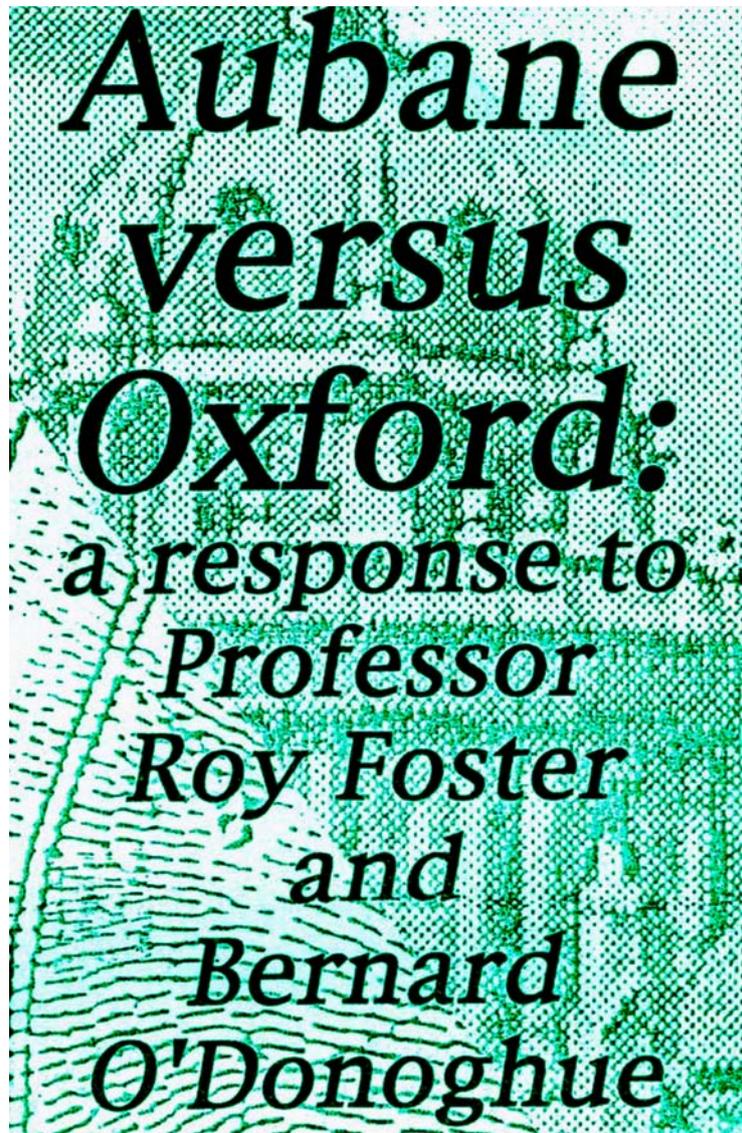


**AN  
AFFAIR  
WITH  
THE  
BISHOP  
OF  
CORK**

**Some reflections on the Church of Ireland,  
pluralism, diversity and history**

**Aubane Historical Society 2009 - Second Edition**



**Aubane  
versus  
Oxford:**  
a response to  
Professor  
Roy Foster  
and  
Bernard  
O'Donoghue

**W**e were rather surprised to see a number of references to the Aubane Historical Society in Professor Roy Foster's recent book, "The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making It Up in Ireland." (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, £20). Foster is the Carroll (cigarettes) Professor of Irish History at Oxford University and the doyen of the revisionist school of Irish history.

Finally, I should add that since Foster drew his readers' attention to us we have been surprised - as I am sure he would be - by the people who have been in touch with us with views and information about him and his work and for this we are most grateful to him.

Jack Lane, June 2002.

Email: [jacklaneaubane@hotmail.com](mailto:jacklaneaubane@hotmail.com)

From the introduction to this acclaimed short study – originally published in 2002 and still available to discerning readers

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**ISBN 978 1 903497 61 6  
Aubane Historical Society  
Aubane, Millstreet, Co. Cork  
2009**

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# 1. Introduction

This collection of items arose from a Seminar organised by the Church of Ireland Bishop of Cork, Rev. Paul Colton on 8 December 2008 under the auspices of the Church's *Hard Gospel* project. The topic was "*Understanding our History: Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in County Cork.*" This private event became public when it was reported and commented on by Senator Eoghan Harris in the *Sunday Independent* and of particular interest to us as he criticised this Society in his report and did so, much more strongly, at the event itself. Senator Harris was the star performer at the event, as reported here on page 19.

The topic of the Seminar has been made a highly contentious issue by Senator Harris and some others. What he proposes has to be taken seriously as he is a legislator of the State appointed by the Taoiseach of the day. As Bishop Colton invited him to his Seminar we believe the Bishop should take the Senator's proposals more seriously than most – hence the exchange of correspondence with him.

Readers can draw their own conclusions on the Bishop's views of the issues raised by Senator Harris.

The other items provide some more background on the issue of Protestants in the War of Independence.

Item 7 is an analysis of the crisis in the Church of Ireland caused by the Orange Order's use of Drumcree Parish Church and its facilities during the 1990s, which caused tension and division within the Church of Ireland, and the *Hard Gospel* project to be set up. The article, from *Church & State Magazine* (Winter 2009), asks if the project has lived up to its original purpose.

Item 8 is a review of a very useful new book about the most prominent Protestant in West Cork during the War of Independence, *Jasper Wolfe of Skibbereen*, who was sentenced to death on three occasions by the IRA and an attempt made to burn down his house. On the face of it this would seem to confirm Senator Harris's thesis that it was a war against Protestants. The book flatly contradicts that thesis.

Item 9 is a supplement to the Interim Report of the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland that concentrates on the religious issue in Ireland at the time of the War of Independence. It was written and signed by an eminent and representative group of self-declared American Protestants. It is their conclusion on the religious issue based on the evidence presented to the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland in oral and written testimonies from witnesses in Ireland dating from the end of 1920 and beginning of 1921. It is as objective a view as one could get on the situation.

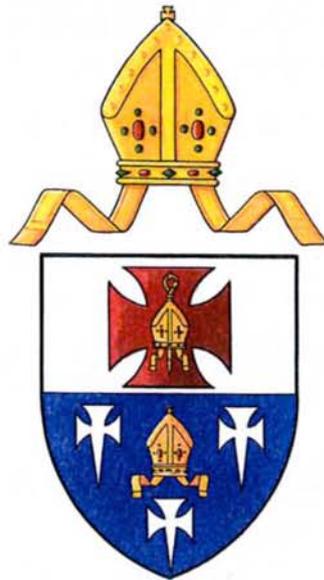
This American Commission sought to provide an impartial account of the atrocities committed in Ireland during the War of Independence. Its Report remains one of the best accounts of the War.

Item 10 is an exchange of correspondence in the *Irish Times* in which Professor John A Murphy questions the evidential basis of Senator Harris's contention that Protestants were driven from the state during its formative years.

Item 11 is a brief report on a message cabled to America in 1921 and signed by 1,000 prominent Irish people of all denominations in Ireland seeking relief and support to counter the damage and destruction caused in Ireland by the Crown Forces. It clearly shows the good working relationship existing between all religious denominations.

These are some of the many contemporary examples refuting Senator Harris's allegations about relations between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland at that time.

## 2. Programme of Church of Ireland Seminar, Cork, 8 December 2008



**Church of Ireland  
United Dioceses of Cork, Cloyne and Ross**

### **Understanding our History: Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in County Cork**



# **Understanding our History:** Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in County Cork

The Clergy and Laity of the United Dioceses of Cork, Cloyne and Ross  
together with their guests are invited to a  
Diocesan Day of learning and reflection  
in partnership with the Hard Gospel Project.

Monday, 8<sup>th</sup> December 2008

9.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m.

Radisson SAS Hotel, Little Island, County Cork

Speakers:

Professor Peter Hart  
Senator Eoghan Harris  
Dr Andy Bielenberg  
John Borgonovo  
Dr David J. Butler  
Professor Joe Ruane

**Admission by invitation and prior registration only.**

The costs of this occasion are being covered by Continuing Ministerial Education in  
Cork, Cloyne and Ross and by a grant from the Hard Gospel Project

### **Limited Places**

**Please complete the enclosed registration form and return it  
no later than Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> November 2008**

to

**The Diocesan Office  
Saint Nicholas' House  
14 Cove Street, Cork  
Fax: (021) 432 0960**

**or email [admin@ccrd.ie](mailto:admin@ccrd.ie) to book your place**

**Understanding our History**  
**Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in County Cork**

**Programme**

- 9.30 a.m. Arrival and Completion of Registration
- 9.45 a.m. Official Opening  
The Right Reverend Paul Colton  
Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross
- 10.00 a.m. ***West Cork Protestants: Origin, Settlement and Composition,  
c.1590 - c.1920***  
Dr David J Butler
- 10.30 a.m. ***Protestant emigration from the south of Ireland 1911-1926;  
some statistical evidence***  
Dr Andy Bielenberg
- 11.00 a.m. Coffee
- 11.30 a.m. ***Cork Protestants and the Irish Revolution***  
Professor Peter Hart
- 12.30 p.m. ***Sectarianism, Republicanism, and the Revolution  
in the City and County of Cork, 1920-1922***  
John Borgonovo
- 1.00 p.m. Lunch
- 2.15 p.m. ***Keeping the Head Down:  
Reflections on enigmatic encounters with Southern Protestants***  
Senator Eoghan Harris
- 3.00 p.m. ***Reconciling memories in the Irish context***  
Professor Joe Ruane
- 3.45 p.m. Questions
- 4.30 p.m. Close

## The Speakers

### Senator Eoghan Harris

Eoghan Harris has worn many hats: As a journalist he wrote extensively about the peace process for the *Sunday Times* from 1993-2000. As a political advisor he has worked with Mary Robinson, John Bruton and David Trimble. He is the author of two produced plays dealing sympathetically with the position of Protestants in the Irish Republic - *The Popes Gig* (Everyman Theatre, 1984), and *Souper Sullivan* (Abbey Theatre, 1985). As a screenwriter his credits include the Sharpe series frequently seen on UK Gold. In August 2008 he was appointed to Seanad Éireann by the then Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern. He currently writes a weekly column for the *Sunday Independent* which frequently features West Cork and his beloved West Highland terrier, Posy.

### Professor Peter Hart

Peter Hart is a professor of history and the Canada Research Chair in Irish Studies at Memorial University of Newfoundland. He holds a PhD from Trinity College Dublin and has also taught at Queen's University, Belfast. He is the author of a number of books and articles on Irish history, including *The IRA and Its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916-1923*. His most recent book is *Mick: the Real Michael Collins*.

### Dr Andy Bielenberg

Andy Bielenberg is a lecturer in Irish economic and social history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries at the Department of History at UCC. His research interests include Irish emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth century, modern Irish economic development. His latest book, *Industry in Ireland during industrial revolution*, is published by Routledge and will be available early in 2009.

### John Borgonovo

John Borgonovo is the author of 'Spies Informers and the "Anti-Sinn Fein Society", The Intelligence War in Cork City, 1920-1921,' a study of the IRA's campaign against civilian informers in Cork. He also edited 'Josephine and Florence O'Donoghue's War of Independence,' a memoir by the IRA's head of intelligence in Cork during 1919-1921. Borgonovo is currently in the final year of a PhD at University College Cork, conducting a local study of Cork City during the Irish Revolution.

### David J. Butler

Dr David J. Butler, an historical geographer of religions, lectures in history at the University of Limerick and is visiting lecturer in Church History at St Patrick's College of Education, Thurles and in historical geography at UCC. He is author of *South Tipperary, 1570-1841: Religion, Land and Rivalry* (Dublin, 2006 & 2007). From 2004-06, he was HEA Post-doctoral research fellow at UCC, conducting ethnographic and historical research into inter-church relations in West Cork and North Monaghan, resulting in a number of co-authored articles (with Joseph Ruane), including 'Southern Irish Protestants: an example of de-ethnicisation?' in *Nations & Nationalism* (2007); 'Difference, Identity and Community in Southern Irish Protestantism: The Protestants of West Cork', in *National Identities* (2008).

### Professor Joe Ruane

Joe Ruane is associate professor in the Department of Sociology at University College Cork. His principal area of research has been the conflict in Northern Ireland, but more recently he has been engaged in comparative research on Catholic-Protestant relationships. He has directed two projects: (1) between Northern Ireland and the Republic (funded by the HEA), and (2) between Ireland and France (funded by IRCHSS). Recent publications include 'Southern Irish Protestants: from an ethnic to a religious minority?' in *Nations and Nationalism*, 13, 4, 2007 (with D. Butler) and 'Majority-minority conflicts and their resolution: Protestant minorities in France and in Ireland', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 12, 2006.

### 3. Scarred by forced exodus of southern Protestants

By Eoghan Harris

Sunday December 14, 2008

LAST weekend I found myself in Cork at two family gatherings which left a good feeling behind. The first was a birthday bash for my brother Michael. The second was a gathering of Cork Protestants at a successful seminar called 'Understanding Our History -- Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in County Cork'.

The seminar, which had a full house, was the brainchild of the popular Paul Colton, Church of Ireland Bishop of the United Dioceses of Cork, Cloyne and Ross -- easily the best, as well as the best-titled, job in Ireland. Be back to Paul's People in a moment. First, let me give you a flavour of my own family gathering.....

THE same sense of loss lay behind the statistics supplied by a strong party of UCC historians at the seminar on 'Understanding History', which looked at what happened to ordinary Protestants in the period 1919-23. The most senior historian present, Professor Geoffrey Roberts, seemed as absorbed by our small wars as by the titanic struggle which formed the centre of his concise and brilliant book, *Victory at Stalingrad*. Any sadness at the subject matter was well balanced by the benign feeling left behind at the end of the day.

The truth bestows its own grace. And we got a lot of truth from the panel assembled by Archdeacon Robin Bantry-White, who was assisted by Philip McKinley of the Hard Gospel project -- a group which recently published a study of ethnic targeting in Fermanagh during the recent Troubles.

Dr David J Butler, crossing comfortably between history and geography, set the scene with an inspiring illustrated talk on Protestant land settlement in West Cork. This did much to dispel any lingering delusions about Protestants having all the good farms. Some of these hardy souls still inhabit the most inhospitable hilly regions of West Cork.

Dr Andy Bielenberg's talk was drily titled 'Protestant emigration from the south of Ireland 1911-1926, some statistical evidence'. But there was nothing dry about his final figure. Excluding extraneous factors (such as connections with the British forces, civil service, World War One casualties etc) Dr Bielenberg concluded that 39,000 southern Protestants became "involuntary migrants" in that period.

"Involuntary migrants," is another name for victims of intimidation.

As Bielenberg showed, many of them were not farmers, but small-town traders and artisans.

Behind the figures we glimpsed a grim picture -- decent Irish families caught in a conflict over which they had no control, and forced to flee from the land of their birth.

To this day, Dublin Protestants have little sense of the suffering of their country cousins. But in rural Ireland, the enforced exodus of almost 40,000 Protestants left scars on the soul as well as on the landscape. It was good to hear that some who fled came back to their farms -- proof that expelled southern Protestants were patriots who loved their country with the same passion their descendants show today.

Kevin Myers, writing in the Irish Times, was the first to break the silence about the sufferings of southern Protestants in that period. Academic study only began with the publication of Peter Hart's book, *The IRA and its Enemies*. At the seminar, with the heavy lifting behind him, Professor Hart shifted the focus to the notion of fear.

As Hart argues, both the IRA and its Protestant "enemies" became prisoners of a paralysing fear that the other side was secretly conspiring. This led to pre-emptive strikes, almost always by the IRA.

Hart believes the most important lesson is of the power of small violent acts to produce fear out of all proportion to the act itself.

The next speaker, John Borgonovo, author of *Spies, Informers and the Anti Sinn Fein Society* seemed determined to redress any perceived revisionist imbalance.

Although Borgonovo has clearly done a lot of work, it seemed to me that his American background blocked out some local nuances. Like the Aubane Society, he makes far too much of public protestations on the part of some Protestant clerics that they had no problems.

In 1922, in provincial Ireland, Protestant clerics were a small minority whose community was held hostage by armed men. What else would they say? And given the anti-Catholic pogroms in Belfast, a Cork Protestant cleric could hardly publicly complain about Protestant farm families forced to sleep in their fields.

As the Belfast pogroms are sometimes used as an excuse for the bad treatment of southern rural Protestants, let us pause here to point out two big differences. First, a Catholic family driven from mixed area of Belfast had the support of other Catholics in a similar situation. Second, the family was merely moving a few miles to another part of the city.

By contrast, a Protestant family forced to flee was frequently on its own, had no support from other families and -- most significantly -- were not just made move from one town to another, but forced to flee the country of their birth, leave their farms and shops behind, and start a new life, in Australia, Canada or the UK.

The final speaker, Professor Joe Ruane, in a talk titled 'Reconciling the Memories in the Irish Context', convincingly argued that southern Protestants could best be compared with French Protestants -- and that like the latter, especially as confessional differences faded, Irish Protestants should look for a similar proud and progressive role in the national narrative.

Judging by the joyful audience reaction to this superb seminar, West Cork Protestants are well on the way to doing just that. Which is why I felt free to have a bit of fun. So I told them about my wife's fruit theory. Gwen says Catholics are strawberries, Protestants raspberries and Methodists gooseberries.

But while this got a good laugh, I balked at sharing a belief of my own: that Don't-rock-the-boat Dublin Protestants are to Irish Protestantism what wimpy Leinster is to Irish rugby -- but Cork Protestants are Munster to the hard core.

\*

### **Publications by the Aubane Historical Society**

- \* **Canon Sheehan: A Turbulent Priest**, by *B Clifford*
- \* **A North Cork Anthology**, by *J. Lane and B. Clifford*
- \* **Spotlights on Irish History**, by *Brendan Clifford*
- \* **The 'Cork Free Press' In The Context Of The Parnell Split: The Restructuring of Ireland, 1890-1910** by *Brendan Clifford*
- \* **Elizabeth Bowen: "Notes On Eire"**. Espionage Reports to Winston Churchill, 1940-42; With a Review of Irish Neutrality in World War 2, by *Jack Lane and Brendan Clifford*
- \* **Kilmichael: the false surrender. A discussion** by *Peter Hart, Pádraig O'Cuanaicháin, D. R. O'Connor Lysaght, Dr Brian Murphy and Meda Ryan* with "Why the ballot was followed by the bullet" by *j. Lane and b. Clifford.*
- \* **Thomas Davis**, by *Charles Gavan Duffy*
- \* **Extracts from 'The Nation', 1842-44**
- \* **Aubane versus Oxford: a response to Professor Roy Foster and Bernard O'Donoghue** by *various authors*
- \* **The burning of Cork; an eyewitness account** by *Alan J Ellis with other items*
- \* **With Michael Collins in the fight for Irish Independence** by *Batt O'Connor T.D.*
- \* **Michael Collins: some documents in his own hand.** *Introduced by Brian P. Murphy osb*
- \* **An Answer to Revisionists** *Eamon O'Cuiv and others launch Sean Moylan's Memoir*
- \* **The Origins and Organisation of British Propaganda in Ireland 1920** by *Brian P Murphy OSB*
- \* **Envoi - taking leave of Roy Foster** by *Brendan Clifford, David Alvey, Julianne Herlihy, Brian P Murphy*
- \* **Was 1916 A Crime: A debate from Village magazine** July 2005 – July 2006 by *various authors* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition)

## 4. Exchange of correspondence with Rev Paul Colton, Bishop of Cork

### AUBANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Aubane, Millstreet, Co. Cork.

[jacklaneaubane@hotmail.com](mailto:jacklaneaubane@hotmail.com)

18 December 2008

The Right Rev'd. Paul Colton,  
Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross,  
The Bishop's House,  
14 Cove St.,  
Cork

Dear Bishop,

I refer you to an article in the *Sunday Independent* of December 14, 2008, in which Eoghan Harris referred to our society. He was commenting on a seminar organised by the Cork, Cloyne and Ross Diocese of the Church of Ireland on 8th December last.

It has been reported to us that Senator Eoghan Harris "declared war" on our Society at the seminar and that he also said we were "mentally deficient". We have confirmed this detail and the information below, since publication of the article, with a number of speakers at the seminar, and with some of those who attended.

Senator Harris's were unusual sentiments, to put it mildly, expressed at an event organised by a Christian Diocesan authority.

We understand also, that a security firm patrolled the venue all day. Their representative explained that they were doing so to prevent a plan on our part to "storm and disrupt" the event.

Please rest assured that we had no intention of doing any such thing at the seminar or indeed at any other event. We publish, write, discuss and debate. Anyone who may have reported otherwise to you was bearing false witness. We would have been more than delighted to have been invited, however.

We understand that one of our published authors, the Oxford educated historian, Dr Brian Murphy of Glenstal Abbey, Co Limerick, was referred to by Senator Harris in somewhat disparaging terms. These terms referred to Dr Murphy's capacity as a Roman Catholic priest. The term "meddlesome priest" and the suggestion that priests should not "dabble in history", were, it has been reported to us, part of Senator Harris's presentation. On the other hand, Protestant clergy were encouraged to keep "their heads up" by Senator Harris.

We also wonder at the appropriateness of Senator Harris referring to a Minister of State, Dr Martin Mansergh TD, in his capacity as a member of the Church of Ireland, as a "lie down and die Protestant". This was at an event organised by your diocese as part of the Hard Gospel Project, which has the subtitle, "love your neighbour".

We find it particularly disturbing that the diocese might be seen to condone remarks that may have bordered on the sectarian. This would be unfortunate, considering the reason for setting up the Hard Gospel project was to distance the

Church of Ireland from inadvertent association with the activities of the Orange Order at Drumcree Church of Ireland Parish Church. We commend generally the Hard Gospel Project's work, especially the way in which concern with sectarianism associated, however inadvertently, with the Church has been combined with a desire to oppose the twin evil of racism.

We are very interested in the subject matter of the Seminar, "Understanding our history – Protestants, the War of Independence and Civil War in County Cork" and we have published relevant material. I enclose some for your consideration.

We would welcome an opportunity to discuss the topic of the seminar with the Hard Gospel Project - under whose auspices the Seminar was held - and to explore the issues involved in this topic and to provide a basis for our mutual understanding.

We desire, at the earliest opportunity, to correct the record for all who were present at the seminar. We would like the opportunity to demonstrate that we are decent, polite and respectful individuals. Normally, we would assume that others might assume it of us. In this case, I think you will agree that those who heard otherwise will need to see the evidence for themselves.

I am sure you will agree that there is nothing to be gained from making and/or condoning outrageous allegations about people in their absence and that everything is to be gained from dialogue, respectful discussion and reflection.

I very much look forward to hearing from you and hope you are in a position to arrange a meeting at the earliest opportunity.

We are copying this letter to the academic speakers and to representatives of the Hard Gospel Project.

Yours sincerely,

Jack Lane

\*

Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross  
Saint Nicholas' House  
14 Cove Street  
Cork

Saturday, 20<sup>th</sup> December 2008

To: Mr Jack Lane  
The Aubane Historical Society  
Aubane  
Millstreet  
Co. Cork

Dear Mr Lane,

Thank you for your letter concerning our recent Diocesan 'Understanding our History' conference. As my reply might otherwise become entangled in the convolutions of the Christmas post, I hope you will excuse the informality of a reply by email.

Our conference had its origins in two impulses: first, the desire of the Hard Gospel Project to organise a Cork-based event and second, a request to facilitate a television programme about West Cork Protestants during the War of Independence and the Civil War. In consultation within the Diocese the feeling was strongly expressed that an internal process of education and reflection was needed, not least because, some of our clergy and a significant number of laity come from other parts of the Anglican Communion and know little about the subject.

To that end, what was organised was an in-house Diocesan Conference, a private meeting. We were overwhelmed by the interest in it and, therefore, because of the restriction on space were obliged, even within the Diocese, rigorously to regulate the numbers attending: hence the fact that, at my request, doormen were employed by us as stewards for the day, and arranged by the hotel, in order that my own secretary and our own office staff were not put in the awkward position of having to turn away people known to them personally. On the day in question, and because the people concerned had inconvenienced themselves to travel a great distance to attend, we did accommodate three or four people who were not from the Diocese and who had not previously registered.

The organising team went to great lengths to take advice about securing the participation of a balanced panel of speakers within the time constraints of the day. We also specifically felt it right to invite some of those who had done research within our own community. A variety of researches, again within the limitations of the day, were presented and opposing views were articulated in several presentations. Senator Harris has previously had some very forthright observations and challenges to make to members of the Protestant communities and, on that basis, was also invited to participate so that we might hear those at first hand. One of the principal criticisms I have had, from people of differing backgrounds, is that they too were not afforded the opportunity to be part of the day; but it simply is not possible at such one-off events to include everyone who has spoken about or written on the subject.

I hope you will understand that all of the researches presented and opinions expressed were exclusively those of the speakers themselves alone and do not, nor could they through an event such as this, purport to reflect the views of the Diocese or of the Church of Ireland. I do hope that anyone, including your Society, who may wish to engage with the speakers or to clarify anything they understand may have said, would feel at liberty to do so with them individually and directly. Indeed I saw this beginning to happen on the day itself. It is also true to say that, while what speakers actually say is objective, how they are perceived, can also be very subjective. Arising from that, in my personal experience, I found some of the things said by a variety of speakers profoundly and personally challenging: hence the Hard Gospel.

In many ways, it was an uncomfortable day for many who were present for a whole variety of reasons. A good number of those present, either themselves or as descendants – like many thousands of others in Ireland – were profoundly affected by the events under debate. As I myself remarked on the day, I was conscious that we were treading on the sacred ground of different people's stories and a variety of experiences of those stories.

The most important feedback that I am receiving at this juncture is that we need now, moving forward and as of first importance, to focus on the pastoral issues that have emerged within our Diocesan community for those people. This will take time and space. Our partnership with the Hard Gospel on this matter now ends in that the current phase of the Hard Gospel Project closes at the end of this year and I understand its future shape has yet to be determined.

I am most grateful for the books and publications you have sent me. I look forward to reading them as part of my own on-going reading on the subject which I can

assure you is far from one-sided. I will also pass them on, in due course, to others in the Diocese.

I take this opportunity at this special time of the year to wish you every blessing for Christmas and in 2009.

Yours sincerely,

Bishop Paul Colton

\*

**AUBANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

**Aubane, Millstreet, Co. Cork.**

[jacklaneaubane@hotmail.com](mailto:jacklaneaubane@hotmail.com)

22 December 2008

Dear Bishop,

Thank you for your prompt response of 20 December via email. I agree that email is a very practical way to communicate, especially at this time of year.

I am sorry to say that I was disappointed in your response. I can quite understand why you planned this Seminar as “an in-house Diocesan Conference, a private meeting” and wished it to remain so. However, the fact is that thanks to Senator Harris, it is no longer a private matter. He either ignored your wishes for privacy or they were not made clear to him.

He has reported on it and interpreted it for the national media. I believe that it was his report that provoked another report in the current issue of Church and State, No. 95, Spring 2009. (I have transcribed it for your convenience below). There may be others.

Senator Harris is a legislator of the State appointed by the Taoiseach of the day and you invited him because he “has previously had some very forthright observations and challenges to make to members of the Protestant communities and, on that basis, was also invited to participate so that we might hear those at first hand.”

For these reason, what he says and what is now publicised cannot be ignored. I really think that anyone or any organisation that invites him and provides him with a platform for these views cannot wash their hands of such “challenges” proclaimed at the well attended event.

What he proposed was the exacerbation and politicising of religious differences in our society. That is a most serious matter.

I read that what he proposed specifically at your Seminar was, inter alia, that:

-a Catholic priest be admonished and castigated for behaving as a priest in bearing witness to the truth in his chosen field

- that a member of the Government be admonished and castigated for not making more of his Protestant religion in what can only be described as doing so in a more aggressive manner.

- that Southern Irish Protestants affirm a British identity or to recover it if they have lost one, so that the Irish state can then formally recognise it.

These are provocative and irresponsible proposals by a legislator. I think that these proposals cannot be left lie on the table by you as both the organiser of the Seminar and as the representative of the Church of Ireland in the Diocese where his “challenges to members of the Protestant communities” are primarily directed and are most relevant. They beg a clear response and I have no doubt that the media would facilitate you in doing so.

Unfortunately, I think that silence could speak volumes in a situation such as this. As Edmund Burke put it so well: “All that is necessary for evil to succeed is that good men do nothing.”

Yours sincerely,

Jack Lane

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Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross  
Saint Nicholas' House  
14 Cove Street  
Cork

23 December 2008

Dear Mr Lane,

Thank you for your further comments in response to my reply to your letter concerning our conference.

I really have nothing to add to the detailed explanation I have given concerning our thinking behind our Diocesan day. Again I emphasise that we believe we arranged for a representative array of views to be expressed, and that those views, as at any event of this nature, are inevitably those of the speakers alone. My only other comment would be that I had not seen the report which you kindly appended to your email; however I am disappointed to see that it contains many inaccuracies and distorted insinuations.<sup>1</sup>

In any event, as I said in my last email to you, there can never be a tidy outcome to a day conference on this subject and there will always be more work to be done: our primary concern now is to direct our energies at a human level to unresolved pastoral issues. From your work on the history of the period, I am sure you will agree that the people who carry the memories are deserving of that pastoral care, as our first priority.

With all good wishes once again for your Christmas celebrations,

Bishop Paul Colton

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<sup>1</sup> *Harris, Hard Gospel and Hot Stuff in Co Cork*, published on page 19..

\*

24 December 2008

Dear Bishop,

You have made it quite clear that you are not prepared to engage on the issues raised by your Seminar and as reported and interpreted by Senator Harris in the national media.

As you apparently find nothing to criticise in Senator Harris's report - but do so in the case of the only other report available – it can be assumed that Senator Harris reflects your views of the matter.

You therefore make yourself morally responsible for what he said at, and what he has written about, the Seminar.

You're sincerely,

Jack Lane

\*

25 December 2008

Dear Mr Lane,

Needless to say I do not agree with your inference/conclusion in your email of yesterday evening.

Nonetheless, very sincerely, I wish you and yours a blessed Christmas and every blessing for 2009.

Bishop Paul Colton  
**Paul, Bishop of Cork**  
The Right Reverend Paul Colton

## 5. REPORT ON THE SEMINAR

### Harris, Hard Gospel and Hot Stuff in Co Cork

#### Senator saves the day for sectarianism

Members of the Church of Ireland were treated to some 'Hard Gospel' in the Radisson SAS Hotel in Little Island, Cork on Monday, 8th December. A one-day seminar on 'Protestants, the War of Independence and the Civil War in Cork' – see programme below [Note: pages 6-9 here]. It was patrolled by a security company. The man who marshalled the security marshals said it was because the Aubane Historical Society planned to storm and disrupt the meeting.

Security was so tight that Alan Stanley who 'met murder on the way' at Coolacree was refused entry and was wandering around until he was rescued by Senator Harris. The Bishop of Cork runs a tight ship.

No local Catholics needed apply to listen at the Church of Ireland affair, with academics invited along to talk on the subject.

The audience had to show their pre-issued passes at the entrance (all day long), but no sign was seen of the mysterious band of allegedly disruptive Aubane historians. The carefully selected but mystified audience heard Fianna Fail appointed Senator Eoghan Harris declare war on the same Aubane Society. They were "mentally deficient", said the highly animated representative.

Senator Harris stated that priests should not be "dabbling" in history. They should keep their heads down, while Protestants should keep theirs up. Harris was referring to a particular "meddlesome priest", the Oxford/TCD/UCD educated Dr Brian Murphy of Glenstal. This was an unusual, rather ominous, message for a Church of Ireland gathering, bordering almost on sectarianism. Certainly not very respectful.

Historian Meda Ryan did not meet with the Harris seal of approval either. Neither did some heads up Protestants. Fianna Fail TD Martin Mansergh, for instance, was castigated as a 'lie down and die Protestant', according to Senator Harris. A few members of the audience were seen to shift uncomfortably.

At one point in his stream of consciousness, Harris told the tale of an Aunt who embarked on a romantic interlude with an exotic creature known as a 'Protestant' – apologies if the details are hazy, possibly the finer ones have yet to be concocted – during the holding of the Eucharistic Congress in 1932. The two had arrived in a hotel bedroom and were contemplating their own type of congress when Count John McCormack's rendition of a religious character came wafting through from the ground floor of the Hotel. For whatever reason, this had the effect of putting an end to the intended ecumenical interlude.

While the denouement clearly needs work, this Hard Gospel is certainly Hot stuff.

Harris spoke in the afternoon without notes (or much knowledge of the historical variety). He criticised one speaker from the morning session, John Borgonovo. While the San Francisco historian was speaking, Harris was seen to fidget, talk, get up, walk to the back of the room, go to walk out, think better of it, before settling down to frown severely at the speaker. Possibly, it had all become too much for him.

Harris and those who thought similarly may have been irritated also by the star turn, Peter Hart. He said there was no "ethnic cleansing" of Protestants during or after the War of Independence. Hart said there was fear of retribution, but not much of the substance of sectarian violence. This is a reversal of the message Hart once openly espoused. Perhaps he has been reading the criticism. Brian Murphy and Niall Meehan's 'Troubled History, a 10th anniversary critique of The IRA and its Enemies', published

earlier this year, set out the problems with the Hart analysis. Perhaps he is finally taking it to Heart.

If Hart retreated, Borgonovo advanced and seriously disrupted the Harris message of persecuted Protestants.

Protestants in the South of Ireland consistently denounced unionist attacks on Catholics in the North between 1920-22. In contrast, it seems they stated both early and often that Protestants were treated very kindly by their Catholic neighbours in the south. Some even praised the IRA.

Harris, the former republican, had the answer: the aforesaid Protestants "had a gun to their head". Really? And when did these Protestants, who spoke out on unionist sectarianism in every Irish county not under Unionist control reveal this to Senator Harris. What is his source, apart from the windmills of his mind? Perhaps Senator Harris could tell us how many Protestants he helped persecute when he was a fully paid up supporter of the cause, perhaps the odd poppy selling old lady in Patrick St? Those were the days!

According to an observer, Harris, "seemed livid" and was "working up to a great frenzy". Harris reported that when once he was in deepest, darkest, Dunmanway, he was approached by four men in a car who pulled him to the side of the road and told him to lay off. Harris, who informed the assembly of his daughter's conversion to the Protestant cause, was having none of it. He knew how to handle such obscure people, "from experience", he said obscurely. This war, whoever it is with or against, is decidedly not over in the Senator's eyes.

He wants Southern Protestants to affirm a British identity or to recover it if they have lost one, so that the Irish state can then formally recognise it. So here we have a proposal for the creation of a new sectarian constituency from a Fianna Fail Party sponsored legislator whose Government Ministers are forever promoting reconciliation. Have Fianna Fail no respect for themselves? And what of Martin Mansergh? How much more is he expected to endure from this senatorial nincompoop?

Andy Bielenberg of UCC spoke about beginning research into the finer details of Protestant emigration, 1911-26 and that promises to be interesting. Harris managed to get the gist of Bielenberg's research hopelessly wrong in the Sunday Independent on December 14 (but that should not be a surprise).

Andy Ruane of UCC spoke on French-Irish Protestant connections, but as he came at the end of the day and after the excitement of Senator Harris, heads nodded off. Ruane did question the Harris's attempt to re-ethnicise Irish Protestants with a British identity. His research suggests that they have given most that old imperial guff up. It was frustrating for the people who attended – up to 140 of them - as they were not given the opportunity to speak. Questions were allowed, but strictly screened by the Bishop. Such control freakery might be thought unusual. We certainly think that. More democracy and openness in the Church of Ireland, please. A response from the floor would have been interesting but it didn't happen.

The event was organized by the Church of Ireland's 'Hard Gospel Project', which carries the sub-title, 'love God, and love your neighbour'. The project was set up some years ago to distance the Church of Ireland from the Orange Order's annual antics at Drumcree Church of Ireland Parish Church. That was a step forward. This appears, in some respects, to be one back. It would have been time better spent for the local Hard Gospel branch to show some neighbourliness to immigrants to Ireland as some members had proposed (and that this should be regarded as one of their primary purposes) but were, apparently, overruled by the Bishop no less, in favour of listening to the excitable former Catholic Senator. A day of 'learning and reflection' indeed.

## 6. Comments on the correspondence

Bishop Colton made it quite clear in these exchanges that he would not discuss the issues raised by Senator Harris at his Seminar. He made no effort whatever to distance himself from the Senator and if he does not distance himself from him after inviting him to present his “challenges” which the Senator also publicised on the back of his Seminar report, then the Bishop is condoning him and his views. No amount of weasel words can hide that fact. This is unfortunate.

It is doubly unfortunate if he plans pastoral work among Cork Protestants whose ancestors were killed or otherwise affected by the War of Independence without making his attitude known about Senator Harris’s views. Such pastoral work is strictly his and his Church’s business but when it seems likely to be based on assumptions and allegations that Senator Harris made at the Seminar and elsewhere, it, like the Seminar, becomes a matter of public concern to all citizens. There are as yet no indications that the work will be based on any other assumptions other than the Senator’s.

The essence of Harris’s case is that the War of Independence was a war against Protestants by Catholics. None of the academics at the Seminar endorsed this and no reputable historian does despite the Senator’s best efforts to twist their analysis as he tries in his report of the Seminar. Even Peter Hart assured those at the Seminar there was no ethnic cleansing of Protestants in Cork confirming what he has already published in the Irish Times stating that “I have never argued that ‘ethnic cleansing’ took place in Cork or elsewhere in the 1920s – in fact, quite the opposite” (Irish Times, 28 June 2006). And it was Mr Hart who raised this here in the first place- under the supervision of Professor David Fitzpatrick. There is simply no evidence to support the allegations which are now regularly promoted by Senator Harris.

If pastoral support is based on his thesis then it will do untold damage to the people concerned and to the wider community as it would be based on a lie. That should surely be of primary importance to any churchman especially to the one overseeing the pastoral work.

But that is only the half of it. It would also give rise to a great pastoral need among the descendants and relatives of those Catholics who allegedly did the killings as Catholics. No self-respecting Catholic could take pride in having such an ancestor.

It would also necessitate another pastoral effort for the large number of Catholics who apparently were killed by other Catholics in a war against Protestants! Why? How would their pastoral needs be dealt with? The mind boggles and the War of Independence would become a totally incomprehensible, obnoxious event.

One thing is certain, a whole new pastoral and counselling industry would need to be created and maybe public funding would be required. Senator Harris could be relied to ‘up the ante’ whenever matters might seem to be flagging. He could be employed as a resident consultant for the project. After all, there seems no end to the depth of Senator’s own self-loathing for what has made him what he is.

Since the above correspondence took place Bishop Colton has shown that he is very willing to play the victim card in other areas. At the Church of Ireland General Synod meeting on 8 May this year he and his colleagues were much exercised at the loss of some of their specific privileges in secondary school provision being implemented by the Minister for Education. They seem to have a concept that lack of these privileges will make them underprivileged and victims. They were fully supported by the Editor of the Irish Times. But then, it’s very much a case of back to the future time for that paper in all areas of Irish life.

. I suggest they all take a close look at what privileges the Minister, Batt O’Keeffe, and many people like him had when they were at secondary school level.

They would discover that neither the Irish State, the Catholic Church nor any other church was providing Secondary education anywhere in his area. But the Minister did not, and does not, whinge and cry victim. He went into politics and helped change that situation completely and the same area is now saturated with secondary school opportunities for all. He would have it no other way and he seeks to make the situation better for all and if not better in present circumstances at least all will be treated equally by him. Any other approach would no doubt make his Republican blood boil.

The Synod and the Bishop should move on, join him in his efforts and cease their carping for maintaining their privileges.

### **Understanding is the key**

There is no dishonour or shame in having one's predecessors honestly take up what turned out to be wrong, mistaken or failed political positions even if they also involved military engagement. That's part and parcel of political life. Understanding the events through them and the historical context helps one understand the history of the situation better than a library of books. Lucky the person who has an IRA man, a Black and Tan, a Blueshirt, a Fianna Failer (and a Bishop of some sort) in the family history.

I suggest that a much more useful approach is perfectly illustrated by Jasper Ungood-Thomas who has just published a biography of his grandfather, "Jasper Wolfe of Skibbereen" (The Collins Press, Cork, 2008).

The latter was about the most well-known Protestant in West Cork during the first half of the last century. He was sentenced to death three times by the IRA and they also attempted to burn down his house. By luck and various ruses he survived. On the face of it, a perfect example to make Mr Harris's case. But his biographer grandson does not make such a case because he is objective enough to see clearly that Wolfe was targeted as a political enemy. Wolfe himself had also made this perfectly clear. Mr Ungood-Thomas should have been a speaker at the Bishop's seminar and let's hope the Bishop consults him before he proceeds much further.

Jasper Wolfe was the British State Prosecutor in Cork during the War of Independence defending, among other things, the RIC at the inquest into their murder of Lord Mayor Tomas MacCurtain. His role could hardly have made him a more provocative and obvious target. But when the war was over, he bore no grudges against the IRA and neither did they against him. What was over was over. He befriended personally those who had planned to execute him and he went on to defend IRA members in court after the Treaty War when he saw that the Free State was being vindictive towards its former adversaries and endangering the status quo.

He was elected and re-elected a number of times as a TD for West Cork and elected onto several other public bodies over the years. Mr Wolfe did not need pastoral help, or counselling, for the simple reason that he understood what the war was about and it was not about his religion. He did have one favourite source of spiritual support – stiff whiskies. But understanding and common sense was the key to his success in coping with and thriving as a Protestant in the heart of West Cork for half a century. Jasper Wolfe should be the Bishop's model in his pastoral work and not Senator Harris's fantasies. The problem might be, of course, that the need for the pastoral work would then evaporate.

Experiences like that of Jasper Wolfe are very useful in that they dispel any notions about the personification of evil (or good) in politics. But every type of pastoral activity will fundamentally rely on such concepts - they will be the bottom line - and will therefore only aggravate matters for all concerned as contemplating the infinite intricacies of such abstractions is a meaningless and maddening activity.

Senator Harris lives very naturally in a world of abstractions. He was once as fanatical and idealistic a supporter of the War of Independence as he is now an opponent of it. He could do that only if both positions were fundamentally abstractions for him. The consistency is the dedication to the abstract, untrammelled by realities. He takes up any number of positions on all sorts of issues and he can and does concoct any reality to his perfect satisfaction as he sees fit to support his positions. What is truly amazing is that so many others seem impressed by it.

The Irish War of Independence was not fought over any kind of abstract issue, good, evil or whatever. It was fought over a clear political issue, Irish political independence. Everyone concerned knew this perfectly well and that included people of every religion and none. Propagandists tried to make it otherwise and some idiots believed them then as they do now.

That war was almost unique in history in that it was based on overwhelming electoral mandates by the electorate, before, during and after the war. That war should be a model for the conduct of other wars and if followed one thing is certain - their number would decline as a result and the world would be saved innumerable hardships. It would be an Irish solution for a world problem.

It should be incorporated into what is called "international law" and if it was how many of those wars that have been fought before or since would have been fought at all? Answers on the back of a postage stamp, please.

Jack Lane

### **More publications by the Aubane Historical Society**

- \* **The Shakespeare Conspiracies** – untangling a 400-year web of myth and deceit by *Brian McClinton*
- \* **Elizabeth Bowen: "Notes On Eire"**. Espionage Reports to Winston Churchill, 1940-42; With a Review of Irish Neutrality in World War 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition) by *Jack Lane and Brendan Clifford*
- \* **Propaganda as Anti-history**: an analysis of Peter Hart's 'The IRA and its Enemies' by *Owen Sheridan*
- \* **Troubled History**: A 10th anniversary critique of Peter Hart's 'The IRA and its Enemies' by *Brian P Murphy, Niall Meehan, Ruan O'Donnell*
- \* **Coolacree: The True Story of the Pearson Executions** – an incident in the Irish War of Independence by *Paddy Heaney, Pat Muldowney, Philip O'Connor, Dr Brian P Murphy, and others*
- \* **From Cologne to Ballinlough – A German and Irish boyhood in World War II and post-war years 1946-149** by *Herbert Rimmel*

# 7. Between a Rock and Hard Gospel

## *The Orange Order and the Church of Ireland*

by Niall Meehan

Judge not, that ye be not judged.

For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?

Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

**Gospel of Matthew, chapter 7, verses 1 to 5**

**The Church of Ireland Hard Gospel project arose from media depictions of the Orange Order's contentious use of Church property and facilities, and from participation in the Order by clergy and laity. The Church divided against itself, its pluralist image in Ireland ensnared in sectarian conflict during the 1990s.**

After Easter each year the Orange Order initiates public celebration of what the supremacist organisation regards as its British way of life, based on support for biblical Protestantism and the "being Protestant" British monarchy. It habitually wears out shoe leather until leaves fall in the autumn, in celebration of "civil and religious liberty". Approximately 2,500 marches, parades, feeder parades, band practices and bonfires occupy the highways and byways of the North. Many Britons, on encountering these displays, find them alien to British identity. They are always accompanied by physical attacks on Catholics and by other provocations (see pictures & graphics, p. 26-30).

The Order's insistence on marching in some mainly nationalist areas of Northern Ireland caused a crisis in the Church's relationship with the Order during the 1990s. Sectarian violence that accompanied the Order's attempts to defy bans on marching in those areas appalled many Church members.

The ban on marching through the mainly nationalist Garvaghy Road in Portadown in particular, one week prior to the annual 12th July protest, provoked violent opposition:

"In 1995, after two days of violence, mediation between local nationalists and the Order took place and a limited parade was allowed. In 1996, the parade was banned. While police and soldiers held the Orangemen back behind steel barricades, Billy Wright - who by this time had a terrifying reputation throughout mid-Ulster - sent his gang to murder a Catholic [Michael McGoldrick, a taxi driver]. The chief constable changed his ruling. The parade would be allowed, he said, because otherwise too many lives might be lost." (Susan McKay, *Guardian*, 17 Nov 2001)

The epicentre for mobilisation against police and then statutory Parades Commission marching bans was the Drumcree Parish Church. It was used for an Orange Order church service each year, before a futile post-1996 attempt was made to walk the Garvaghy Road. Facilities offered by the church, in the form of meeting rooms, plus toilet and cooking facilities, helped to maintain the protest for weeks on end, year after year.

Though Wright, nickname 'King Rat', was a notorious sec-

tarian killer, association with violent loyalists seemed a winning formula. It was tried again. On 30 April 2000, the *Sunday Times* reported that Portadown Orangemen "entered a secret alliance with Johnny Adair, a loyalist terrorist, to seize control of the Drumcree protest in July." Adair, nickname 'Mad Dog', was a leader of the illegal UDA's 'C' Company on Belfast's Shankill Road. He adopted the slogan 'Kill 'em all, let God sort them out' with regard to Catholics. A 1995 newspaper feature on Adair contained:

"So did he ever have a Catholic in his car before? "Only a dead one," he says. We drive on in silence... "What do we do with Taigs?" Mad Dog asks. "We spray them," obliges the combat jacket [his companion] with a friendly drunken grin. Ask Mad Dog what he is and he says an "Ulster man". Ask him what he is going to die for and he says: "The Crown" ... "I know they will get me," says Mad Dog. But he doesn't lose sleep over it. He has no remorse for the killing and no pity for his victims. "Once you get your first Fenian blood, it is easy after that." (Maggie O'Kane, *Guardian*, 7 Sep 1995)

On 2 July 2000 Stoneyford Orange Order leader Mark Harbinson mounted a British Army Saracen vehicle and set the scene. He proclaimed Drumcree as "Ulster's Alamo" and continued, "the war begins here." (*Belfast Telegraph*, 3 Jul 2000)

As predicted, Adair arrived in Drumcree on 3 July 2000 with 50 tee-shirted supporters and arranged for the firing of shots in a nearby estate. Further violence and intimidation ensued. He claimed, "I was in Portadown at the request of the Protestant people and in response to [Orange Order District Master] Harold Gracey's comments". A spokesperson for the Order in Portadown, David Jones, refused to condemn Adair or his activity. Instead he welcomed "all expressions of support," while hoping protests would be "peaceful." The local Church of Ireland diocesan council sometime later stated, "It was particularly saddened" that Gracey "refused to condemn the violence or dissociate the protest from paramilitary involvement". (*Belfast Telegraph*, 4 Jul, 6 Sep 2000)

There was an attempt to down play the Order's takeover of church facilities. In July 1998 the *Irish Times* Religious Affairs Correspondent reported "disquiet" by the Drumcree select

*Johnny 'Mad Dog' Adair arrives at Drumcree 3 July 2000 - Drumcree Parish Church top right of picture*



vestry over use of the church hall. The Order's public address system then announced that the main church hall was out of bounds and "is closed until further notice". (*IT*, 10 Jul 1998).

This was typically disingenuous, as "The hall became to all intents and purposes the headquarters of the Orange Order's stand-off at Drumcree, and has been such from the beginning." Democratic Unionist and Free Presbyterian Church leader Ian Paisley, an opponent of the Church of Ireland,

"arrived there ... to meet Orange officials... He returned to the hall again before leaving Drumcree... The select vestry at Drumcree... approved the use by the Orange Order of an annex at the back of the hall during the current impasse. A kitchen there is used to prepare food for protesters. Toilets are also used by them and a room has been set up as a first aid station." In addition, "One of the two rooms upstairs was being used during the week by members of the Star of David accordion band, Portadown, when it rested between performances up and down the hill. The other room has been used for political meetings." (*Ibid*)

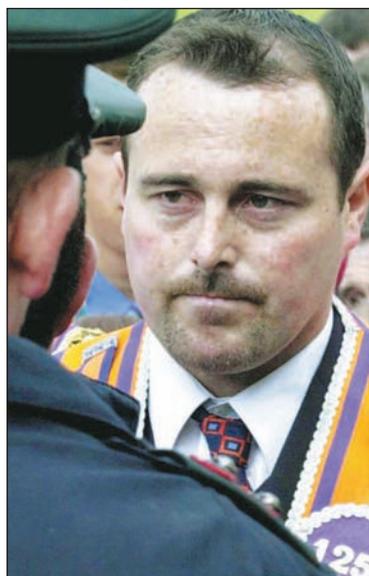
Orangemen were, "seen emerging from the hall a number of times during the week and it is believed that the public address system, or 'Radio Orange 1690 FM' as it describes itself, is based there." (*Ibid*) Furthermore,

"The Portadown district standard, which was carried at the head of last Sunday's parade, is stored against one of its walls. The Orange Order also uses a small building attached to the graveyard at Drumcree. It is known as "the stables" and has been used for daily prayer services. These are conducted by the chaplain of the Portadown district lodge, the Rev Duane Russell, an Independent Methodist minister (unconnected to the Methodist Church). The Order uses two fields each side of the Church of Ireland rectory in Drumcree, as car parks". (*Ibid*)

The rector of Drumcree, the Rev John Pickering, claimed ignorance of disquiet surrounding use of the parochial hall. He thought it "rather odd someone should have said that when I haven't heard it". He believed that the reported expression of disquiet by vestry members was "not a truthful statement" and suggested that the Church of Ireland press office should be contacted. A press office spokeswoman said the Church of Ireland's Representative Church Body, "has no jurisdiction over the hall. It belongs to the vestry who are its trustees". She said the same applied to the lands being used as car parks by Orangemen. (*Ibid*)

As part of widespread violent protests against the Garvaghy Road ban, in 1998 three young members of the Quinn family, "died when their home in Ballymoney, Co Antrim, was fire-bombed on the morning of July 12th, because their mother was

*In 2000, Mark Harbinson called Drumcree Ulster's Alamo". He said, "the war begins here"*



a Catholic." (*IT*, 16 Nov 1998) While the deaths caused outrage and division they did not diminish the massed Orange protest at Drumcree. Those who questioned the path the Order was taking either resigned, were shouted down, or were forced out. Those running the Order today are those who kept to the more sectarian path. (see Kennaway, 2006, on this)

On 16 July 1998 the *Irish Times* reported, "police roadblocks were set up on approach roads to the church after the discovery of assorted weapons at the stand-off

field yesterday. Twenty people were arrested. All cars going to the field will be checked by police to avoid any future build-up of such an arsenal.

The police search began at 7.30 a.m. yesterday and continued until late last night. It followed violent scenes early yesterday morning when about 50 men crowded before the barrier and threw 10 blast-bombs at police, as well as an assortment of "heavy duty" fireworks. A gas cylinder was also blown up. By 4.30 a.m. police had fired 80 plastic bullets and arrested six men.

During the following search police recovered a home-made sub-machinegun, spent and live ammunition, a number of explosive devices, including parts for blast-bombs and petrol-bombs. A five-gallon drum of petrol was also recovered, as well as a Chinese-made mortar, fireworks and a launcher, (described as deadly within 25 meters), two crossbows with over a dozen explosive-tipped darts each containing a ball-bearing, and catapults."

### Primate ignored and threatened

The Church of Ireland Primate received what he thought insulting and disturbing responses to attempts at influencing the Order. In July 1998 in the English Roman Catholic newspaper, *The Tablet*, Dr Robin Eames revealed that a letter he sent to the Order before Drumcree that year, "stressing the importance of linking Christian worship to behaviour outside and after the service," was not replied to. "I was told my letter had been noted." He continued, "The response from so-called loyalist sources to my call for the Drumcree protest to end was a defiant increase of calls for support." He said there, "was also a response of threat to me personally and to the Church of Ireland in general. Enough said." Eames wondered if the Order should be regarded as "truly Christian". (*IT*, 24 Jul 1998)

In the *Church of Ireland Gazette* the Provost of Tuam, the Very Rev Robert McCarthy, wrote: "Like most church people in the South, I am ashamed to be a member of a church which is so timid and craven as to have protested at the unauthorised use of its property at Drumcree only after such use had effectively ended." The Rev Tony Whiting from Mallow, Co Cork, found "everything about the Orange Order distasteful and unchristian". The Rev David Oxley of Tullow, Co Carlow, stated that the bishops and general synod "must take steps to clearly repudiate the Orange Order and what it stands for . . . we can either act decisively or stand condemned as ineffectual babblers and fellow-travellers with bigots". (*Ibid*)

A letter to the *Gazette* from Dean Victor Griffin, Canon Charles Kenny, the Rev Brian Stewart, the Rev Stewart Heaney, the Rev William Odling-Smee, Mr Brian Fitzpatrick, Ms Faith Gibson, Mr Norman Gibson, Ms Joan Douglas and Mr Michael Arlow referred to a submission made to the Church of Ireland's sub-committee on sectarianism in January 1998. They said:

"Common worship should never be compromised by parades to or from a church, by requests from organisations with no formal links with the C of I to attend public worship in

*Drumcree 13 July 1998: Orangemen dance after loyalists fire-bombed a house killing three Catholic children on July 12*





Former RUC officer and sectarian killer Billy McCaughey on July 12 2005 Orange Order parade in ballymena - never expelled



McCaughey (beard) organises the 1996-97 Harryville anti-Catholic Mass protest with fellow lodge members in ballymena

regalia, or by attempts to impose or request particular readings, prayers, hymns, sermon topics or preachers. Since certain Orange church parades give rise to public strife and serious controversy, the synod (which meets once a year) as a matter of urgency should decide and make public what specific actions need to be taken about such parades.”

They asked:

“Can the church be true to its witness if it fails to treat these critical issues with a sense of urgency? Or are we hoping that they will somehow go away or that others will solve them for us?” (Ibid)

Leading members of the Church of Ireland began, significantly, to acknowledge responsibility for the Order’s actions and sentiments:

“It would be dishonourable to say the Orange Order is not in some sense our responsibility, because if we didn’t create it, we certainly nurtured it. And we were very happy to have it, because our mistake was to encourage loyalty to a community rather than loyalty only to Christ.”

The Bishop of Meath and Kildare, Dr Richard Clarke, continued, “in previous generations the Order had been nurtured in order to create a loyalty to a particular Protestant sect.” (IT, 5 Oct 1998)

In 1992 five nationalists were killed by loyalists on Belfast’s Ormeau Road. Opposition to the Orange Order escalated when marchers held up five fingers in celebration at the massacre site



These vocal protests were mainly from southern based representatives or members of the Church. They mirrored criticism of unionist sectarianism during Northern Ireland’s 1920-22 state formation. It needs to be born in mind, however, that attempts to voice opinions such as these in the North could have placed lives, if not livelihoods, at risk (see later discussion on the Reverend David Armstrong). A report on Protestants in Border areas noted a 1999 Drumcree-related Synod decision to restrict the flying of flags at churches to those bearing the cross of St Patrick or of the Anglican Communion:

“in some parishes it would appear to be the Select Vestry who hold the balance of power. The Cleric is not easily able to assert either their own position or the ‘official position’ of the Church of Ireland over the views and wishes of the Vestry. This sense of Clergy ‘walking on egg-shells’ in their own parish is palpable in some situations. When Clergy are ‘advised’ by parishioners that they have been seen going somewhere, such as into a local Public house, or doing something which is considered ‘unhelpful’ or ‘inappropriate’, such as attending the opening of the local GAA grounds/ premises, it creates for the Cleric, at the very least, a huge dilemma.

-“Whatever you say, say nothing”, a report on the views and experiences of Border Protestants for the Church of Ireland Diocese of Clogher, by David Gardiner, commissioned by the Hard Gospel Project, 2008.

This atmosphere encouraged caution and a fear of speaking. The co-author of *Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland* (1998), John D Brewer asserted, “It is as important to decommission this particular Protestant mind-set as it is to decommission weapons. It has killed people such as the Quinn brothers and [RUC] Constable Riley” in 1998. (IT, 16 Nov 1998). Riley, a Catholic, was attacked with a blast bomb “during Orange Order protests in Portadown and was described as a papist spy by

‘Shankill Butcher’ Eddie McIlwaine carries an Orange ‘bannerette’ celebrating fellow UVF sectarian killer, Brian Robinson, June 2003





'KAI' on Orange drums means 'Kill-all-Irish', or it refers to a Glasgow Rangers Danish footballer from the 1960s?

those unapologetic for his death". (ibid)

Brewer, a Presbyterian who prefers to describe himself simply as a Christian, suggested that those attempting to obscure the history of the Order, "would have to face the truth about the Order's bigotry and what was done in its name if they were to truly exorcise its anti-Catholicism... The Order's insistence on marching through Catholic areas was more an expression of Protestant domination/ triumphalism than of Protestant identity." (ibid) This was the challenge for the Church of Ireland, one that could only be faced by understanding and confronting the nature of politicised anti-Catholicism, otherwise known as sectarianism. But it was also a challenge that could be deflected by obscuring the nature and effects of Orangeism.

**Commemorating killers**

The Order claims that those engaged in illegal activity are expelled from its ranks. This is a lie.

"An Orangeman may not marry a Catholic. However, he may, it seems, kill one. Billy McCaughey was an RUC constable, an Orangeman, a member of the Black Preceptory and a member of the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force, when he murdered Catholic shopkeeper William Strathearn in Co Antrim in 1977. "I was never expelled from the Orange Order," said McCaughey, now the Ballymena spokesman for the Progressive Unionist Party.

The Black Preceptory did expel him. However, in 1980, McCaughey presented a banner to the Apprentice Boys. The SDLP protested that the banner commemorated "the contemporary crime of sectarian murder", but the Apprentice Boys carried it at their annual parade.

*Irish Times 14 July 2007*

Madam, - It was good to read in Thursday's edition that "hopes [were] high for peaceful parades on the Twelfth", that the SDLP's Patsy McGlone had made a "call to link funds to bonfire emission limits" and that your Editorial looked forward to a "quiet, dignified and family-friendly Twelfth of July".

Hopes, though, need to be built on the full reporting of realities. Your photograph of the huge bonfire at Ballycraigy, Co Antrim (page 10) is shot from the side, concealing the fact that affixed to the pyre is the Irish national flag with the letters "KAT" ("Kill All Taigs") written on it.

Had the flag been the Israeli flag with "Kill All Jews" on it, or the South African flag with "Kill All Blacks" on it, would the photographer have chosen a similarly discreet angle? And would your accompanying report have likewise failed to mention the flag and its obscene lettering?

Toxic tyres damage the atmosphere. Partial reporting damages credibility. - Yours, etc, JUDE COLLINS, Co Antrim.

McCaughey also took part in the 1996 Harryville "protest", among the organisers of which were members of the Orange Order. [See photographs]

Loyalists, some wearing sashes, launched a weekly attack on Catholics going to mass at the Ballymena church. They assaulted people, hurled sectarian abuse and grunted like pigs...

In 1997, Orangeman Norman Coopey and another man picked up 16-year-old James Morgan in Co Down. They beat him to death with a hammer, burned his body and buried the remains in a pit full of animal carcasses. The following day, Coopey confessed to the police and was arrested. He was not expelled from the order." (Susan McKay, *Sunday Tribune*, 14 Jul 2002)

In 2003 the previously mentioned Mark Harbinson,

alongside a Royal Irish Regiment soldier, was one of four Orangemen convicted of riotous assembly at Drumcree. (*Irish News*, 13 Nov 2003) Harbinson has since been questioned for stealing intelligence information and for assault on a Catholic teenager and a Sinn Fein Counsellor in Stoneyford. He appeared in court in October 2009 "charged with grooming a child for sex." (*Guardian*, 27 Oct 2009) He was then "suspended" from the Order. (*Irish News*, 4 Nov 2009)

**'Orangefest'**

The Order has made attempts in recent years to clean up its image, if not its act. In 2006 councillor William Humphreys referred to "accommodation" and "shared space" in relation to 'Orangefest'. Complicating facts on the ground kept obtruding, however. That year the *Irish News* reported, "a banner commemorating UDA leader Joe Bratty was carried through Belfast city centre last Wednesday" in an Orange parade (19 Jul 2006):

"In April 1994 Bratty was questioned about the murder of mother-of-two Theresa Clinton... [She] was killed after UDA gunmen threw a concrete block through the window of her Balfour Avenue home and opened fire with automatic rifles hitting her 16 times. Bratty had also been implicated in the UDA gun attack on Sean Graham's Bookmakers on the Ormeau Road in February 1992 which left five people dead."

That is twice that the Orange Order celebrated Ormeau Road killers. First of all in 1992 when Orangemen passing the massacre spot held aloft five fingers in celebration (see photograph), an action giving initial impetus to demands for re-routing parades. A UVF sectarian killer named Brian Robinson had his image similarly celebrated in 2003. It was carried by Orange Order member Eddie McIlwaine in his Orange regalia. (see photograph) McIlwaine had been sentenced to eight years in prison for membership of the 'Shankill Butchers'. The group, led by notorious UVF killer Lenny Murphy, routinely tortured and killed Catholics during the 1970s. The Orange Order responded that this was an unofficial Orange 'bannerette'. It is also regularly asserted that 'KAI' adorning Orange drums refers not to "Kill all Irish" (*IT*, 14 Jul 2008) but to Kai Johansen, a 1960s Glasgow Rangers footballer (see photograph). Possibly, use of the alternative slogan, 'KAT' or "'Kill all Taigs'", fell into

25 July 2006: the Orange marching season is usually accompanied by an increase in sectarian attacks on Catholics

relative disuse because it did not approximate to the names of soccer players.

The Grand Master of the Orange Order in England, Ron Bather, said in 2006 that "membership of a paramilitary organisation may not break the laws of the institution". (*Irish News* 6 July). Bather was addressing the case of two members, Roy Barwise, sentenced to four and a half years for UVF membership and possession of weapons, and John Irwin, jailed for two and a half years for membership. Both were also members of the 'Liverpool Volunteers Flute Band'. One of many appendages to 'Orangefest', such bands play sectarian tunes and engage in loud and determined drumming when within earshot of Roman Catholics or their places of worship.

Councillor Humphreys objected to comparisons with the US racist organisation, the Klu Klux Klan. (ibid)

### Hard Gospel

The Orange Order's Drumcree protest in 1997 and 1998 was the catalyst that led to setting up the Hard Gospel project. A 2009 Church commissioned report noted,

"The Hard Gospel Project initiated, developed, supported and co-ordinated a wide range of activities involving more than 7,500 people across every diocese in Ireland between November 2005 and December 2008".

- Tony MacAuley, *What difference did it make? An independent evaluation of The Hard Gospel Project*, 2009: 22

However, it would appear that the aims of the Hard Gospel project did become diffused. The Rev William Deverell of the Church of Ireland Tallaght, typically reported in his parish newsletter on October 15, 2007,

"The Hard Gospel came out of the Drumcree situation ten years ago when the Church of Ireland was seen, unfairly, as aligned with sectarianism. As time has moved on it is still relevant in modern Ireland as it addresses the issues of racism and helps us to deal with areas of difference that we are called to deal with."

Unfairly? The 44 page 2009 report summing up the Hard Gospel experience noted significant differences on how to tackle sectarianism and even whether it should be prioritised:

"During the first year... there was considerable debate and a degree of confusion on what constituted a 'Hard Gospel Issue'. Some expected the project to address only sectarianism and cross community dialogue between unionists and nationalists on the island, while others expected the project to address the wider legacy of the conflict such as loyalist paramilitaries. Some expected the project to address sectarianism as one of a range of diversity issues while others, particularly in the South, perceived sectarianism to be a 'Northern issue' and had an expectation that the project should be addressing mainly multi-cultural issues. Meanwhile others expected the project to address any community/social issue not currently being addressed by the Church. Inevitably, such a range of expectations could not be met fully and this resulted in a sense of disappointment in the project for some. At times this lack of clarity also resulted in the project staff sensing that some of the issues they were pursuing were perceived as of personal interest rather than of strategic importance. This could result in staff feeling their work was undervalued." (MacAuley, op cit)

Absent from this significant discussion is a discussion of the

*Some Orange Order rules - there have been many expulsions for marrying Catholics, none for killing them*

<b>Intermarriages with Papists.</b>	Any Member dishonouring the Institution by marrying a Roman Catholic shall be expelled; and every Member shall use his best endeavours to prevent and discountenance the marriage of Protestants with Roman Catholics, such intermarriages generally occasioning domestic unhappiness and tending to the injury of Protestantism.
<b>Sunday Sports.</b>	And it shall be deemed an offence for any member to facilitate in any way Sunday sports, amusements or dances organised by Roman Catholics, and that such offending member be dealt with under Law 93.

legacy of sectarianism within the Church community, some-thing envisaged by those who originally questioned the church's relationship with the Orange Order. Instead, a degree of self-congratulation appears to have crept in. Point five of the report's executive summary observed:

"The project developed demonstration projects that addressed key strategic issues in relation to the legacy of conflict and an increasingly multi cultural Ireland. The projects on immigration and loyalist communities were at the 'cutting edge' of contemporary diversity and inclusion issues in Ireland during the past three years." (ibid: 4)

While there are three references to the Order in the report there are, surprisingly, none to Drumcree, not even in the 'Background' section. The "flagship" project asked the Order for its opinion, though nationalist residents were not asked theirs. The Church sometimes sees itself as aloof from Sectarianism. Thus, on ABC Australia's 'Religion Report' Robin Eames said his Church "stand[s] midway between the extremes of Presbyterianism and Loyalism on one side, and Roman Catholicism and Nationalism on the other." He went on to support the right of clergy to participate in the Orange Order. (14 Jul 1997)

Within the body of the report a pertinent question posed by an 'external stakeholder' was cited but left hanging:

"The Church of Ireland doesn't do conflict. There is a possibility that the Hard Gospel could be passed through deferentially, without any real change in behaviour. What would change look like on the ground if local parishes were really addressing sectarianism?" (ibid: 21)

Issues such as immigration and multi-culturalism, while important in themselves, may have functioned to deflect, or perhaps partition, the Church from its particular responsibility for the Irish form of racism, called sectarianism. It may have become a safe and worthy project rather than an attempt to challenge and to face uncomfortable truths.

One of the issues raised post Drumcree was anti-Catholic elements of the Church's constitution. The Orange Order's 'Qualifications of an Orangeman' contain references to 'fatal errors and doctrines of the church of Rome', refusal to attend

### 3 July 2007: Orange Order Drumcree march banned again, sectarian gangs attack Catholics during marching season

**NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR**  
**THE IRISH NEWS**  
 TUESDAY JULY 3 2007 60p (H.31)  
 www.irishtimes.com  
**Decision to ban Drumcree is right** SUSAN MCKAY: Page 10  
**A rare dose of Kerry honesty** AGAINST THE BREEZE: Page 71  
**North's airports return to normal**  
**Gang broke boy's skull in savage 'sectarian' attack**  
 By Marie Louise McCrory  
**"Before he went unconscious he remembers looking up and they were still hitting him"**  
 Patricia Ferris, mother of Niall (pictured)  
 "He remembers a Protestant woman came out of her house and shouted at me. They took me to the street and they were still hitting me." - Patricia Ferris  
 "This family is not sectarian. We don't live in a sectarian area. We've never been the victims of sectarianism." - Patricia Ferris  
 "Residents protest" - P1  
 "Editorial" - P10





2006 Orange Order 12 July bonfire. The target of the insult, Catholic teenager Michael McIlveen, was killed in a sectarian attack in Ballymena in May 2006

promotes the contentious idea that Protestants were sectarian targets of the IRA during and immediately after the Irish War of Independence, from 1919-22. In other words, it promotes the notion of Protestants as innocent victims driven from their homes, rather than ever as politicised authors of sectarianism. This is, relatively, a comforting and passive, rather than challenging and disturbing, position to occupy. UCC History Professor John A Murphy referred to the claim some years ago as "Paisleyite myth mongering", believing it to have little evidential basis. (*Sunday Independent*, 10 Oct 2004)

A leading Reform spokesperson and one time Orange Order advisor (*Times, London*, 19 Aug 1997) spoke at the conference. He used the opportunity to highlight this campaign. This speaker, Senator Eoghan Harris, devoted his weekly *Sunday Independent* column to the reportedly private, "day of learning and reflection". He criticised "Don't-rock-the-boat Dublin Protestants", described as "wimpy". (14 Dec 2008) Southern Protestants, who in the early 1920s publicly contradicted unionist claims that the IRA targeted Protestants for sectarian attack, were equally dismissed. Senator Harris appeared to marginalise outspoken Protestant voices disagreeing with his.

Senator Harris was also reported by participants to have criticised Brian Murphy, a respected academic historian who also questions the evidential adequacy of the Senator's view.

Murphy is a member of the Glenstal Community in Limerick and a Roman Catholic priest. Senator Harris reportedly questioned Murphy in this priestly capacity, rather than as an Oxford educated historian. Since the event was held under the auspices of the Church of Ireland and since the purpose of the Hard Gospel project is to challenge sectarianism, this was doubly unfortunate. It is also unfortunate that no one thought to invite Murphy, who has written on the subject of the conference.

It does not appear as though there has been any attempt to distance either organising group from Senator Harris's comments. However, the Church of Ireland Cork diocesan website notes,

"The day closed with thanks and acknowledgement from the Bishop of the hard work of The Ven Robin Bantry-White in securing all speakers, except for Senator Harris, who was

Ballymena DUP councillor's comments on murdered teenager cause outrage

## HOW LOW CAN IT GO?



Aaron Wallace is led from Ballymena court yesterday after being charged with the murder of Ballymena schoolboy Michael McIlveen. The five suspects in the murder case, including one aged 15, are all from Ballymena, Co Antrim. PAUL FAITH/PA

■ 'As a Catholic, he [Michael McIlveen] won't get into heaven. Catholics are not accepted into heaven'

- DUP Councillor Roy Gillespie

■ 'I would like Ian Paisley to be at the funeral. If he wants to go he is more than welcome'

- Michael McIlveen's uncle, Francis

In what was seen as a breakthrough, DUP leader Ian Paisley visited the parents of the dead teenager. He did not, however, attend the funeral (*Daily Ireland*, 12 May 2006)

invited by Philip McKinnley of the Hard Gospel Project."

No contention has been reported in relation to the contributions of the five academic speakers, David Butler, Peter Hart, John Borgonovo, Andy Bielenberg and Joseph Ruane.

The choice of Senator Harris as a speaker is puzzling since, living in Carrigaline, Cork, is the Rev David Armstrong who in 1985 experienced Orange Order sectarianism in his capacity as a Presbyterian minister in Limavady, Northern Ireland. Armstrong later became a Church of Ireland clergyman.

Armstrong's experience revealed the position of Protestant clergy attempting merely to extend the hand of religious friendship to a Catholic clergyman from across the road. For this he,

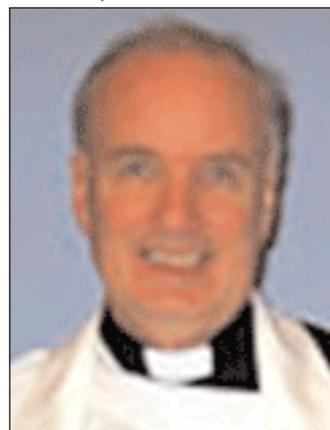
"was hounded out of Co Derry after criticising an attack on a neighbouring Catholic church. He and his family are now based in Co Cork.... The furious cleric, his wife June, and their kids Sarah and Mark were subjected to a terrifying campaign of harassment after extending the hand of friendship to Catholics in their former hometown of Limavady. Their lives were threatened after Rev Armstrong invited Fr Kevin Mullen to speak at his church on Christmas Day after the parish priest's own church was bombed. He recalled: "I went through hell. The abuse towards my family was disgusting. My children's lives were threatened. Men in bowler hats [members of the Orange Order] quoted the Bible at me, saying this was God's work." The family finally fled to start a new life at St Mary's

Rev David Armstrong, not asked to speak at Cork event

Church in Carrigaline after the cleric received a coffin with his name on it." (*The Sun*, 18 Feb 2005).

When his church in Cork burned down due to an electrical fault, the *Irish News* (25 Mar 2003) reported:

"A Protestant clergyman who was forced out of Co Derry because of his cross community work has praised Catholic parishioners in a Co Cork town for allowing him to use their local church for services."



In 2006 Armstrong attended the funeral of Ballymena Catholic teenager Michael McIlveen, who was killed in a sectarian attack. He said he “blushed with shame and total embarrassment” that such violence should be carried out in the name of Protestantism:

“I am at pains when I walk along the main street of my town to point out to Catholic people that I totally disassociate myself from that type of behaviour and I am delighted when they shake me by the hand. My family, our congregation and I are never treated like that. We are treated with decency and courtesy, kindness and warmth and only would wish that for Catholic people who are living in a minority in Ulster, that they would be treated with the same dignity and respect as we are.” (*Irish News*, 11 May 2006. Also *News of the World*, 4 Feb 2001, *Sunday Mirror*, 7 Jan 2001, *Irish Times*, 19 Dec 2000, *Guardian*, 29 Apr 1985)

It might be wondered why the Reverend Armstrong was not asked to speak at the conference. The reason is not immediately obvious. Perhaps it might be explained by those who decided that his experience should not be explored by the Hard Gospel Project. Should it not be celebrated as an example of Protestant bravery and endurance in the face of sectarian bigotry? Surprisingly, it appears not.

**Conclusion**

If the purpose of the Hard Gospel project has altered subtly, how has it promoted diversity generally within the Church of Ireland? On 23 September 2009 the *Belfast Newsletter* reported that a,

“Sunday morning Holy Communion service, to be held on May 10 at St Patrick’s Cathedral in Armagh, was to involve prayers said by representatives of the Orange Order, Royal Black Preceptory, Freemasons and GAA. But it was the involvement of Changing Attitude, a group which lobbies for the full involvement of gay and lesbian people in church life, which has led to the Loyal Orders’ angry withdrawal and the subsequent decision not to go ahead with the event as it had been planned. Instead, it is understood that a more traditional service will be held”.

Before dealing with the substantive point it may be wondered why members of the Gaelic Athletic Association were consid-

ered the appropriate representatives of the nationalist community. Why not nationalist residents’ associations who object to Orange Order sectarianism on their streets? Is it because the Order might object, perhaps even more strenuously, to that too?

The *Newsletter* reported an original letter to prospective participants in the service,

“the Archbishop of Armagh, Alan Harper, had requested that the various groups be asked to pray at the service. In a statement, the Very Rev Patrick Rooke, Dean of Armagh, who is organising the service, said: “The theme of the service, in keeping with the Church’s Hard Gospel process, will be on the Gospel imperative to ‘love God and our neighbour’.”

In the event, it was decided not to offend the Orange Order, but to offend gay Christians instead. It is clear that the Order still wields unacknowledged influence within the Church, which comes to notice from time to time.

The Hard Gospel project appears not yet to have succeeded in its ostensible purpose of confronting sectarianism among Church members. Perhaps, as a means of defusing and managing internal Church of Ireland tensions, it has fared better.

*This article is excerpted from Church & State Magazine, Winter, 2009*

Suggested Further Reading:

**Brewer, John D and Gareth I Higgins, *Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland, 1600-1998: the Mote and the Beam*, Macmillan, 1998**

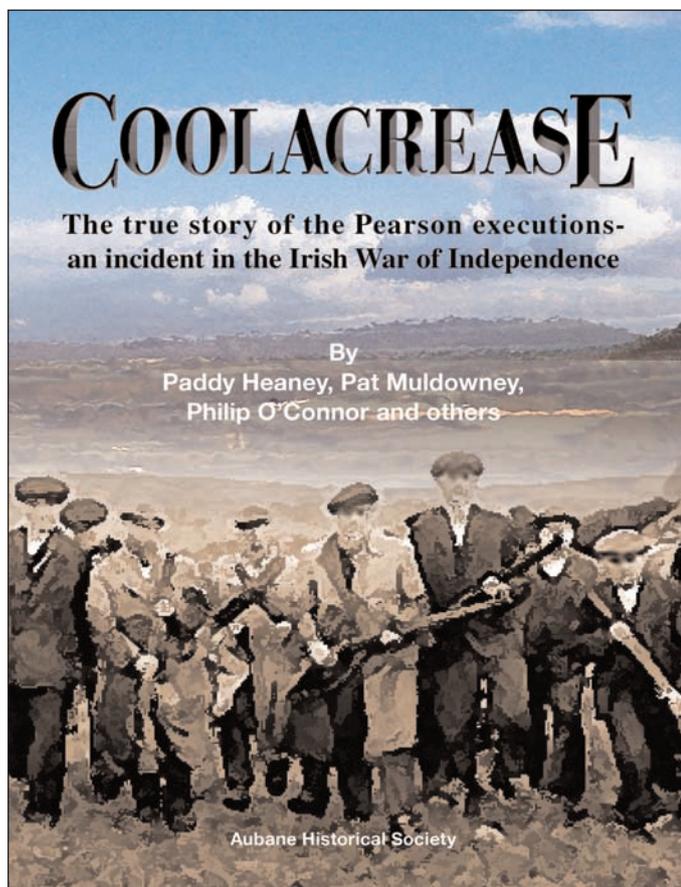
**Kennaway, Brian, *The Orange Order, a Tradition Betrayed*, Methuen, 2006**

**Heaney, Paddy, Pat Muldowney, Philip O’Connor, et al, *Coolcrease*, Aubane, 2008**

**Murphy, Brian and Niall Meehan, *Troubled History: a 10th Anniversary Critique of Peter Hart’s The IRA and its Enemies*, Aubane 2008**

Also

**Dublin Review of Books, Autumn, 2009, [www.drbb.ie](http://www.drbb.ie): article by Niall Meehan and article by Pat Muldowney and Philip O’Connor -**



**Troubled History**  
A 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary critique of Peter Hart's *The IRA and its Enemies*

**Brian P Murphy** and **Niall Meehan**  
Introduction by **Ruan O'Donnell**

THE AUBANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2008 £7/€10/\$10

## 8. Review of “*Jasper Wolfe of Skibbereen*” by Jasper Ungoed-Thomas

Perceptiveness is the single quality that marks out a good historian, and ‘Jasper Wolfe of Skibbereen’ surprised me by pointing out things about my native Cork that I might have known better. Here is a fascinating account of a remarkable man, written by his grandson, Jasper Ungoed-Thomas. Jasper Wolfe was a loyalist who became Crown Solicitor for Cork, and who continuously prosecuted Republicans in British courts during the Tan War, but who defended them with even greater dedication, in Free State courts after the Civil War was over. Moreover, despite being both loyalist and Protestant, he was elected three times to Dail Eireann from a constituency that was overwhelmingly nationalist and Catholic - and he was never defeated before standing down in 1932.

The main surprise came in Chapter Five, ‘Methodists’, where Ungoed-Thomas puts his subject in the context of his locality and his times. Much has been written about the Catholic Church and about the Church of Ireland. But, as Ungoed-Thomas explains, in Cork there was a third church, the Methodist Church. ‘... *Victorian Methodism appeared to many as a dynamic and attractive faith*’, he writes on page 19. Once mentioned, the influence of the Methodist Church becomes obvious to anyone from Cork County - particularly on the section of Cork society in which I grew up: the farming community! Cork farmers are different. They have long had a reputation for hard work and industry and for their disapproval of drink and gambling - particularly towards the south and west of the county where the Methodist Church is strong.

When writing about somebody important, it is essential to deal with the big picture in which he lived and moved, and for Jasper Wolfe, that picture was dominated by the Irish War of Independence (commonly known as the ‘Tan War’) and the events that followed.

The book includes an excellent summary of the conflict. In fact, if someone were to ask what the War was about, I should refer him, not to any of the well-known books on the subject, but to ‘Jasper Wolfe of Skibbereen’. Beginning with Chapter Fifteen, Ungoed-Thomas shows a clear grasp of the issues and events that led to Irish independence. His Tan War is peopled with real characters such as Neilus Connolly, Wolfe’s arch-Nemesis during most of the struggle. It is common enough for writers to deal with historical opponents using a good-guy / bad-guy characterization; it is even more common for them to adopt an attitude of dismissive indifference to all sides. Ungoed-Thomas is rare in that he handles both adversaries with charity and understanding. The result is both interesting and very believable.

Of the Dunmanway killings in late-April 1922, he says, ‘*they had few, if any, of the signs of a planned IRA operation*’ – a fact that seems to have escaped most Irish-born historians. He notes that they occurred across at least 3 Battalion areas and clearly in defiance of the ‘*alpha males*’ who commanded these areas. Equally impressive is his insight into the complex mentality of the people of West Cork. A very telling sentence describing Labour leader Thomas Johnson appears on page 192: ‘*Like many an Englishman, he was foolish enough to believe what he thought he had heard and seen*’.

The book does have shortcomings. It can be very sketchy in places and (apart from a few tantalizing glimpses) it is hard to arrive at a proper sense of Jasper Wolfe in his daily life and conversation. But even this is preferable to the ‘biographer’s bug’ i.e. a compulsion to insert every known detail into the narrative, no matter how trivial or insignificant – a far more effective way to drown out all sense of the subject. Overall, I am impressed with a clear-sighted writer of Irish history who writes in an easy, readable style. He tells a good story, and he tells it well; I look forward to his next one.

Owen Sheridan

## 9. Report on Religious Issue in Ireland The American Commission on Ireland, 1921

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT:

#### THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN IRELAND

**N**O examination of the Irish situation can ignore the religious issue. The Commission has, however, not included any detailed discussion of it in the main body of its report; first, because evidence of religious controversy bulks much smaller in the testimony presented to it than in popular opinion; and secondly, because it seemed peculiarly appropriate that the Protestant members should deal with the subject in view of the overwhelming predominance of Roman Catholics in Ireland and the charge sometimes heard in Protestant circles that Republican sentiment has its chief origin in ecclesiastical agitation.

The only evidence before the Commission concerning serious religious controversy resulting in the destruction of life and property dealt with the Ulster riots of the summer of 1920. Unfortunately our efforts to secure testimony on these occurrences from eye-witnesses proved unavailing; neither did we have direct testimony from any member of the Orange lodges—societies devoted to the cause of Protestant ascendancy in Ulster. We did, however, have testimony from Mr. Francis Hackett, Miss Signe Toksvig, and Mrs. Annot Robinson, who visited Ulster soon after the riots. None of these is Catholic in religion; the first two are American citizens, the third is a British citizen of Scotch Presbyterian stock; only Mr. Hackett is of Irish blood.

The first of the riots occurred in Londonderry. This famous old Protestant stronghold is divided about evenly between Unionists and Republicans; the council is evenly divided and the Mayor is a Sinn Feiner. Concerning the riots here the Commission received little testimony. It was alleged that although the Orangemen were the aggressors the Imperial British forces were benevolently neutral toward them and that order was restored by the Republican Government which sent in Irish Volunteers.

More serious rioting occurred in Belfast beginning July 21st. Mr. Hackett and Miss Toksvig testified that by the end of August in recurring riots at least 56 people were killed. These riots were the aggressors partook of the character of Russian pogroms against the Jews. In October, 1920, Mrs. Robinson visited Ulster and found that "more than 20,000 expelled workers and their families" were ex-

#### Ulster Pogroms

#### Londonderry

#### Belfast

but from their homes. The victims were predominantly Catholic though among them were Protestants suspected of "labor, socialist, or Sinn Fein sympathies."\* It was testified that the occasion for the outbreak of rioting was the killing of District Commissioner Smyth in Cork. Mrs. Robinson believed that a more fundamental cause for the resurgence of bigotry was the election of 25 men who "were not Orangemen" to the Belfast City Council whose total membership is 60. After the election "open threats of retaliation were made by Orange leaders. . . . On July 21st inflammatory speeches were made at the gates of the shipyards and immediately after that the Orange workers turned upon their nationalist fellow workers and expelled something like 4,000 of them from the yards. Some of the men tried to swim the channel [Belfast Lough] but were met by stones on the other side so that they could not land and had to come back. Some of them spent hours in the water, some of them, of course, were killed." Orange workers refused to work with their nationalist comrades. They had the sympathy of the employers. The result was general expulsion of Catholic and Republican workers from the shipyards and linen mills which were then approaching a period of depression.

One of the worst sufferers from the Ulster pogroms was the prosperous linen town of Lisburn just outside of Belfast. To this city

Inspector Swanzy had been transferred from Cork after the death of Lord Mayor MacCurtain. As he came out of a Protestant church one Sunday in September—the evidence is Mrs. Robinson's—"three motor cars came up filled by men who were veiled, by men who were strangers to the district. They held up the congregation and District Inspector Swanzy was shot dead. The Orange population rose against the Catholic inhabitants of the town and the Sinn Fein and Nationalist leaders and burned their houses; although the murder was admittedly committed by men who were strangers in the town. The town burned Sunday night and a large part of Monday, and no attempt was made to extinguish the flames, although Lisburn is quite near to Belfast, and the skies were lit up for miles around."

As a result of her investigation Mrs. Robinson estimated that one house out of three had been destroyed. "The picture was one of absolute devastation." The plight of the homeless was pitiable. In a Catholic charitable institution she saw numbers of women refugees, driven out of their homes in Lisburn.

I saw the Belgian refugees who came to us in Manchester. But those people were absolutely the most hopeless looking lot of people I have ever seen. You see, in the northeast it is almost impossible for a boy who wants to enter a skilled trade to get a place if he is known to be a Catholic. . . . And, of course, these women were the

\* The terms are, of course, not synonymous.

wives and mothers of unskilled laborers; and it has been very difficult to get a home together. Now they saw the effort of long years of toil swept away. They lacked life. And then the children. They were absolutely without anything to do. . . . The misery in that hall was very, very depressing.

While on the face of it this is an appalling record of a revival of religious strife, all the witnesses who appeared before us agreed that the Ulster pogroms were not primarily due to a spontaneous flare-up of smoldering bigotry, but were rather promoted by those whose economic and political interests were opposed both to strong labor unionism and to Irish Republicanism. Certain manufacturers and Unionist politicians, it was alleged, had taken alarm at the solidarity of labor, Protestant and Catholic, shown in the great shipyard strike of 1919. The result of the urban and county council elections held under proportional representation had evidenced the present strength of labor and of Sinn Fein in Unionist strongholds. Miss Toksvig, who made especial inquiry into the Belfast situation, quoted a large manufacturer as follows:

I know and all the manufacturers in this city know, that the trouble is not a religious trouble except as it has been fostered by them to serve their political and their economic interests. . . . I warned them a long time ago that they were rousing up a monster they could not control and which some day might turn upon them. The large manufacturers have worked together to keep up strife between the workmen using the religious issue as a means . . . to prevent agitation among laborers to improve their conditions and wages, and [to prevent] home rule agitation.

This statement, Miss Toksvig said, was corroborated by others. In effecting this division among the workers, the politicians and manufacturers have had the aid of a large section of the press and of the clergy.\* As illustrating the growing alarm of the employers over the economic issue, Mrs. Robinson called attention to features of the Home Rull Bill, recently enacted by the British Parliament, intended to secure the capitalist interests of Ulster against labor legislation in the parliament to be set up for the six Ulster counties—three of which, several witnesses alleged, are predominantly Republican in sentiment.

Even from Protestant Ulster itself comes evidence that its opposition to Irish Republicanism is not wholly religious. Sir Edward Carson would seem to have accepted a Home Rule Act which gives his party approximately what they want in Ulster at the price of delivering over the Protestant minority in the rest of Ireland to the majority rule of their Catholic neighbors. If the bond of unity were the Protestant

**Economic and  
Political  
Causes of  
Religious Strife**

**The Problem  
Not Wholly  
Religious**

\* Of course not all of the clergy. The Rev. J. A. Irwin, a prominent Presbyterian clergyman of Republican sympathies, was recently sentenced to one year's imprisonment by the British.

Faith rather than the tangle of interests which supports the feeling of the dissimilarity and superiority of Ulster to the rest of Ireland, no such agreement would have been made.

Limited as was the evidence placed before us, the Commission was made aware of the strength of the Ulster feeling of superiority in which condemnation of Catholicism is one element. This conclusion is borne out by a careful examination of the statements of the Ulster delegation\* to the United States embodied in the pamphlet *Facts About Ireland* put in evidence before us. Whether or not that sense of superiority is well grounded in fact has been scientifically examined by W. A. McKnight, whose pamphlet *Ireland and the Ulster Legend* was introduced in evidence. The author undertakes to show the truth about Ulster conditions by careful tables compiled from Imperial British Government Blue Books and other records whose accuracy is certified by a public accountant. These tables deal with taxable wealth, immigration, money expended on education, public health, illegitimacy, illiteracy, etc. They would appear to demolish the widely spread view that the average of material prosperity and social well being is higher in Ulster than in the rest of Ireland. In many respects other provinces make a better showing.

So far as the Commission could judge the Irish Republicans do not seek to demolish the "Ulster legend" by direct attack. They desire to win, not alienate, Protestant Ulster. They have offered her guarantees as to not only religious freedom but the protection of her economic interests. Mr. Laurence Ginnell, a member of Dail Eirann, himself a Catholic, testified: "We want the Orangemen. We know they will be one of the strongest elements in our new constitution. If English power were out of Ireland the south and the west and the midlands would harmonize with the people of the north within twenty-four hours." He pointed to certain concrete evidence of the growth of Irish national feeling in Protestant districts of Ulster, and in particular adduced the election of Louis Walsh of the Ballycastle district in County Antrim—a Protestant county—although Mr. Walsh was a Roman Catholic and a Republican. Miss Toksvig less optimistically believes that although the intense religious feeling in Ulster "was started artificially . . . the present generation is not going to forget about it soon."

As regards the rest of Ireland outside the region immediately about Belfast, the Commission was impressed by the evidence of lack of any religious strife. In Ireland there were according to the census of 1911, 1,147,594 non-Catholics as against 3,242,570 Catholics. 890,880 of these non-Catholics (as compared with 690,816 Catholics) are in Ulster,

\* The tour of this delegation was in itself evidence that Ulster Unionists do not regard the Irish issue as merely a British "domestic problem."

leaving 256,714 non-Catholics (as compared with 2,551,754 Catholics) in all the rest of Ireland. This small minority is, of course, physically at the mercy of the Catholic majority. Yet there is on record not one single case of attack upon the life and property of any Protestant on account of his religion. The Catholics were aware of the Ulster pogroms, they suffered under Imperial British forces predominately Protestant in religion who did not spare their priests, convents\* and churches, yet they were guilty of no reprisals of any sort upon their Protestant neighbors.

And the evidence as to religious peace is positive as well as negative. English, Irish and American witnesses with one voice denied that religious differences made for confusion or discord outside of Ulster.

Constable Crowley, formerly of the R. I. C., expressed an opinion unanimously held by the witnesses before us, when he said that "Religious peace was very great." Perhaps the most striking evidence on this whole subject is to be found in the testimony of Miss Wilkinson, who said that the Wesleyan ministers in Ireland to whom her brother, himself a clergyman, gave her introductions, "entirely ridiculed the idea that the southern Unionists were in any danger from the southern population." A clergyman in Limerick assured her that many of the most prosperous business places in that city were owned by Protestant Unionists. This minister said that "generally speaking the Irish people trusted them completely and they had no trouble at all; . . . they were much more fearful of what the Crown forces would do than of what the Sinn Fein forces would do." This same clergyman proceeded to assure her that "the policy of the government is turning many of the Unionists against it." Miss Louie Bennett and Miss Townshend, Irish Protestants, corroborated the statement of the clergymen quoted by Miss Wilkinson to the effect that the excesses of the Imperial British forces were tending to dispose southern Protestants favorably toward the Republican government. Protestant business men, clergymen and farmers resort to Republican courts. Testimony already set forth in our main report calls attention to the significant fact that the condensed-milk factory at Mallow destroyed by the Imperial British forces in reprisal was owned by Mr. Cleeve, a Protestant. In the same town the Episcopal rector and the Presbyterian minister cooperated with the Catholic priest in an appeal to the British Commander to prevent a reprisal. Miss Townshend introduced in evidence a letter from Miss N. O'Brien, organizer of the Gaelic League, herself a Protestant, who testified that the rising spirit of Irish nationalism was uniting Catholic and Protestant in a common bond of unity. She illustrated this by citing St. Brendan's school near

\* On this point we have evidence from Miss Bennett, a Protestant.

Dublin where Catholics and Protestants had united in an interesting educational experiment.

Miss Mary MacSwiney and other Irish witnesses called to our attention the fact that Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, Charles Stewart Parnell, and many other of the patriot leaders in Ireland's history were Protestant. In 1798 the strength of the insurrectionary movement was in Protestant Ulster. It was further testified that at the present time such prominent Republican leaders as Mr. Ernest Blythe of Dail Eirann, Capt. Robert Barton, Mr. Erskine Childers, and others are Protestant. These leaders have held the suffrage of their fellow countrymen despite the fact that they belong to a religious minority. Miss Bennett who is organizer of the Women's Trade Union League found that her Protestantism in no way interfered with her work among Dublin working girls, almost all of whom are Catholic.

Miss Bennett and others made it clear that not only were some Protestants Republican in sympathy but also that there were Catholics who were anti-Republican. Miss Bennett testified that among the Catholic clergy were those who at best were decidedly lukewarm toward Sinn Fein. She cited the case of one priest who refused to lead his flock in prayers for Terence MacSwiney during his heroic hunger strike.

While the Commission wished for fuller evidence upon some of the points we have here discussed, we felt warranted in the following conclusions:

### SUMMARY

1. Outside of a part of Ulster, Catholics and Protestants live in peace and harmony and their political opinions are not primarily a matter of religion.
2. Even in Ulster religious bigotry is not by any means wholly spontaneous, but is artificially stirred up by those whose economic and political interests are served by dividing the people.
3. While it obviously lies beyond our province to pass final judgment upon the various aspects of the Ulster issue, we have not only a right but a duty as American Protestants to denounce the degradation of religion by such pogroms as occurred last summer. Upon this subject we owe it to our fellow religionists both in America and in Ulster, to speak plainly.

WASHINGTON, D. C.  
March 8th, 1921.

(Signed)

JANE ADDAMS.  
FREDERIC C. HOWE.  
JAMES H. MAURER.  
OLIVER P. NEWMAN.  
GEORGE W. NORRIS.  
NORMAN THOMAS.  
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD.

## **10. Professor John A Murphy questions Eoghan Harris's unsubstantiated claims**

**Irish Times, October 9, 2009**

Madam, – On October 5th, I was a commentator on the RTÉ CSÍ: Cork's Bloody Secret television documentary programme dealing with murders of 13 west Cork Protestants in April, 1922. Appearing on the same programme, Senator Eoghan Harris claimed that at least 60,000 Protestants were “driven out” of the new State in those years and that was a “conservative estimate”.

He stressed that the figure represented ordinary Protestants, “small farmers, small shopkeepers”, and did not include former servants of the ousted British regime such as disbanded policemen and demobbed soldiers. Neither did it include, presumably, those who left because they felt unable to accept the ideology and culture of the new dispensation.

Outside of these categories then, according to Senator Harris, at least 60,000 southern Protestants were subjected to an “enforced exodus” on a massive scale, to ethnic cleansing, in fact. He has made these unsubstantiated allegations repeatedly (for example in the Sunday Independent, May 24th, 2009).

It has been well said that history is what the evidence compels us to believe. It is now time for Senator Harris to produce the detailed, documental evidence (no surmises or estimates, please) in support of his dramatic claims. He should do so in the interests of historical truth and of community relations.

Yours, etc, JOHN A MURPHY, Emeritus Professor of Irish History, University College Cork.

**Irish Times, October 10, 2009**

Madam, – Prof John A Murphy (October 9th) claims to have two problems with my contribution to CSÍ, Cork's Bloody Secret . First he wants me to support my claim that some 60,000 Protestants were driven out of the State with “detailed, documental evidence”. How can I do that that when the statistical work has not been done by professional historians like himself? But I am perfectly entitled to make an educated estimate. The Censuses from 1911 to 1926 show that a third of Irish Protestants left the State in that period. In the brief slots provided by the CSÍ programme I used the phrase “driven out ” to cover any categories of compulsion (from physical intimidation to cultural pressures such as compulsory Irish for State jobs) which caused what I called the “enforced exodus” of the 1921-22 period.

As nobody can say for sure what this enforced exodus entailed, I based my estimate of 60,000 on two figures. First, I rejected as ridiculously high a possible top figure of 146,000. On the other hand I thought the bottom figure of 39,000 a bit too low.

The latter figure comes from Dr Andy Bielenberg's paper to the 2008 Cork conference, Understanding Our History . Excluding certain categories (RIC, first World War casualties, etc), Dr Bielenberg came up with a figure of 39,000 “involuntary emigrants”. This carefully chosen phrase is still close to my notion of an “enforced exodus”. As a professional historian, Dr Bielenberg is properly conservative in his calculations. However, if you add in the decline of

Dublin working-class Protestants, those who made no claims, and those who hung on for a few years, I believe the true figure of the “enforced exodus” is far closer to 60,000. But if Prof Murphy insists that only professional historians can do the totals I will settle for Prof Bielenberg’s figure of 39,000. This is still an appalling figure and warrants my use of the phrase “enforced exodus” – which a Prof Murphy trickily portrays as being the same as “ethnic cleansing”. But the CSÍ tape shows that I categorically reject making any such claim as follows: “I wouldn’t call it ethnic cleansing . . . and the IRA didn’t have a sectarian ideology, but there was a sectarian tradition in Ireland among rural communities that dated back to penal times, the prophecies of Pastorini . . .”

Finally, I ask your readers to reflect on Prof Murphy’s motives in distorting my contribution. This is his second personalised letter since I was appointed to the Seanad. But in pursuit of me he muddies the cleansing waters of the widely praised CSÍ programme and comforts the tribal patrols who police our past. –

Yours, etc, Senator EOGHAN HARRIS, Baltimore, Co Cork.

### **Irish Times, October 16, 2009 (also letter following from Dr Andy Bielenberg)**

Madam, – In my letter of October 5th, I requested Senator Eoghan Harris to supply evidence for his dramatic assertion on CSÍ Cork’s Bloody Secret that at least 60,000 southern Protestants were “driven out” of the new State in 1921-1923. His reply (October 10th) fails to provide the requisite details. He can’t do it, he says, because the statistical work has not been done. In other words, here are the conclusions, the research will follow!

In his letter, the Senator significantly revises his programme contribution. He did indeed reject “ethnic cleansing” as an explanation of the west Cork murders but the video later shows him wondering aloud whether the terms “pogrom” and “ethnic cleansing” might not be applied to the (alleged) 60,000-plus expulsion.

His letter also states he meant “compulsory Irish” to be included in the cultural pressures forcing Protestants to leave. But his programme contribution made no mention of this, while it exclusively emphasised the factors of intimidating violence. Having thus widened (and weakened) the definition of “driving out”, he then makes the fatal concession that “nobody can say for sure what this exodus entailed”, despite his pronouncements on the programme.

Having rejected “a possible top figure of 146,000” (what fantasy land did that come from?), he grudgingly settles for Dr Andy Bielenberg’s tentative work-in-progress estimate of “39,000 involuntary emigrants”. I’m not sure what “involuntary” means in this context, but I doubt if Dr Bielenberg supports the Harris thesis of a mass “enforced exodus”. In any case, each individual case would have to be documented.

Far from “distorting” the Senator’s programme contribution, I have simply exposed its inconsistencies and infirmities. He also claims I am muddying “the cleansing waters of the programme and comforting the tribal patrols who police our past”. In other words, I am accused of giving aid and comfort to tribal nationalists. This accusation is unworthy of the Senator. Perhaps more than anybody else, he is aware that, in the critical years when it mattered, I steadfastly opposed sectarian terrorism and resisted the nationalist-victimhood reading of our history. I now find it ironic he should be championing another sort of victimhood.

Finally, he questions my motives for criticising his contribution to the programme. First, I was concerned that what purported to be a dramatic historical statement was being advanced without

supporting evidence. Second, an “enforced exodus” of southern Protestants on a massive scale would have required the collusion and active involvement of great numbers of their Catholic fellow-Irishmen in such a persecution. I certainly will not accept that serious charge without rigorous historical proof. As for Senator Harris’s view that I am somehow pursuing him, he should lighten up. Otherwise when he reaches my age, he’ll be a very dull dog indeed. –

Yours, etc, JOHN A MURPHY, Emeritus Professor of Irish History, University College Cork.

Madam, – Senator Eoghan Harris has made an important contribution to drawing attention to the Dunmanway executions in 1922, but his interpretation of the statistics of Protestant emigration for this period (October 10th) and those of Tom Carew (October 15th) are problematic.

A greater part of the fall in the non-Catholic population of 106,000 between 1911 and 1926 can be accounted for by the following factors combined: normal emigration; natural increase which was negative in this period; British withdrawal; and those who died in the first World War.

These factors in my estimation collectively contributed to a fall of roughly 65,000 people. I have assumed that the residual figure of 41,000 can be taken to account largely for those who left between 1919 and 1923, who were not employees of the old regime as soldiers, administrators etc, or normal economic emigrants (which are all accounted for in the 65,000 above). Normal economic emigration was an important element in the outflow, more particularly in the Protestant community since the early 20th century.

The 60,000 to 63,000 figure cited by Harris and Carew looks a lot like a figure for total net emigration of the minority community in the south between 1911 and 1926, after the impact of British withdrawal, natural increase (which was negative), first World War dead etc, has been removed, which were published by Sexton and O’Leary (1996) and Delaney (2000). These two studies are scholarly efforts but they lack a separate estimate of normal economic emigrants which I have included above, who clearly were not part of any forced exodus.

A significant share of my residual 41,000 were indeed part of a forced exodus, who left as a consequence of intimidation, revolutionary violence, threatening letters, businesses that were made unviable by boycott, agrarianism, etc, while some simply left for fear of their safety and that of their families as the revolution went into full spate. Others left because of the continued decline of many landed estates and the employment they offered. Some left because they felt the cultural and ideological ethos of the new state was not to their liking.

Future prospects in Ireland looked particularly bleak for Protestants between 1921 and 1923 when the exodus reached its high watermark, and this tipped the balance in favour of departure for many economic migrants.

I don’t think there is any way to further break down this residual figure of 41,000 into voluntary or involuntary migrants.

Logically, however, since this residual contains voluntary migrants, this implies that the portion of the exodus which was literally driven out of the country between 1919 and 1923 was lower than 41,000 rather than significantly higher.

– Yours, etc, Dr ANDY BIELENBERG, Department of History, University College, Cork.

# 11. Message from 1,000 people in 1921

## A MESSAGE TO AMERICA Striking Testimony of Non-Catholics to the State of Ireland ULSTER UNIONIST PEER SIGNS Notable People Support Campaign for Relief of Victims of Reprisals

It is believed that a strong impression will be made on public opinion in America by a message cabled from Ireland yesterday to the promoters of the fund for the relief of victims of reprisals.

A striking list of signatures includes the names of people of such different views as Mr. Annan Bryce and Lord O'Neill, the venerable Ulster peer, Colonel Sir Nugent Everard and Dr. Herzog, the Jewish Rabbi.

Addressing themselves to the people of America in a strictly non-political spirit, they bear testimony to the urgent need for relief consequent upon the destruction of creameries, farms and commercial concerns.

A thousand in number, the men and women who sign the message represent practically every religious community in Ireland outside the Catholic fold, and moderation of their language intensifies the power of their appeal.

### THE CABLEGRAM THAT WENT TO NEW YORK

The following message to the American people, which is sure to have a powerful effect in the United States, has been signed by 1,000 Protestants and other non-Catholics residing in Ireland. Twenty-seven out of 32 counties are represented. Of the signatories 228 live in six Ulster counties and the remainder outside Ulster.

Of the 1,000 over 100 are people of prominence and include leading architects, lawyers, doctors, bankers, business men, engineers, college professors, county magistrates, military and naval officers not on active service in Ireland, school teachers, 13 clergymen, and a number of noted artists and authors.

The religious denominations included are the Church of Ireland, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Jews, Quakers, and Christian Scientists.

This proves, says the cabled statement accompanying the message, the correctness of the recent statement of the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Hamar Greenwood) that "he was bound to say that the only part of Ireland where he saw religious intolerance was in the North."

#### A LEADING FINANCIER.

One of the most prominent signers of the statements is Mr. J. Annan Bryce, brother of Viscount James Bryce, author of the "American Commonwealth." Mr. Annan Bryce is himself one of the leading business men and financiers in Great Britain. In signing he said: "I have pleasure in returning you the memorial signed. I reside part of the year in Ireland and am familiar with the conditions. I therefore sympathise with the objects of your committee, which is doing a much-needed work."

Other prominent signers are Mr. James Stephens, winner of the Polignac Prize for English Literature, 1913;

George Russell (Æ), the noted poet, painter and author;

Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, widow of the historian;

Professor Douglas Hyde, the well-known author and scholar;

Professor Charles Hubert Oldham, the noted author;

Mr. Erskine Childers, who rendered distinguished service in the British Navy during the war, and an author of international reputation;

#### THE JEWISH RABBI.

Rabbi Herzog, leader of the Jewish Community in Ireland;

Miss Elizabeth Yeats, poet, and sister of W. B. Yeats;

Lady Eva Fitzgerald,

Col. Sir Nugent Talbot Everard, H.M.L.;

Lord O'Neill, Deputy Lieutenant for Co. Antrim;

Mr. David Campbell, Secretary of the Trades Union Council, representing the trades unions Belfast;

Mr. Thomas Johnson, National Secretary of the Irish Trades Union Congress, representing nearly 300,000 trades unionists throughout all Ireland;

Mr. Charles Jacob, a prominent Quaker, and a member of Jacob's Biscuit Co., the

leading biscuit company in the three kingdoms.

#### THE MESSAGE.

The (signed) message appended to this statement is as follows:—

"The undersigned residents of Ireland, desire to express to the American people their appreciation of the campaign in America, conducted by the American Committee for Relief in Ireland, to raise ten million dollars to give economic assistance to the Irish people and to Irish industry.

"Property has been damaged in Ireland amounting in value to several times the sum which the American Committee is now seeking to raise. About fifty co-operative creameries have been wholly or partially destroyed. As Ireland is primarily an agricultural and dairying country, the destruction of creameries affects directly or indirectly the whole population. In addition to the creameries, business houses, industries, residences and farm buildings have suffered a large amount of damage.

#### EXTENSIVE PERSONAL DISTRESS.

"Owing to this destruction of creameries and other industrial enterprises, and the consequent curtailment of business and agricultural pursuits, together with the cessation of various public works, coincident with the general economic depression, official statistics show that there are over 100,000 men and women out of employment. In consequence, there is a large amount of personal distress.

"The people of Ireland do not seek charity, but they do welcome with deep appreciation the assistance of America so generously proffered to them.

"We understand that the money sent to Ireland will be used not in indiscriminate charity, but to rehabilitate and restore the business and industrial life of our people to the firm foundation upon which until recently it stood.

#### NEVER IN IRELAND'S HISTORY.

"Never in the history of Ireland has there been such a spirit as now exists among all classes of our people to build and develop an industrial and business structure that will make Ireland again prosperous and happy.

"We can conceive of no greater humanitarian work than the rebuilding of the creameries, which are the support of thousands of farmers and their families, and the restoring of destroyed business and industry, which furnished employment to thousands of others, both men and women.

"We can say with assurance that the great majority of the people of Ireland, irrespective of religious creed, approve with deepest gratitude America's plan to assist the Irish people to overcome the disaster which has befallen them."

#### AN ULSTER PEER.

Lord O'Neill, who is mentioned in the cablegram as one of the signatories, is the second baron. He is in his 62nd year. He was married in 1873 to a daughter of the 11th Lord Dunsandel. From 1863 to 1888 (when he succeeded to the title) he was Conservative M.P. for County Antrim. His Irish seat is Shane Castle, Co. Antrim; he has a London house at 12 Queen's Gate, S.W., and is a member of the Carlton Club. His eldest son, the Hon. Arthur O'Neill, was the first M.P. killed in the European war.

# AN AFFAIR WITH THE BISHOP OF CORK

This publication was occasioned by criticism of the Aubane Historical Society by Senator Eoghan Harris at a Seminar organised by the Church of Ireland Bishop of Cork, the Right Rev. Paul Colton, in December 2008. Senator Harris accused members of the Society of being, among other things, mentally deficient. He went on to promote a sectarianisation of Irish political and social life that was outrageous coming from a legislator of the State. As he was a sponsor of the Seminar we sought the views of the Bishop of Cork on the Senator's proposals. The Senator was his invited star speaker who gave the only and unchallenged public account of the seminar, which distorted the accounts of other invited academic speakers. Readers can make their own judgements on the Bishop's attitude from the correspondence that ensued. Included is a report on the Seminar, correspondence with Bishop Colton, contemporary records that refute Senator Harris's views on the War of Independence and other items, including analysis of the emergence of the Church of Ireland Hard Gospel Project.

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*Seminar participants, from left to right: John Borghonovo, Peter Hart, Joe Ruane, David Butler, Stephen Dallas (Hard Gospel), The Right Revd Paul Colton, Philip McKinley(Hard Gospel), Senator Harris, Andy Bielenberg, The Ven Robin Bantry-White and Earl Storey (Hard Gospel).*