal activities of Henry Lawes Luttrell, second earl of Carhampton, during the suppression of Defenderism in Connacht in 1795. The Defenders were established in County Armagh in the late 1780s as a Catholic agrarian organisation in conflict with the plebeian Protestant Peep O' Day Boys. The movement radicalised in the early 1790s and spread beyond County Armagh, particularly into Connacht. They caused unrest in many areas the province which created a serious concern for the gentry, particularly those in north-east Connacht. This resulted in the recently appointed Lord Lieutenant, Earl Camden, assigning Carhampton to the task of subduing Connacht and suppressing the Defender movement there. Carhampton adopted unorthodox methods, principally denying 'suspected' Defenders a trial and impressing them into the navy. Using legal boundaries as its theme and building on the work of Tony Gaynor and other historians, this paper re-examines how Carhampton went beyond the limits of the law during his campaign. It also explores the connivance of the Irish parliament and

government which is evidenced in their passage of an indemnity bill to protect Carhampton from being prosecuted for his illegal actions when attempting to restore order. The Indemnity Act also served to protect magistrates who also promoted strict and oppressive measures to secure order during and after the summer of 1795. Paradoxically, the Indemnity Act was the government's way of manipulating the law to make breaking the law permissible when committed by figures of authority. This paper shows that this episode is not only important for understanding radicalism in Connacht in the late eighteenth century but maintains that Carhampton's campaign also offers insights into the manner in which the law operated in Connacht in the 1790s.

Tracy McCarthy is a PhD researcher and tutor for the Department of History at Mary Immaculate College, Limerick. Her research, supervised by Dr Liam Chambers and funded by the Irish Research Council, focuses on disaffection, politicisation and rebellion in Connacht between 1775 and 1800.

Ciarán McDonnell (Independent Scholar)

'Soldiers beyond borders: the Irish Brigade in the French Revolution'

The French Revolution was a tumultuous period for France, and for the whole of Europe. Radical reformers sought to undo the power of the monarchy, aristocracy and Catholic Church. The Irish connection to France, closely associated with these three institutions, came under great strain during this time. Historians have tended to describe the period of 1789-1815 as one of calamity for the so-called Wild Geese tradition of migration to France, and in particular for the distinctly royalist Irish Brigade in the French army. Yet identity is not always a straightforward concept. Why did some Irish officers remain loyal to the Royalist cause and made for the border, and why did others choose to embrace the new French Republic? Utilising the extensive records from the French military archives, this paper challenges this assumption and the concept that 'Irish' was a fixed identity.

The experiences of these officers, whether those who chose to stay, or those who offered their services to Britain, encapsulate the shifting allegiances of émigré Irishmen during this period, how and why they decided to cross the border (either as émigrés or invaders) and the mutable nature of Irish identity in the long eighteenth century.

Dr Ciarán McDonnell is a military historian specialising in identity, war and society. He has published on the Irish in the British Army during the Napoleonic Wars, the Irish in the French Revolution and the connections between Ireland and the Crusades in the medieval period.

Panel 5A: Transnational Studies

Kevan Malone (University of California)

'The International Diplomacy of City Planning: Urban Growth and Water Management at the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1945-1965'

This paper examines the role of diplomacy in urban planning along the international border between the poorer Mexican city of Tijuana and the wealthier U.S. city of San Diego after the Second World War. Between 1945 and 1965, American agribusiness and manufacturing fueled a massive economic boom in the U.S. state of California. The San Diego-Tijuana land port of entry became the world's busiest international border crossing, channeling the daily flows of Mexican workers to U.S. jobs and American tourists to "exotic" Mexico. These transnational flows fueled rapid urbanization, and Tijuana's population exploded from 20,000 to 300,000, outpacing the development of essential infrastructure. Rapidly increasing water consumption south of the line depleted the aquifers on which adjacent American communities depended, while Mexican sewage in the Tijuana River contaminated U.S.

properties and parklands downstream. Under these conditions, transborder diplomacy assumed a central role in municipal planning, and public health on the border grew increasingly dependent on decision makers in the two countries' federal governments. Ironically, cooperation between Tijuana and San Diego became increasingly essential during a period in which U.S. Cold War security concerns and heightened American nativism drove the construction of enhanced immigration barriers along the international boundary between them. Ultimately, the challenge of urban planning was to address the tensions between private enterprise, national sovereignty, and environmental management that characterized life at the U.S.-Mexico divide after World War II.

Kevan Malone is a PhD candidate in the Department of History at the University of California, San Diego. His research examines the role of international diplomacy in urban planning along the U.S.-Mexico border, with a focus on the U.S. city of San Diego and the adjacent Mexican city of Tijuana.

Gerald Power (Anglo-American University, Prague)

'The limits of culture: the British Council and cultural diplomacy in the Arab Gulf, 1955-67'

This paper explores British attempts to build a cultural presence in the Arab Gulf during the Cold War. It offers description of the UK's special relationship with the various regimes across the region, and the cultural challenge from the 1950s which threatened to undermine that relationship. The British Council, it is shown, was the instrument chosen by the UK Foreign Office to spearhead an effort to influence educational policy, cater to the local demand for English language teaching and serve as a portal to British culture and values in a region in which Arab Nationalism and anti-imperialism had become firmly embedded. Given an unpropitious set of circumstances, it is argued that the British Council scored a set of successes which served to project an improved vision of Britain and to erode some of the cultural frontiers between Arabs and Europeans that obtained in the region.

Gerald Power is a doctoral graduate of NUI, Galway, and lectures at the Anglo-American University, Prague.

Connal Parr (Northumbria University)

'Other People's Struggles: Irish-South African Borders and the Anti-Apartheid Movement'

Expanding the concept of borders internationally, this paper discusses Irish and South African politico-cultural overlaps – and demarcations – from the 1960s to the present day. Though the more polemical comparisons label Northern Ireland as an 'Apartheid Orange state', there were genuine politico-cultural boundaries crossed between South Africa to Ireland, embodied by the flamboyant figure of 'exile' Kader Asmal (1934–2011), who brought together a vibrant scene of trade unionists, Left activists, artists, and future Taoisigh and Irish Presidents to form the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1964. Seamus Heaney was particularly prominent, even going so far as to attend the famous pickets of Dunnes Stores led by worker Mary Manning (who refused to handle South African goods in July 1984). This paper also considers the more general cultural engagement of the Irish literary world with South Africa and the Anti-Apartheid cause, for instance through Siobhán McKenna, who addressed the United Nations on the subject in March 1982, and Field Day Theatre Company's production of *Boesman and Lena*, by South African dramatist Athol Fugard, the following year. It ends on the pre-emptive momentum of Anti-Apartheid activism: a dialogue about progressiveness and race in Ireland ahead of its time.

Dr Connal Parr is Senior Lecturer in History at Northumbria University. His book "Inventing the Myth: Political Passions and the Ulster Protestant Imagination" (Oxford University Press) was published in 2017.

Panel 5B: All History is Local

Brendan Scott (Irish Family History Foundation/Roots Ireland)

'Glangevlin, County Cavan: a kingdom within a county'

This paper will discuss Glangevlin, a small village in the barony of Tullyhaw in west Cavan, and its position within the county and relationship to it, from the medieval period up to modern times. This west Cavan enclave is almost a separate jurisdiction, or kingdom, as the people of Glangevlin like to say, to the rest of the county. Unlike the 'kingdom of Kerry', or the 'Republic of Cork', which unites these respective counties against the rest of the country, the notion of a kingdom of Glangevlin actually has the effect of disassociating itself and its people from the rest of the county of Cavan, and can actually be a divisive, and not a unifying factor. In some ways, the most western part of Tullyhaw became an almost island state, its difficult physical terrain and remoteness leaving it cut off from the rest of Cavan, yet also separated by county divides and national borders from those counties with which they were closest, both physically and culturally - Leitrim and Fermanagh. This paper, using a variety of sources and viewpoints, will discuss this area, its history and its relationship with County Cavan and the bordering counties.

Brendan Scott is manager of the Irish Family History Foundation and its associated website, Roots Ireland. He also lectures part time at Maynooth University' and has written and edited a number of books and articles dealing with religion and society in early-modern Ireland.

Niall Murray (UCC)

'Republican command boundaries in the Irish War of Independence - strategic borders or causes of division?'

Scholarship of recent decades has begun to examine more closely the origins and operations of rank-and-file men and women who took part in the Irish Revolution. A growing library of county studies has provided analysis of local republican military leaders and the demographic make-up of their subordinates. But less interrogation has been undertaken of the spaces under those leaders' control, how those areas were constituted, or the relationships between them. What decided the boundaries between IRA Brigades, battalions and local companies? And what was behind the occasional tensions that arose between those who commanded them?

This paper will examine these questions with a focus on the district around the town of Macroom, a hotly-contested area in the deadliest county in the War of Independence. The western end of the IRA's Mid-Cork Brigade - enveloped by three other Cork and Kerry brigade areas - was suggested by Peter Hart to have been the subject of acrimonious republican divisions over control and territory. His contention that the area was surrounded by "sacrosanct borders" will be tested to see if they were, in fact, robustly defended from constriction or incursion by IRA superiors or neighbours. And, where boundaries separating republican military command areas were not so clear, connections that pre-date the revolutionary decade will be considered between militants on either side of those blurred lines.

*Niall Murray is a PhD candidate in the School of History at University College Cork, researching public engagement with military and political aspects of the Irish Revolution in the Dáil constituency of Mid-Cork. He is a UCC College of Arts, Celtic Studies and Social Sciences PhD Excellence Scholar, and a contributor to the award-winning *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*.*

Kate Bevan-Baker (Concordia University)

'Archipelago Soundscape: Finding Irish Fiddling on Prince Edward Island'

Canada's smallest province, Prince Edward Island (PEI), has been a landing-point for Europeans ever since Jacques Cartier arrived from France in 1534. The subsequent influx of Acadian, Scottish and Irish settlers in the 18th and 19th centuries laid the foundations of European settlement on PEI. Two centuries later, the cultural traits of these original settlers continue to distinguish community life on PEI. Music plays a seminal role in the maintenance of these lifeworlds. Drawing primarily from Pierre Bourdieu's celebrated Habitus theory, this interactive lecture and performance will explore the importance of traditional fiddle music within the cultural lifeworlds of its performers in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of PEI's unique soundscape. This presentation will map out sonic territories across PEI and explore musical place and mobility of the music's performers and listeners. Focusing on cultural memory and a collective sense of place, migration history from Ireland and Scotland to PEI will also be explored, concentrating on ethnic fade and the recent surge of musical hybridity and transculturation that presently exists. This presentation argues that PEI's traditional soundscape is experiencing many of the same creative challenges and transformations that impact traditional soundscapes in other parts of the world, and questions how cultural and artistic borders are navigated by fiddlers and listeners today.

Please note, this presentation will include fiddle performances and demonstrations by the presenter.

Panel 5C: Troubles

Chris Reynolds (Nottingham Trent University)

Expanding the borders of memory: Northern Ireland and the global '1968'

'1968' has become synonymous with a period of revolt and rebellion that swept the globe from the mid-60s to the mid-70s. In recent years, '1968 studies' have been increasingly focussed on the transnationalism of this era, with an ever-growing list of countries being added to those thought of having experienced a "68". The general consensus that has emerged is that any area's experience in 1968 must be understood in the wider international context of the time. Whilst the geographical optic has continued to widen, noticeable has been the virtual absence of Northern Ireland in the emergent transnational collective memory. Northern Ireland did indeed experience a set of events that very much resembled what happened elsewhere. This erroneous absence from the dominant narrative is not to be understood as a result of it being a case apart. Instead, consideration must be given Northern Ireland's divergent post-68 afterlife known as the Troubles which effectively buried the memory of the province's 1968.

This paper will argue that the current peace-time context in Northern Ireland has paved the way to right the wrong that is its marginalisation from the transnational memory of 1968. It will conclude with an overview of a recent project at the Ulster Museum in Belfast aimed at recovering the 'buried' memory of Northern Ireland's 1968 and the potential lessons to be learned in relation to important debates on the legacy of the past.

Chris Reynolds is Professor of Contemporary European History and Memory Studies at Nottingham Trent University. His main research interests are in relation to the events of 1968 from a French, Northern Irish and European perspective. In addition to a wide range of articles and chapters on these topics, he is the

author of *"Memories of May '68: France's Convenient Consensus"* (University of Wales Press 2011) and *"Sous les pavés...The Troubles: Northern Ireland, France and the European Collective Memory of 1968"* (Peter Lang 2015).

Stuart Aveyard (Manchester Metropolitan University)

'Contesting the boundaries of the 'Troubles': the use of other conflicts in Northern Ireland'

This paper will examine how some protagonists in the Northern Ireland 'Troubles' sought to relate the violence to other conflicts, while others contested comparison. The tussle was aimed at setting the boundaries of the conflict in a way that suited particular interests; some portrayed events in Northern Ireland as unique and parochial in an attempt to isolate it, while others tried to secure legitimacy through fitting it into a historical and international pattern. For Irish republicans, legitimacy could be found in the Irish past, in the widespread European decolonisation which followed after the Second World War and in solidarity with other nationalist or anti-colonial struggles in Israel/Palestine. The British government, meanwhile, opposed present day comparisons which similarly sought to justify violence, or which gave the impression that British withdrawal was inevitable. It faced dissent from a section of British politicians whose memory of past decolonisation prompted them to argue for very different policies. It is argued that the differences in these arguments should not be seen as sitting on a spectrum of parochialism to internationalism – of indifference to solidarity – but rather national exceptionalism through to a kind of Hiberno-centrism. Northern Ireland was to be seen as different from the rest of the world or the rest of the world was confirmation of what Northern Ireland had and was experiencing. The governing factor in all of this was not whether the Troubles was actually like other conflicts or not but whether it was useful to say that it was, and that governed the choices made in the use of other conflicts.

Stuart Aveyard is a Senior Lecturer in Modern British History at Manchester Metropolitan University. He is currently writing a book on aspects of memory and political culture in the Northern Ireland conflict.

Stephen Kelly (Hope University, Liverpool)

"To hell or to Connaught": Margaret Thatcher, repartition and the Irish border, 1979-1990

This paper investigates Margaret Thatcher's hitherto neglected public and private attitude to repartition and the Irish border during her period as British prime minister from 1979 to 1990. It focuses on one central topic – Thatcher's occasional discussion of the prospect of repartition and the redrawing of the boundary of Northern Ireland, including the mass transfer of Northern Catholics to the Republic of Ireland. Ultimately it is argued that Thatcher's attitude to the above topics was a powerful blend of personal ignorance and naivety.

*Dr Stephen Kelly is Head of History, Politics and IR and Associate Professor of Modern History, Liverpool Hope University. He has published extensively in the fields of modern Irish history, British-Irish relations and the Northern Ireland conflict. In January of this year, Dr Kelly published his latest monograph, **Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative Party and the Northern Ireland conflict, 1975-1990** (Bloomsbury). In 2017, Dr Kelly won the best Book Prize for his work on Thatcher and Anglo-Irish relations from the Political Studies Association, Conservative and Conservatism Specialist Group. From 2016-2017, he also held a prestigious Archives By-Fellowship from Churchill College, the University of Cambridge (2016-2017). He is currently working on a biography on Gerald Boland (1885-1973).*