Volume 8: Winter/Spring 2022-2023

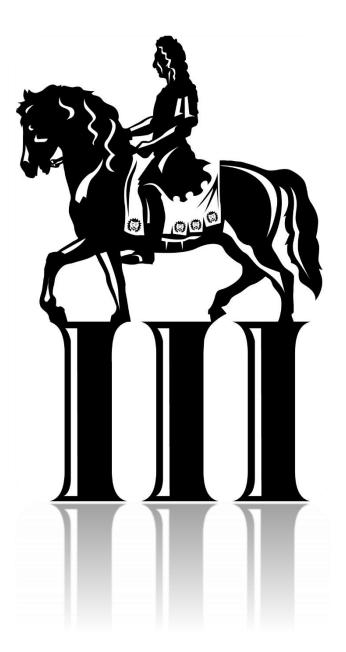
Journal of Orange History



• Northern Ireland's Place in the Union; a STAMP of approval.

- Sir Henry Wilson MP.
- The Glorious Revolution in England.
- A Resolute People; The Story of Southern Orangeism.

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Editorial Notes

Welcome to the eighth edition of the Journal of Orange History. The past twelve months have witnessed a return to something like normality across the World. Many areas of life have been greatly impacted by the challenges of recovery after the Covid Pandemic, but the resilience demonstrated by many in the Orange Family has proved empowering.

The Museum of Orange Heritage, Schomberg House, has endeavoured to adapt and meet the changes of both the Covid recovery period and the impact of economic uncertainty. Central to this has been the continued financial support of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. The museum is a flagship platform for education and promotes greater understanding of the history, heritage, and traditions of the Orange Family in both the British Isles and across the World. Our online offering in addition to our museum-based exhibitions and activities have encouraged many to reengage with the heritage sector.

In 2022 the museum was able to launch a very significant exhibition originally planned for 2020 - A*Resolute People, the Story of Southern Orangeism.* This exhibition highlighted the experience of the Loyal Orange Institution and the wider Orange Family, in the south of Ireland, during and after Partition. This important narrative had at its core interviews and reflections from individuals and families who had lived through the difficult years of the Irish Free State and creation of the Irish Republic. It was received well at the museum and, thanks to funding support from the Ulster Scots Agency, will be on display in Donegal and Monaghan in 2023. One of the articles in this year's Journal is taken from the content of A Resolute People.

2022 also marked the *Platinum Jubilee of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II*. To mark this significant milestone, the Museum created an exhibition to highlight important events during her reign, especially her visits and association with Northern Ireland.

This edition of the Journal of Orange History reflects the major themes platformed in the life of the museum since 2021 and we are grateful to those who take the time to compose and submit articles and papers. Encouraging greater understanding about Orange related history is a key motivation for this Journal and we would continue to encourage students of history to submit articles for consideration and publication.

Once again, I would like to thank the Friends of Schomberg House who are crucial in supporting the initiatives of the museum and this Journal.

Dr. Jonathan Mattison

Curator, Museum of Orange Heritage

Journal Editing Team: Sarah Cameron, Carly Wallace and Jonathan Mattison

The Journal of Orange History is indebted to the Friends of Schomberg House museum support group for sponsoring this third edition of the Journal. Their support is greatly appreciated.

Your support of the Friends of Schomberg House would also be appreciated. To become a member or learn more about their activities and events please email us at <u>info@goli.org.uk</u> or keep in touch through the Museum of Orange Heritage website: <u>www.orangeheritage.com</u>.

Chairman's Remarks

Welcome to the 2022/23 edition of the Journal of Orange History. I hope you find it a useful resource.

Contained within the Journal are four articles. Roger Bradley writes about the Royal Stamp of approval during the reign of our late Monarch, Queen Elizabeth II. The basis of this paper was provided as a talk to the Friends of Schomberg House. Stamps have a purpose, but little is known beyond them, so this paper delves into their history and meaning.

Richard Edgar looks at the life and murder of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, who was MP for North Down. He discusses his life, in terms of family background and connection to Ireland as well as his career as a Soldier until his murder in June 1922 outside his London residence.

A friend of the Friends of Schomberg House looks at the basis of the Glorious Revolution. Here they discuss its purpose and meaning for the British Isles. It is an important article as the Glorious Revolution was the very foundation of our existence as an Order.

Dr Jonathan Mattison provides a piece on Southern Orangeism, a demonstration that the Orange Institution is an all-Ireland body. This piece follows a very successful exhibition, which is now on tour. Our Brethren in the Republic of Ireland must not be forgotten, nor should their experiences under the early days of the Irish Free State. Dr Mattison does them justice in his piece highlighting their contribution to Orangeism, politics and Irish society.

I hope you enjoy the Journal and continue to support our cause.

Dr Andrew Charles

Chairman Friends of Schomberg House

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Principal Articles Biographies

Roger Bradley

Roger Bradley is a retired civil servant and member of the Cross of Saint Patrick LOL 688. He also serves on the Friends of Schomberg in support of the Museum of Orange Heritage. His interest in philately has been a lifelong passion.

Richard Edgar

Richard Edgar is an honorary member of Sloan's House Museum of Orange Heritage, Loughgall. From a family which holds a long association with the Orange Order, he is a member of Teemore Golden Springs LOL No. 61 in Tandragee District. A graduate of Queen's University, Belfast and the Open University, Richard has a great interest in Military, Orange and Unionist history, lecturing and writing extensively on these subjects. The author of several books, his research for the Royal British Legion has resulted in 343 missing names being added to the Portadown and Lurgan war memorials. Richard is also a member and holds office in a number of military and historical associations.

Dr Jonathan Mattison

Jonathan is the Curator of the Museum of Orange Heritage. Jonathan read History at Queen's University, Belfast, achieving a BA (Hons), Master's and PhD. He has a keen interest in many aspects of history, with his chosen period of expertise being Nineteenth Century Orangeism.

Northern Ireland's Place in the Union; a STAMP of approval during the reign of Queen Elizabeth II

By Roger Bradley

This paper has been adapted from a previous talk given to the Friends of Schomberg House and it was authored prior to the passing of the late Queen Elizabeth. Essentially this paper will demonstrate how Northern Ireland has been represented within the Union as illustrated by Royal Mail postage stamps issued throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth II. We will examine both definitive and commemorative stamp issues covering the full period of Her Majesty's reign to explore the various ways that Northern Ireland has been portrayed as an integral part of the United Kingdom.

In the Union or a place apart?

Northern Ireland marked its centenary in 2021 in the middle of the Covid 19 pandemic, it almost passed unnoticed. It's place within the Union has always been rejected by a minority of its population, yet the vast majority of its citizens have always supported Northern Ireland's rightful place within the Union. This paper will show how Northern Ireland has been identified as an integral part of the United Kingdom as illustrated by our postage stamps during the reign of Queen Elizabeth II.

Postage stamps, apart from being the means by which letters and parcels are sent to all corners of the world; they are also a means of expressing the culture, history and heritage of the country and all its regions, a kind of soft political power if you like! To develop this thought we are going to look at how, in the field of philately, the humble postage stamp has served as an ongoing reminder that Northern Ireland is very much an integral part of the United Kingdom. No matter where the stamp travels it is a constant reminder of our unbreakable ties with the United Kingdom.

There are two types of postage stamp issues, definitive and commemorative issues. Definitive stamps are designed for every day use and we get used seeing them year in and year out. On the other hand commemorative stamps are issued for a limited period, generally a year or until they are sold out, to mark a commemorative or historical event, an achievement or an anniversary. Let us firstly deal with definitive stamps.

Definitive Stamps

When Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1952 a design for the new definitive range of stamps was chosen; the design chosen incorporated a portrait of Queen Elizabeth taken by photographer *Dorothy Wilding*, a society photographer who was already known to the Royal Family, having previously photographed Queen Elizabeth's parents; George VI and Queen Elizabeth and other members of the wider Royal Family.

Six prominent graphic designers were commissioned to submit essays for the stamp designs, more than 70 different designs were submitted, but the final variations were reduced to just five designs. The designers involved were: *Mary Adshead, Michael Ferrari-Bell, Edmund Duracell, Enid Marx and George Knipe*.

All designers were given the same brief and instructed that the national emblems of the United Kingdom had to be incorporated in the designs submitted. We can see that the accepted designs accomplished this. Wilding definitives remained in use from 1952 to 1967, and for regional stamps up to 1971. We can see the use of national flower for each UK country; the shamrock representing Northern Ireland.

Northern Ireland regional Wilding Definitives

Definitive stamps served all UK regions but in 1956 it was first suggested that regional stamps been issued for all Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales and limited values for the Isle of Man, Guernsey and Jersey.

Dr Charles Hill the Postmaster General (PMG) wrote to Lord Brookeborough, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland on 21 June 1956 informing him of the proposal to introduce regional country stamps. Subsequently a NI committee was formed and emblems to be used agreed before HM Queen approved the designs. Dr Hill informed Lord Brookeborough that it was proposed to amend the design of stamps by introducing regional stamps that would include regional symbols and that Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland would be affected.

In reply, Lord Brookeborough stated that they were quite content with existing arrangements as the current stamps already emphasised the Union of the separate countries within the Kingdom. However, Lord Brookeborough also said that if Scotland and Wales are to have their own special stamp issue, then Northern Ireland would not wish to be the 'odd man out'.

On 4 July the PMG replied stating that HM Queen had still to approve the concept of having regional stamp issues, but that once this was done Lord Brookeborough would be invited to suggest suitable artists and to consider the composition of an advisory committee that would be representative of Northern Ireland's cultural and artistic interests, and which would make recommendations on designs submitted. It was pointed out that this privilege was not extended to the other regions! The Northern Ireland Cabinet Office expressed agreement.

On 7 July HM Queen gave approval and on 18 July an announcement was made in Parliament that 2.5d, 4d and 1s 3d values would be issued for Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and 2.5d value only for Guernsey, Jersey, and Isle of Man.

Discussions in forming a Northern Ireland advisory committee.

Discussions between S D Sargent, Deputy Director General (DDG), and L T Taylor, Director of the Post Office in Northern Ireland, identified suitable persons for an Advisory Committee, these included:

Sir Eric Ashby, President and Vice Chancellor of Queen's University Belfast. Sir Eric was also Vice President of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, the then equivalent of the Arts Council in GB. Sir Gerald Woods Wollaston in his capacity as Norroy and Ulster King of Arms.

Sir Francis Meynell and Sir Leigh Ashton, who already advise the PMG on stamp design.

Interestingly L J Taylor commented that 'philatelists in Ulster are not very highly rated and I would take the risk and not include them in the group'. Consequently, philatelists were excluded from the advisory committee.

It was made clear that two or three designs should be selected by each regional committee for the PMG's final selection. Lord Brookeborough's recommendations for the committee composition was sent to the PMG on 18 August, the list of proposed members were:

Major Sir Roland Nugget, Speaker of the Senate Sir Eric Ashby, already suggested by Mr Taylor The Ulster King of Arms or his representative

The Countess of Antrim, Angela Christina MacDonnell, also known as **Angela Antrim**, was a prominent Roman Catholic, a sculptor, a cartoonist, and an illustrator. During the Second World War she was active in the Women's Voluntary Service, and organised canteens and hostels for the armed forces under the auspices of the Catholic Women's League in Ulster (1939–44).

R H Crawford, Vice Chairman of the Irish Linen Merchants Association.W A Seaby, Director of the Ulster Museum and Art Gallery.James Warwick, head of Belfast College of Art.

Alderman J Ritchie McKee, a Board member of CEMA and a Belfast estate agent. Director of the Post Office in Northern Ireland (DPO), thought the last 'an excellent nomination', although the Director of Postal Services (DPS), R H Locke, had expressed the reservation that 'this selection does impart a certain political flavour'. The names were agreed, and also that the Committee should meet in Belfast for convenience and local sentiment. Taylor and Lord Brookeborough's Private Secretary, Sir Robert Gransden, were anxious that this point should be clarified. An invitation to the eight was sent on 11 September; all accepted by the end of the month except Sir Gerald Wollaston, who could not attend meetings in Belfast due to his age, and Sir Eric Ashby who stated he was already under several heavy obligations both within and apart from Queen's University. Sir Gerald Wollaston's offer to give what advice and assistance he could from London, without joining the committee, was readily accepted. Sir Eric suggested that his place be taken by the Queen's University Librarian, J J Graneek. Meanwhile Seaby replied offering to stand down in favour of Professor E Estyn Evans, Professor of Geography at Queen's, 'a foremost research scholar in Ulster Folk Life and a leading writer on antiquarian matters in Northern Ireland'.

The regional committee met on several occasions and questioned several aspects of symbolism. The *five symbols chosen* by the Committee were:

- (1) the Red (right) Hand of Ulster.
- (2) the Arms of Northern Ireland, without supporters.
- (3) the six-pointed Crowned Star, with the Red Hand.
- (4) the Flax Plant, with or without leaves.
- (5) a Field Gate with typical Ulster pillars.

It is interesting that the shamrock was not included, despite it having been used in national stamps for decades. The committee had, however, given consideration to it. They did not include the shamrock due to connotations that might be seen as Irish Nationalist. Taylor mentioned that Edgar Lewy had written to Sir Roland Nugent on 9 November suggesting that a good portrait of the Queen, by an Ulster artist, could be used in place of the standard effigy; the Chairman had not thought it proper to raise this in the subsequent meeting, but the possibility should be kept open in case any other region wished to depart from convention in a similar direction.

Designs for Northern Ireland were subsequently agreed and are shown below. Regional stamps for Northern Ireland were issued from Aug 1958 - May 1969.



Wilding Definitive Castle Set

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth II in 1952 new high value definitives were required. The Festival high values of the King George VI definitives were issued in 1951 and included pictorial designs. The GPO decided to continue using pictorial designs and this time feature castles, one from each region. Various essays were submitted, but due to delays in preparing acceptable designs the stamps were not issued until 1955.

Following the death of King George VI, on 6 February 1952, high values were required for the new reign. On 19 February 1953, eighteen artists were requested to submit designs. The artists were given specific sizes but had discretion as to the nature of the design but had to include a portrait of the Queen based on that used in the 2½d. stamp and contain the word "POSTAGE" and the denomination to be in figures.

A photographic essay of one of the submitted designs featuring the Royal Coat of Arms with the Queen's portrait bordered by a floral design. None of the initial designs was considered to be suitable and were rejected by the Postmaster General on 17 June 1953. He decided to use designs featuring castles.

A castle was selected from each region: Carrickfergus Castle for Northern Ireland, Caernarfon Castle for Wales, Edinburgh Castle for Scotland and Windsor Castle for England. Instructions were sent to eight artists on 1 July 1953 to prepare designs, each value being assigned to two

of the artists. The 2s6d design featured Carrickfergus Castle taken from a photograph by the Belfast Telephone Exchange Manager, R R Walker.

From the outset Waterlow printed the first stamps in 1955; but the contract was transferred to De La Rue in 1958. They printed the stamps until 31 December 1962, and from 1 January 1963 the printing contract was taken over by Bradbury Wilkinson who printed the stamps until they were replaced by the Machin head design in 1969.

The high value Castle Definitives remain in use to the present day featuring the same castle, although the design has been updated.



Machin Definitive Stamps

As the Queen aged so designs change and it was subsequently decided to base the new effigy on a sculpture by Arnold Machin. In 1964 Machin was chosen to design a new image for the decimal coinage which was due to be introduced from 1968. Conveniently in 1966 the Queen approved Machin's similar design for what became known as the "Machin series" for British definitive stamps. His design was first used for the 4d stamp issued in June 1967.

Arnold Machin was born in Stoke on Trent in 1911, he learned to sculpt at Stoke on Trent College of Art and went on to study at the Royal College of Art in London. He had also worked in the pottery industry as a painter and sculptor. After imprisonment in the Second World War as a conscientious objector, he returned to modelling and sculpture and created many notable ceramics which are now prized collectors' items.

In 1947 he was elected an associate member of the Royal Academy of Arts, was a Master of Sculpture from 1959 to 1966 and became the longest-serving member of the Academy. He was elected an Academician in 1956 and a Fellow of the Royal British Society of Sculptors. From 1951 he was a tutor at the Royal College of Art. He died in 1999 and his stamp design was still in use until very recently.

Castle Definitives, New version

At the beginning of 1988 the definitive range was based on the Machin head of the Queen printed by photogravure. Following the issue of stamps for his wedding the Duke of York was invited to design stamps based on the castles used for the first high value definitives of the Queen's reign.

These were Carrickfergus Castle in Northern Ireland, Caernarfon Castle in Wales, Edinburgh Castle in Scotland and Windsor Castle in England; the Duke of York visited each castle to take photographs on which the designs were based. The four castles are an enduring theme throughout Queen Elizabeth's reign being stamps based on the castles used for the first high value definitives.

Commemorative Stamp Issues

Commemorative stamps are issued to commemorate famous people, specific events, achievements and other aspects of national life, promoting the whole United Kingdom. Such issues serve to promote national pride and identity. It must be said however that

commemorative stamps are produced primarily for collectors and they are a bit of a cash cow for Royal Mail. We shall take a brief look through the decades how Northern Ireland was represented.

1953 Coronation Set 3 June 1953

Among the many events marking the Coronation was the issuance of a special Coronation set of postage stamps. The stamps were actually issued June 3, since post offices were closed on Coronation Day.

The four stamp designs, all reviewed and approved by The Queen, were each by a different designer. Three incorporated a three-quarter view of The Queen based on a photograph by Dorothy Wilding. The fourth was designed by the artist Edmund Dulac and used Dulac's own artwork. Dulac had also created the 1937 Coronation stamp of Elizabeth's parents, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, as well as several other stamps. He died, at the age of 71, a few days before the 1953 Coronation stamps were issued. The 2.5d and 1/3d stamps illustrate coronation regalia signifying authority and rulership. While the 4d and 1/6 stamps contain the four national flowers representing the four parts of the United Kingdom.

Throughout the Queen's reign many commemorative issues have been released reflecting aspects of Northern Ireland's history, culture and heritage. The following are some examples, featuring different aspects of life in Northern Ireland, the examples are by no means exhaustive.

- 20th International Geographical Congress. 1 July 1964: Four stamps in this set, one of which depicts shipbuilding yards, Belfast and associated industrial activity.
- Landscapes. 2 May 1966: This set depicts known landscapes from each region of the United Kingdom, second in this set depicts the Glens of Antrim.
- British Rural Architecture. 11 February 1970: Here the high value stamp in this set is titled the Ulster Thatch and is titled as such.

- Ulster Paintings. 16 June 1971: Ulster artists TP Flanagan, Tom Carr and Colin Middleton were showcased as follows: A Mountain Road by T P Flanagan, Deer's Meadow by Tom Carr and Slieve na Brock by Colin Middleton.
- 50th Anniversary of the National Trust for Scotland 24 June 1981: The fourth stamp in this set of five depicts the Giant's Causeway, a theme that will be repeated many times throughout the Queen's reign.
- British Army Uniforms. 6 July 1983: Including the uniform of the Irish Guards.
- Astronomy. 16 October 1990: Featuring Armagh Observatory and the sciences.
- 25th Anniversary of the Investiture of the Prince of Wales. 1 March 1994: Featuring paintings by the Prince, including one of the Mourne Mountains.
- Lighthouses St John's Point Co Down. 24 March 1998: Saint John's Point, Co Down.
- A British Journey, Northern Ireland. 16 March 2004: There were individual sets of commemorative stamp issued for each of the UK nations, A British Journey England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. It is remarkable that in 2004 during Northern Ireland's troubled history that this title was chosen given our political position.
- **SS Camberra. 13 April 2004:** The Camberra has special significance for Belfast and of course it played a significant role in the Falklands War.
- 90th Anniversary of the Battle of the Somme. 9 November 2006: The Somme resonates with Ulster loyalism, note the new definitive stamp depicting Belleek China.
- 90th Anniversary of the Battle of Passchendaele. 8 November 2007: This is the second in a series of three miniature sheets.

- Celebrating Northern Ireland. 11 March 2008: This was a miniature sheet produced to mark out Northern Ireland.
- 90th Anniversary of the Armistice. 6 November 2008: The final in the set of three miniature sheets relating to WW1.
- HM The Queen's Platinum Jubilee: It is fitting that we conclude with the Queen's Platinum Jubilee. This has been a swift look through Commemorative Stamps featuring Northern Ireland, it is not an exhaustive list. Issues I have missed include:
- 12 June 1974 Centenary of the Universal Postal Union features Shorts Flying Boat.
- 6 March 1984 British Cattle featuring the Irish Moiled Cow
- 16 July 1991 Ninth World Congress of Roses, Belfast
- **13 October 2011:** Carrick-a-Rede Rope Bridge
- 9 May 2013: George Best
- **18 June 2013:** Locomotives featuring Ulster Transport Authority.
- 20 February 2014: Classic Locomotives again featuring UTA.

Sources:

I gratefully acknowledge the following sources which are a good starting point for further reading on this subject;

Stanley Gibbons Catalogue. The Great Britain Philatelic Society. The Postal Museum. Smithsonian National Postal Museum.

Sir Henry Wilson "Ulster's Greatest Martyr"

By Richard Edgar

Who was Sir Henry Wilson? This may sound a simple question, but if we were to ask it today most Orangemen and Unionists may have heard of him but would little or nothing about his life. This is a man who in 1922 was described as "Ulster's greatest martyr!"

So, who was this great man and what was his story?

As a young boy I must admit that I thought he was a member of my father's Orange Lodge, Teemore Golden Springs LOL 61. Every Twelfth my brother and I, along with other children, would go to the Orange Hall, having a vital role to play in that day's parade - those banner strings weren't going to carry themselves you know! At our hall everyone would be speaking about Sir Henry; it was only later that I discovered that Sir Henry was a Lambeg drum.

The image of Sir Henry Wilson appears on numerous Lambeg drums, banners, and in Loughbrickland they even have the Sir Henry Wilson Memorial Orange Hall. So, at one time Ulster's greatest martyr was well known, respected, and spoken about.

The Wilson family arrived in Ireland on 14 June 1690, landing at Carrickfergus with the army of King William of Orange.

As time progressed the Wilson family would settle in Belfast, were they would prosper in the ship building trade.

In 1849, James Wilson, the youngest of four brothers, would leave Belfast for Currygrane a mid-sized farm in County Longford.

James Wilson would serve as a High Sheriff, Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for County Longford. By all accounts the Wilsons were a highly respected family. Land League records show that they were good, fair, and honest employers, resulting in no damage or attacks on their farm or property during this period in our history.

Henry Hughes Wilson was born at Currygrane on 5 May 1864, the second son of James and Constant Wilson; he would have three brothers and three sisters.

The young Henry's education prepared him for a military career, a career in which he would excel. Henry Wilson would serve during the Anglo Burmese War, the Boer War and the Great War.

Rising to the rank of Field Marshall, Wilson was knighted on 17 December 1918 in recognition of his war service. The now Sir Henry Wilson as Chief of the Imperial General Staff would be present at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, bringing to an end the Great War.

At Versailles, Wilson would mix with politicians from across the world, but his own politics were rooted firmly in Ireland, despite living in County Longford, the Wilsons were very much an Irish Unionist family. Henry's father James Wilson standing in opposition to the Gladstones second Home Rule Bill in Longford South and his older brother James (Jemmy) standing in Longford North in both 1885 and 1892.

It was as a military officer based at the Curragh camp in County Kildare that Henry Wilson would first become embroiled in Unionist politics. In 1913, Ulster Unionists opposition to the Third Home Rule Bill was in full flight. Henry had been informed by his brother Jemmy that the Ulster Unionist Council had proposed the formation of a Provisional Government of Ulster and planned to raise a body of 25,000 armed men and 100,000 constables to take control of Banks and Railways. Henry Wilson let it be known that he believed these were very sensible actions.

When asked on taking up the position of Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the highestranking officer in the British army, Wilson stated "*if required he would fight for Ulster rather than against her*" stating that culturally he was an Ulster Scot.

It was rumoured that General Sir Arthur Paget, Commander in Chief, Ireland, had been told to prepare troops to be deployed in Ulster, Wilson advised against this, fearing serious repercussions. On the morning of 20 March 1914 Wilson was informed that Hubert Gough was drafting a letter of resignation rather than move on Ulster. Wilson quickly moved to urge the government not to split the army. Taking note of their dithering, he drafted his own resignation on 21 March and encouraged others to do the same.

Alarmed that 57 officers were threatening resignation, the Government debated the crisis in Parliament on 23 and 25 March. In the end they did not issue any orders for the army to deploy against the Ulster Unionists or their leaders and the resignations were withdrawn.

So, was this a mutiny as some claim? The fact is that no official orders had been issued, all the officers had done was to draft letters of resignation. Any order, if given, would have been deemed illegal. Wilson was not going to allow the British army to be used to force British

citizens to relinquish their birth right. This was something Irish Republicans would never forget and always dislike about Wilson.



Image of Sir Henry Wilson. Original held by the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs online collection, <u>www.oc.gov/rr/print/catalog</u>. *Wikimedia Commons*.

With the Great War ending Sir Henry Wilson would find himself attending many commemorations and being asked to dedicate various war memorials. Wilson would attend the state funeral of the Unknown Warrior, being one of the Generals who formed a Guard of Honour as the body was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey on 13 November 1920. He also attended the official opening of the Ulster Memorial Tower at Thiepval. Despite naming Sir Edward Carson, another Irish Unionist, on the marble plaque, the Ulster Tower was dedicated by Sir Henry Wilson on 19 November 192. Nevertheless, it is another smaller war memorial that has become a major feature in the story of Sir Henry Wilson.

Every day, thousands of rail passengers walk past the War Memorial in London's, Liverpool Street Station. There is no doubt that the majority blindly pass this memorial, to over 1200 railway workers lost during the Great War, without giving it a second glance, their memory hidden in plain sight. Beneath this memorial is a smaller marble plaque, this bears the image of Sir Henry Wilson cast in bronze and the inscription *"Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson Baronet, G.C.B., D.S.O., M.P., whose death occurred on Thursday 22nd June 1922, within two hours of his unveiling of the adjoining memorial."*

So, what happened? How did this 58-year-old Field Marshal, M.P. and security advisor to the Northern Ireland Government meet his end?

Having unveiled the war memorial at 1 p.m. Sir Henry, still dressed in full ceremonial uniform, left to make his way home at 36 Eaton Place, arriving at approximately 2.20 p.m. Having got out of a taxi and while walking to his front door, Sir Henry was ambushed by two IRA gunmen. Showing no mercy they began to fire their weapons. Wilson drew his sword in defence, but a sword is no match to revolvers, and having been hit six times he fell dead on the steps of his home.

The whole event being witnessed by his housemaid, she recounted how "Sir Henry sword in hand shouted, you cowardly swine!"

Their dirty deed done, the killers attempted to make their escape on foot, wounding two police officers and a member of the public as they hurried from the scene. They did not get far before members of the public apprehended them, the police having to hold back an angry crowd.

So, who were the gunmen and why did they kill Sir Henry Wilson? The two IRA gunmen were Reginald Dunne and Joe O'Sullivan, both men had seen service and suffered wounds in the Great War with the British army, after which they became members of the IRA in London.

During their trial Dunne stated: "Joe went in a straight line while I determined to intercept him from entering the door. Joe deliberately levelled his weapon at four yards range and fired twice. Wilson made for the door as best he could and actually reached the doorway when I encountered him at a range of seven or eight feet. I fired three shots rapidly, the last one from the hip, as I took a step forward. Wilson was now uttering short cries and in a doubled-up position staggered towards the edge of the pavement. At this point Joe fired once again and the last I saw of him he had collapsed." Dunne would also claim in a written statement: "We took our part in supporting the aspirations of our fellow-countrymen... You can condemn us to death today, but you cannot deprive us of the belief that what we have done was necessary to preserve the lives and the happiness of our countrymen in Ireland."

While this sounds noble - defending their fellow Irishmen - Dunne and O'Sullivan were born in London; Sir Henry Wilson was a native of Longford. This illustrates the deranged philosophy of Patrick Pearse's *"blood sacrifice"* and *"physical force Republicanism"*, two Englishmen killing an Irishman to in their words *"set Ireland free."*

While Republicans refer to Unionists as "*planters*" inferring that they do not belong on the island of Ireland, they overlook the fact that Pearse's father was an Englishman. Moreover, Pearse's mentor, Thomas Clarke the leader of the Irish Republican Brotherhood during Easter 1916, was born in Hampshire, England. James Connolly, the 1916 leader of the Irish Citizens Army, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, and Eamon de Valera a future Irish President who in his Saint Patrick's Day speech of 1922 stated "*we must wade through Irish blood to get Irish freedom*" was born in New York, and was of Spanish American heritage. In such circumstances, could not many personalities of this period be regarded as 'planters' of a sort?

Standing trial and found guilty Dunne and O'Sullivan were hanged at Wandsworth Prison on 10th August 1922. Within days the IRA had burned Sir Henry Wilson's family home in County Longford. Originally buried in the prison grounds, the bodies of Dunne and O'Sullivan were exhumed in 1967 at the request of the Irish Government, they were reinterred with full IRA honours in Deans Grange Cemetery, Dun Laoghaire.

Sir Henry Wilson would receive a State funeral to St. Pauls Cathedral, London. In attendance were David Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and the British Cabinet, Generals French, Foch, Nivelle, McCready, Haig and Robertson. Wilson would be laid to rest in the crypt of St. Pauls.

So, who was behind this murder? This murder would become a classic IRA own goal, not only did they create a Unionist martyr, they also destroyed all hope they had of reaching agreement with the British Government in the discussions on the future of Ireland.

The murder of a member of parliament on the streets of London shocked the Prime Minister David Lloyd George, resulting in the British army being given 72 hours to mobilize and Winston Churchill who had been holding discussions with Michael Collins ordering him to clamp down on the anti-treaty IRA. Fearing that the British rule would return as quickly as it ended, Collins asked the British army for the loan of field guns and armoured cars; he then ordered the National Army (pro-treaty IRA members) to use these weapons on anti-treaty IRA members occupying the Four Courts Building in Dublin, this being one of the opening actions of the Irish Civil War.

Irish Nationalism constantly points the finger of blame and hatred at the British Government for executing the ringleaders of the easter Rising. However, the Irish Free State executed at least 81 members of the IRA. In one year, the Free State executed five times more Republicans than the British had during the previous 50 years.

Sir Henry's murder would also copper fasten partition. Republicans and the British government viewed the border as a temporary measure, the government now ending the friendly chats with Republicans, from this point on the government was firmly on the Unionist side and Northern Ireland's future was assured.

Michael Collins may have been one of the signatories of The Anglo-Irish Treaty agreeing to the partition of Ireland, but he was no friend of Northern Ireland, ordering the IRA in 1921 to *"make the north ungovernable."* As a result of this over 400 lives would be lost in first two years of Northern Ireland, including the murder of Belfast Unionist M.P. William John Twaddell on 22 May 1922 and the Altnaveigh massacre on 17th June 1922.

Collins had been recruited into the Irish Republican Brotherhood by Sam Maguire of GAA fame; later Maguire would become Collins's man in the London IRA. Tipped-off that the police wanted to speak to him, Maguire slipped back to Ireland within days of the murder. Sam Maguire would find employment with the Free State Civil Service but was sacked in 1924 for expressing sympathy for the anti-treaty IRA, he died a broken man in 1927.

So, did Collins give the order to murder Sir Henry Wilson? At the time Collins and the IRA denied that they had anything to do with the murder, claiming that Dunne and O'Sullivan acted on their own. Despite this, statements from several pro-treaty IRA members dispute this claim.

Joe Sweeney, an officer in the pro-treaty IRA stated that Collins was "very pleased" to hear of the killing, stating that Collins told him that he had "arranged it." Also, one of Collins intelligence officers Frank Thornton, stated that "the shooting had been carried out on the orders of Collins." IRA member P. S. Hegarty stated that "Collins had approved the request by Sam Maguire to kill Wilson." IRA members also stated that Collins had considered sending an IRA unit to England to try and break Dunne and O'Sullivan out of jail, why would he do

this if they were not members of the IRA? The denial tactic is a tool still employed by Sinn Fein/IRA, after all, as Gerry Adams states himself "*I was never in the IRA*".

When questioned about the killing by Irish Military Intelligence in 1924, members of the antitreaty IRA who would obviously be no friends of Sir Henry Wilson or of Michael Collins, claimed that *"we didn't do it, it was Collins."*

So, did Dunne and O'Sullivan act alone?

Were they members of the IRA?

And who was behind it?

The 1967 re-internment of their bodies in the Republic of Ireland, with full IRA honours, the graveside oration being given by English IRA member John Stephenson, who less than two years later would reinvent himself as Sean MacStiofain Chief of Staff of the Provisional IRA, prove beyond any doubt that they were IRA members and did not act alone. The evil of physical force Republicanism had not diminished, and sadly continues to be exalted until this very day.

As to who ordered the killing, no one can say for certain, but Michael Collins is without doubt the most likely candidate, but so strong is the myth of his genius that Republicans cannot and will not accept the blood on his hands, the great General Michael Collins could not make a mistake like ordering Sir Henry's murder; could he?

Only recently, on the centenary of his death, the Irish Government hailed Collin's as the greatest Irish man ever, oh how different Ireland would have been had he lived. Collin's image is carefully manipulated by Republicans. They never attribute any direct killings to Michael Collins, but Collin's is very much in the Sinn Fein/IRA leadership mould, while not pulling the trigger himself Collin's planned and ordered the murderous deaths of hundreds. It is for this simple reason that Orangemen and Unionist feel uncomfortable with Collins and how he is portrayed.

Also, the sectarian aspects of the Irish Free State exposed by this murder must not be overlooked. Commander-in-chief of the National Army Michael Collins describing Sir Henry Wilson as a "violent orange partisan" and John O'Sullivan when asked about his son and his part in the murder stating, "we mourn his loss very deeply but at the same time we are very proud of his action as he removed a dirty orange dog." It is important to remember that Sir

Henry Wilson was not an Orangeman, but in the propaganda war the Orange Order and its membership has been weaponised in a negative manner. These attacks on Orangeism continue to this day, Republicans constantly trying to blacken the Orange Order and its members. We must not forget who the real criminal murders are, Sinn Fein/IRA are offended by everything and ashamed of nothing.

Conclusion

In summary the murder of Sir Henry Wilson must be viewed as a major own goal by the IRA and the Irish Free State, their actions created a Unionist martyr, guaranteed Northern Ireland's survival, and laid the grounds for civil war resulting in the death of thousands of Irish men, women, and children, including Michael Collins himself at the hands of an anti-treaty IRA gang.

Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson was born into Irish Unionist family who were opposed to partition, he spoke with a strong southern accent and always identified himself as an Irishman but, the people of Northern Ireland held Sir Henry Wilson in the highest of regards, electing him the Ulster Unionist MP for North Down. Like Carson, Wilson was an Irish Unionist who became a founding father of Ulster Unionism and of Northern Ireland, this is why we should honour and never forget this great man.

Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson, Ulster's greatest martyr; His only crime was his loyalty.

Glorious Revolution in England

By A Friend of Schomberg House

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 was a pivotal event in British history. It marked a movement towards limited monarchy and a shift in the balance of power between monarchy and Parliament. This would lay the foundations for constitutional democracy as we know it today.

The Glorious Revolution impacted all three kingdoms of the British Isles, England, Scotland and Ireland, and had very different outcomes in each of the three kingdoms. This article focuses on the Revolution in England and follows three headings.

- 1. The background and causes of the Glorious Revolution.
- 2. The Revolution itself.
- 3. The consequences of the Revolution.

Background and Causes

To explore the causes of the Revolution, we could examine the events of the Civil War, or the execution of Charles I and the restoration of Charles II. However, the more immediate context to the Glorious Revolution was the public unveiling of the conversion of the Duke of York, then the future James II, to Roman Catholicism in 1673¹. This raised the prospect of the first Roman Catholic monarch since bloody Mary.

The unease over the prospect of a Catholic monarch was not simply one of religious animosity but was grounded in a fear that this would herald a reign of religious persecution against Protestants and an absolutist style of government like that of Louis XIV in France. This fear led to the Whigs in Parliament attempting to exclude James II from the throne in several bills between 1679 and 1681, and put pressure on Charles II to agree; in light of a fabricated "Popish Plot" of the previous summer which alleged that James planned to assassinate his brother Charles to take the throne.²

These attempts failed as Charles was able to maintain control of the House of Lords, and in 1681 he dissolved Parliament and was able to rule with sufficient revenues from customs and

¹ Tim Harris, "Revolution, The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720" (Penguin Books 2007) p24 ² Ibid, p26

excise and French subsidies without having to call another Parliament for the remainder of his reign.³

Despite Charles' increasingly authoritarian style of government, he was in these latter years of his reign able to rely on support from the Tories⁴, who firmly believed in the established Church of England and in the divine right of kings, few moved against him. For Tories, to alter the succession to exclude James was itself Popish, as the Pope himself claimed a deposing power over kings. James therefore was safe for now. While as a Catholic he couldn't hold office under the crown due to the Test Act of 1673, there was nothing in law to prevent a Catholic monarch.

That moment came with the death of Charles in February 1685. It is important to note that James's accession was largely greeted with enthusiasm throughout his kingdoms, with proclamations of loyalty from public authorities, bonfires, fireworks and feasting throughout the land.⁵ These proclamations reflected James's own commitment made at his accession to "preserve this Government both in Church and State as it now by Law Establish'd". He went on to say that he knew "the Laws of England" were 'sufficient to make the King as Great a Monarch' as he could wish and that he would never 'invade any man's Property".⁶



James II, from a portrait by Peter Lely. Wikimedia Commons. Original in Bolton Museum and Art Gallery. Author *Firebrace*, 2017.

So most people were not instantly hostile to James on account of his religion, and indeed took great comfort from his assurances to govern in accordance with the laws.

³ Ibid

⁴ *Ibid*, p27

⁵*Ibid*, p47-54

⁶ *Ibid*, p41-42

This public acclamation of James was also reflected in the parliamentary elections called in 1685, which returned an overwhelming Tory majority to the House of Commons – the Tories remember generally being supportive of James's succession and the divine right of kings.⁷ While there was rampant electoral malpractice, nonetheless the result did indicate a large degree of support for James after his accession.

Indeed in that same year, James faced two ill-fated rebellions that were quickly crushed. The most serious from the Duke of Monmouth, Charles II's illegitimate son who was decisively defeated at the battle of Sedgemoor in July 1685. Monmouth had received some popular support in the South-West of England, but rest of the country was firmly behind the King.⁸

So the question is how did James fall from such an auspicious start? Where he had a people and Parliament that generally accepted his accession. And a people that to a large extent believed the teaching of the Church of England which taught a doctrine of divine right monarchy, where the only scope for disobedience was if the monarch commanded something contrary to God's law. Even then, the disobedience could only be passive – there was no circumstances in which the subject could actively rebel against God's anointed king.⁹ So how did it go so wrong for James? Well ultimately he pushed the doctrine of divine right of kings to the limit. To achieve his aim of advancing Catholicism and increasing the position of the monarch, James overrode multiple norms of governance and tested his subjects' loyalty to the limit. I want us to look at some of the ways he did this.

1. He maintained a large standing army. In the aftermath of Monmouth's rebellion, James expanded his army to 20,000 strong¹⁰, and was able to finance it with his existing revenues without parliamentary approval. There was nothing technically illegal in this, however it was uncustomary to maintain such a force in peacetime, as the monarch would traditionally rely on local militia where necessary to maintain order.¹¹ This added to fears about James's royal absolutism.

What was illegal however was quartering his soldiers in private dwellings, which he did as he lacked sufficient barracks to house them.¹² While the troops were supposed to

⁷ *Ibid,* p54-55

⁸ Ibid, p79, p85-86

⁹ *Ibid,* p243

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p187

¹¹ *Ibid,* p188

¹² *Ibid*, p189

pay for their food and lodgings, there were rampant reports of them not doing so, as well as reports of abuse and violence against civilians. ¹³

In addition, it was illegal to declare martial law in peacetime, which made it difficult for him to enforce discipline and prevent desertion in his army. However through some judicial coaxing, he managed to get the judiciary to declare that desertion in peacetime was a capital offence.¹⁴

2. He made excessive use of the monarch's "dispensing power". The monarch had traditionally had a prerogative power to dispense with laws in times of great necessity such as an emergency.¹⁵ But James used the power *en masse* to overcome the prohibition of the Test Act and appoint Roman Catholics to civil and military public office. So far example, in October 1688, 11% of commissioned officers in James's army were Catholic¹⁶, and so were vastly overrepresented in comparison to their proportion of the population, which I think was around 2%.

Again, he also rigged the judicial bench to obtain judicial sanction for this overuse of the dispensing power, which he got in a case called Godden v Hales, which ruled the king was the sole judge as to whether sufficient reasons existed for the dispensing power.¹⁷

These measures were required because Parliament refused to repeal the Test Act and took issue with James's use of the dispensing power, and so James had prorogued Parliament in November 1685¹⁸, and it was not to meet again until William III's accession.

The problem was though, issuing individual dispensations from the requirements of the Test Act was administratively cumbersome, and so in 1687, James took the next logical step and suspended the operation of the Test Act and other penal laws altogether. This

¹⁶ Ibid

¹³ *Ibid*, p189-190

¹⁴ *Ibid,* p188

¹⁵ *Ibid,* p192

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p210

was known as his "Declaration of Indulgence", and unlike the dispensing power had no legal basis.¹⁹

At this stage, James changed tack politically. In the first couple of years of his reign, he had relied on the Tory establishment, and was hoping it would support his measures to provide greater liberties to his Catholic subjects. With the Declaration of Indulgence, he promised relief not just for Catholics but also the sizeable minority of non-conformist Protestants in his kingdom.²⁰ The Declaration of Indulgence was therefore an attempt to curry favour with the non-conformists against the Tory-Anglican establishment, and in thus doing provide relief for his Catholic subjects via the back door.

This issue was to come to a head when he issued a second Declaration of Indulgence in April 1688, which this time was to be read aloud from the pulpit by all Anglican clergy. There was vast non-compliance with this instruction, with only around 200 out of 9000 complying.²¹ Seven bishops, led by the Archbishop of Canterbury William Sancroft petitioned the king against the order, and were instead sent to the Tower on the charge of seditious libel against the King.²² This time James was unable to pack the court, and the bishops were acquitted to great rejoicing across the nation.²³

- **3.** He interfered with the preaching of the Church of England. James took a great interest in the advancement of the Roman Catholic faith within his kingdoms. Among other things he:
 - Brought many Catholic priests into the country and supported their missionary endeavours financially.²⁴
 - Opened his chapels to the public and encouraged Catholics to openly celebrate the mass.²⁵

¹⁹ *Ibid,* p212-215

²⁰ *Ibid,* p216

²¹ *Ibid,* p261

²² Ibid, p264

²³ Ibid, p267

²⁴ *Ibid*, p197

²⁵ Ibid

- Promoted Catholic schools²⁶

At the same time, James tried to clamp down on anti-Catholic polemic, and ordered the clergy to avoid criticism of Catholicism from the pulpit. To clamp down on controversial sermons, James established an Ecclesiastical Commission that was empowered to try alleged offences committed by the clergy. The establishment of such a commission was itself unlawful under a prior Act of Parliament.²⁷

- 4. He tried to break the Church of England's grasp on the nation's schools and universities. The most controversial of these acts was the decision in 1687 to seek the election of a Catholic as president of Magdalen College Oxford contrary to the college's statutes. The fellows of the college refused, following which he dismissed the fellows, and appointed Catholics as their replacements.²⁸
- **5. He made great efforts to pack Parliament.** One of the problems with James's measures was that they were all based on very exaggerated notions of his prerogative power. This meant that they were subject to repeal by his heirs. At this point he had no male heir, and so the next in line to the throne was his daughter Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, who was a staunch Protestant. James needed a Parliament he could do business with in order to get his policies onto the statute book and secure his legacy.

He therefore launched a widespread campaign against the local government corporations which had great sway over the outcome of parliamentary elections. He did this by questioning the validity of the corporations' charters, and then issuing new charters which provided the crown with greater control of the composition of the corporations.²⁹

While the Revolution ultimately prevented him getting the Parliament he wanted, James was making great strides for a malleable Parliament that would do his will.

6. His Catholicising policies in Scotland and Ireland also added to the dissatisfaction with his rule in England. For example in Ireland, James's deputy the Earl of

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Ibid, p199-205

²⁸ *Ibid*, p227-228

²⁹ Ibid, p233 (quo warranto proceedings)

Tyrconnell had initiated policies to disarm Protestants and was advocating for changes to the Cromwellian land settlement in Ireland³⁰, which would have led to a huge redistribution of land to Roman Catholics. This added to the unpopularity of James's regime in England.³¹

7. James was seen as far too friendly towards Louis XIV in France. While he wasn't as sold out to Louis XIV as is popularly imagined, he was heavily subsidised by Louis and sought to maintain a balance in foreign policy between France and the Netherlands. He was also much criticised for his failure to adequately oppose Louis's intense persecution of Protestants, which had culminated in his revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 which removed the religious toleration that the French Protestants had enjoyed. Protestants were brutally treated and their ministers ordered to leave France on pain of death.³²

James made a show of concern towards to Huguenots, even organising a collection of aid, but in reality only did so as a gesture towards public opinion. The French ambassador said that James spoke of Louis's persecution as "a thing that gave him great pleasure".³³ He also clamped down on publications circulating in England describing the horror of the French persecution.

So to summarise, from his accession, far from complying with his accession promise to govern according to the established laws, James had pursued a slew of authoritarian measures in England on the back of the royal prerogative and contrary to the will of Parliament. He had done so both because of his belief in the divine right of kings and in his desire to advance the cause of Catholicism.

And so by 1688 as you can imagine the cumulative effect of these measures had taken their toll upon the English population. I think there were then two straws that broke the camel's back, so to speak. Firstly, was the birth of James's son James Francis Edward Stuart in June 1688. Up until that moment James's subjects at least had the reassurance that his tyranny would end

³⁰ *Ibid*, p137

³¹ *Ibid,* p184

³² *Ibid*, p186-187

³³ Ibid

with his death, and that he would be succeeded by a Protestant heir, Mary. Now his policies were certain to live on in the reign of his son. A royal birth, that would normally have been received with joy throughout the realm, was instead greeted by dismay and trepidation.³⁴

The second was the trial of the seven bishops who as I noted earlier were acquitted of the charge of seditious libel, also in June 1688. There was nationwide support for the bishops from both Anglicans and non-conformists and widespread disaffection towards James.

And so the day after the acquittal, seven influential nobles, consisting of both Tories and Whigs wrote to William asking him to intervene.³⁵ The letter rehearsed the grievances against James that we have already discussed, as well as questioning the legitimacy of James's new son. There was a widespread slander against James that the baby was snuck into the delivery room and passed off as a legitimate heir. The letter then assured James that if he landed with a small army in England, he would receive widespread popular support.³⁶



The newly crowned William III and Mary II. Reproduced with kind permission of the Association of Loyal Orange Women of Ireland.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p269-271

³⁵ *Ibid*, p271

³⁶ *Ibid*, p272

It was several months later on 5 November that William landed with his army in Torbay with an army of around 15,000.³⁷ He had several aims in the invasion, but chief among them was the Dutch interest, which wanted to secure an English ally against Louis XIV who had imperial ambitions for France in Europe that were contrary to Dutch interests.³⁸

James was utterly shocked when he discovered that William was planning an invasion in September; astounded that his son-in-law could do such a thing. ³⁹It was at this point that James finally discovered pragmatism – he began to reverse some of his unpopular measures to shore up support, while increasing the size of the army and sending for reinforcements from Scotland and Ireland.⁴⁰

- He partially restored the Test Act, confirming that Roman Catholics would remain ineligible for election to the House of Commons.⁴¹
- He promised to readmit the dismissed fellows of Magdalen College.⁴²
- He promised to terminate the Ecclesiastical Commission.⁴³
- He promised to restore the charters of the local authorities that he had overturned in his attempt to pack Parliament.⁴⁴
- He even promised to subject his much used dispensing power to the supervision of Parliament, which he proposed to call immediately.⁴⁵

James's problem was that everyone realised he was taking these steps to secure his position, and that after the danger passed he would probably reinstate these policies. It just didn't work.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p274

³⁸ Edward Vallance, "The Glorious Revolution, 1688 – Britain's fight for liberty", (Abacus, 2007) p111-112

³⁹ *Ibid*, p115

⁴⁰ Tim Harris, *"Revolution, The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720"* (Penguin Books 2007) p276-277

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid

In terms of the invasion itself, thousands of local recruits did indeed flock to William's army, but in reality he didn't need them.

For all of James's efforts to build his standing army, which was far larger than William's, it did not secure the loyalty of his troops. He led his army out to meet William at Salisbury Plain⁴⁶, but faced with widespread revolt in the South-West, anti- government rioting back in London⁴⁷, and significant desertions within the army, James lost his nerve and decided to retreat to London.⁴⁸

From there, significant desertions continued, including key generals such as Winston Churchill's ancestor, the future Duke of Marlborough⁴⁹. James quickly knew that the game was up. On 11 December, in the face of intense anti-Catholic rioting in London, James fled the capital, dropping the Great Seal in the Thames and ordering the disbandment of his army.⁵⁰

Much to William's chagrin, who simply wanted rid of James, his escape attempt failed, and he was captured in Kent on the vessel that was to take him to France.⁵¹ William soon made no secret to his troops that he wished James's next escape attempt to succeed. Thus, James was able to slip away from his imprisonment in Rochester on 23 December.⁵²

James's desertion was significant, as until then, many of his Protestant subjects particularly the Tories had never dreamed of deposing the king, and simply wanted him to be brought into line and fulfil the role of a more limited monarch. Now he had left this was no longer possible, and the vacuum needed to be filled.

William did not immediately take the throne. He kept the promise that he had made in his Declaration explaining his reasons for invasion, that he would call a Parliament to decide the crown, all the while making clear that he desired it for himself. He threatened that if this did not happen, he would depart England with his army, which would have left the kingdom vulnerable to a French invasion to restore James.

The Convention Parliament, as it was known, was elected in January 1689, and its composition was evenly balanced between Tories and Whigs – the Whigs having a slight advantage in the

- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid,* p284.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid,* p296.

⁴⁶ *Ibid,* p295.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p303.

⁵² *Ibid*, p304-305.

Commons and the Tories having an advantage in the Lords. The Convention was tasked with two objectives.

1. **To determine the Succession**. Various proposals were discussed, which turned upon the different political philosophies of the Tories and Whigs, and their understanding of whether, and how, James abdicated his throne. These ranged from advocacy of a republic to a call for a conditional restoration of James to the throne.⁵³

The decision was ultimately made to declare a joint monarchy of William and Mary, but with executive authority resting solely with William, which was the only condition under which he would have consented to remain in England. The joint monarchy salved the conscience of the Tories, who could maintain that the Stuart succession continued.⁵⁴

- 2. To determine the constitutional role of the Monarch and the limitations of that office. On this latter point, the Convention drew up a "Declaration of Right", which was later largely put into the statute book as the Bill of Rights 1689.⁵⁵ This document rehearsed James's abuses of power.⁵⁶ However instead of fundamentally reworking the function of the monarch, the Convention merely "declared" certain key constitutional principles that James had broken. In other words, the Convention did not go back to the constitutional drawing board, but reaffirmed the existing constitution and clarified some "grey areas" that James had taken advantage of in his absolutist reign. For example:
 - It ruled against the suspending and dispensing powers which James had used to override the Test Act and Penal Laws, declaring that this power lay only with Parliament.⁵⁷
 - That the Crown could not impose taxes without the permission of Parliament.

⁵³ *Ibid*, see chapter 8

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Ibid, p329-348

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p335

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p337

- That subjects have the right to petition the king without fear of punishment, really a response to the trial of the 7 bishops following their petition about the Declaration of Indulgence.
- That a standing army in peacetime is illegal without Parliamentary consent.
- That Parliament should be freely elected, a rebuff to James's attempts to pack Parliament.
- That Parliaments should be held frequently, countering James's practice of proroguing Parliaments for years on end.

In essence it marked a reversal of James's authoritarian rule, and made clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that England, and later the United Kingdom, had a limited monarchy governed by the laws.

It was clear that the supreme authority in the land was not the Crown, but the Crown in Parliament, i.e. the authority of the monarch, Commons and Lords combined.⁵⁸ It is in this sense that the Glorious Revolution was the formative event for the constitutional settlement of Parliamentary Democracy we enjoy today.

Granted that a constitutional monarchy did not arise overnight, and William still enjoyed full executive authority. But now the king was dependent on Parliament for money and for military. This was particularly important given that William had huge wars against France⁵⁹ in the years to come, and faced Jacobite forces in Scotland and Ireland that he had to put down.

It was also now clear that James had no power to violate Acts of Parliament. And so over the following century and a half, the power of the monarchy gradually decreased in comparison with that of Parliament. This led to the formation of cabinet government in the 18th century, where executive government was largely conducted by ministers rather than the King himself.

Secondly, the Glorious Revolution left a legacy of religious liberty, which developed in the years to come. This liberty was clearly limited. The Toleration Act was passed in

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p353-354 discusses how the Revolution settled the balance of power between the Crown and Parliament in Parliament's favour.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p491-492

1689 provided freedom of worship for only non-conformist Protestants, and even they still were not allowed to hold public office, which was still reserved for Anglicans.⁶⁰

But the seed was sown in the Revolution for the development of the freedoms of speech and religious belief which developed in the centuries to follow.

Indeed the impact of the Revolution reached beyond the British Isles, and notably to the American Revolution 100 years later, with key freedoms of the English Bill of Rights reflected in the Bill of Rights of the US Constitution.

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⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p351

A Resolute People The Story of Southern Orangeism after Partition

By MOH Staff

Introduction

The Introduction of Partition in 1921 was a hugely significant event. This constitutional change heralded a new departure and greatly impacted the lives of people living in the new Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State.

Amidst the high political manoeuvrings, one set of people are often overlooked – the Protestants of southern Ireland. A diverse mix of Ulster-Scots and Anglo-Irish, they would feel the impact and wrench of Partition more than any other. They, and their organisations, would be tested greatly in the next few years. One of the groups that helped keep them together, was the Loyal Orange Institution.

Southern Orangeism

Since its formation in September 1795, the Loyal Orange Institution has had a proud history across Ireland. Despite Partition in 1921, the Institution remained a cross border entity, serving and representing the needs of thousands of members who professed the Reformed Faith and were part of a wider British cultural heritage.

In the early years of the Irish Free State, and then Republic of Ireland, the Orange Family endured boycotting, intimidation, and discrimination. It was a difficult period. By 1926 the Protestant population had fallen 35%.

They have endured much; they are a resolute people. They have learned to maintain their principles, their faith, and their heritage, in the most difficult of circumstances.

This is their story.

An All-Island Movement

In March 1798, members of the newly created Orange Institution met in Dublin to form a national leadership body. The chair was taken by a young County Armagh gentleman, Thomas Verner. The assembly around him reflected the great and the good of Dublin society but also

the gentry families of Ulster. They included Captain Hunter Gowan, of the Wingfield Cavalry in Wexford, Isaac Corry, future Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, John Claud Beresford, and William Blacker of Carrickblacker.

Their eagerness to create a Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, reflected the speed at which the new Orange Society was spreading throughout Protestant areas of the North. They agreed to have a formal meeting of this new leadership grouping a month later. The need for a coordinated leadership was evident – 471 Orange lodges were in operation.

On 9 April Thomas Verner hosted a meeting in Dawson Street, Dublin. Almost 50 men of 'station and character' were in attendance. The leaders of Protestant Ireland squeezed into the room, including the elderly Earl of Athlone; a descendant of one of William III's generals, Baron Ginkel, Sir Richard Musgrave, Major Henry Sirr (the man who would a month later shoot prominent United Irishman Lord Edward Fiztgerald during his arrest for treason), The Very Reverend Dean Keating, Chaplain to the Irish House of Commons, The Honourable J W Cole of Enniskillen and The Right Honourable Patrick Duigenan MP. These men established a way forward for the infant organisation.

Thomas Verner was elected its first Grand Master.

The Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland would base itself in Dublin until 1922 and the outbreak of the Irish Civil War.

The new Orange movement spread rapidly, and by the end of 1798 there were lodges in all but 5 Counties in Ireland. By the middle of the Nineteenth Century only Clare and Kerry had no Orange presence.

Home Rule and the 'Orange Card'

The Orange Family throughout Ireland were as determined as their Ulster Counterparts to resist the imposition of Home Rule. Although not numerically strong and, in some cases, thinly spread, their conviction to remain within the Union was unshakeable.

County Monaghan Orangemen;

"...our opposition to Home Rule in any shape or form, or over any part of Ireland, is as great as ever, but if any compromise should be proposed in order to avoid the calamity of civil war, we desire to place on record our determination that, God helping us, we shall never submit to the County Monaghan being put under a Dublin parliament, and any such proposal will meet our most strenuous resistance, if necessary by force, and that our solemn resolve be made known to our leaders an all concerned." *Belfast Newsletter* Friday 22 May 1914.

Their determination was evidenced by gunrunning, drilling, and preparing for a potential civil war. In Cavan, Monaghan, Donegal, Leitrim and Sligo, substantial numbers of Orangemen joined the UVF in 1913.

In **April 1913 Dublin District Orange Lodge No. 3** brought a motion before Dublin City Grand Orange Lodge, for the creation of a 'volunteer corps'. Those volunteering were to provide their own rifle, if possible, but that funds be set aside for the purchase of more. The Loyal Dublin Volunteers were born.

Many of these Orangemen would see action in the cause of liberty, but not in the laneways of Ireland. Like thousands of others, they would serve in the Great War.

The Decline of Southern Unionism

"I wouldn't spit on Edward Carson if he passed the end of my lane."

Uttered by the patriarch of a Cavan Orange Family, this graphically summed up the initial attitude of many in the border Counties, who felt abandoned and betrayed after Partition.

For the Orange family in Northern Ireland today, the struggle to oppose Home Rule created a sense of community and resilience that has been the bedrock of Unionism since 1921. The Orange Family left on the southern side of the border had equally strong feelings – but these were of anger, disappointment and, finally, acceptance.

Waning Influence

By 1922 Southern Unionism was a shadow of its former self. During the first two Home Rules Crises they had been the leadership powerhouse of Irish Unionist resistance to the granting of devolved government for Ireland. However, their precarious numerical situation ensured that the writing was on the wall. By 1911 it was clear, even to many leading southern unionists, that the publicly espoused tactic of breaking Home Rule on the rocks of *Ulster Separatism*, was a practical reality which many were prepared to back.

Six County Option

The granting of Home Rule in 1914, with temporary exclusion of the six counties of the northeast, proved a mortal blow. Although distracted by the Great War, and the romantic notion that if enough patriotic zeal was shown on the battlefield than the British Government would reward their sacrifice, southern unionists began the long slow wake of the Unionist cause outside the north-east.

It was clear that the Ulster Unionist Council would consider exclusion after the War. By 1920, the majority, including leading Orange figures, were prepared to endorse this reality. Southern Unionism was appalled. On 20 March 1920 the Ulster Unionist Council voted to accept the Government of Ireland Bill and Partition. Unionist delegates from Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan assembled in Clones and publicly called for another UUC meeting. It was to no avail, as the earlier decision was upheld. They resigned from the UUC. Among their number was Captain Hamilton (GM County Donegal), William Matthews (DCGS Cavan), M E Knight (GM County Monaghan) and T R Blackley (GT County Cavan).

The 1920 UUC decision appeared to embody the sentiments made by the Grand Master Sir James Stronge; "...the three Counties have been thrown to the wolves with very little compunction."

An Entire People "Behind the Glass" - Partition and the Orange Response

On two occasions Eamon De Valera used a famous phrase when confronted by events he could not control; once during the Irish Civil War and once at the outbreak of World War II. He felt "like a man behind a glass wall witnessing the destruction of everything he held dear, but absolutely paralysed and impotent to take any action to avert universal destruction."

In the years after Partition, this phrase aptly described the situation of the Orange and Protestant family in the Irish Free State. They could be seen, but not heard, witnessed but ignored. The drive to achieve a separate and nationalist Ireland meant that, too often, the blinds were closed on this forgotten people behind the glass. While De Valera pontificated about being behind the glass and unable to influence the World, the Irish Protestant actually lived out that reality!

An Emotional Response – Ourselves Alone!

In anger and frustration, County Monaghan Grand Lodge tabled a motion at the December 1922 meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. This motion argued that since Ireland was now Partitioned, it naturally followed that a Grand Orange Lodge of the Irish Free State be established. In a surprise to some, the motion was endorsed by Col R H Wallace and passed. The ease at which GOLI endorsed such a move continued to add to southern Orange frustration at what appeared to be their new destiny. As the dust from Partition settled, Southern Orangeism, like its political unionist counterpart, began to acquiesce in their position in the Free State. With that, the motion to create a southern Grand Lodge was quietly repealed.

As Partition loomed, two senior positions of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland were held by southern Orangemen. Edward N Wynne, from Wicklow, was Grand Secretary, and Travers R Blackley, from Cavan, was Grand treasurer.

One concession was made in 1922. The Constitution and Rules of the Loyal Orange Institution meant that Orangemen in Ireland gave allegiance to the Monarch as Head of State, and endorsed the legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. To overcome difficulties for southern brethren a form of words was adopted which referred to allegiance to the "Realm" and the Monarch as being "defender of the faith".

Despite Partition, Orangeism would not disappear on the southern side of the border. It was too integral to the Protestant community. They may have lost a formal political connection to a wider British and unionist block, but they were prepared to be a positive citizenry in the new Free State. In private, the lodge room still offered an opportunity for confidence; a freedom to mix and chat with those of a similar outlook and faith. The Orange Star was dimmed, but not extinguished.

Initial Hope and Conciliation

Upon the initial establishment of the Irish Free State measures were taken to ensure the inclusion of the Protestant minority.

Under the Treaty, the Irish Free Sate was still a Dominion within the British Commonwealth. The King was still Head of State, and a Governor General was appointed.

- Fifteen nominated members of the new Irish Senate were former Irish Unionist leaders.
- > All elections to the Dail were to be conducted under Proportional Representation.
- The Constitution guaranteed freedom of speech and assembly and prevented any religion being favoured over another.
- There was still a right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council.
- Article 12 of the Treaty established a Boundary Commission. Some Protestants, in border Counties, held out the hope that their area might yet be transferred into the new Northern Ireland.

The new administration in Dublin tried to ensure a firm platform for government, while delivering aspects of nation building. Some extremists felt that anything short of total Independence was a compromise too far, while others, such as the labour movement, wanted action to address social inequality and poverty. In their eyes, there was much more required than nation-building. In November 1924, Sean O'Casey took a swipe at the changes in education provision; "Children who are rickety in their legs are to be told of Cuchulainn's hero's leap over walls as high as Nelson's pillar. Children who are fed on tea and margarine are to be told of the wine and venison feast of the Fianna."

The Protestant Associations

In 1920, Protestant Associations were set up in Monaghan, Cavan and Donegal, to represent the Protestant Community. It was hoped this group would create a framework to meet the needs of the local Protestants, assist those Protestant farmers and businesses who were experiencing boycotting, articulate the views of the community on social and moral issues, and mobilise Protestants as a distinctive political voice. They did have some success in securing the election of Councillors and Independent TDs until the late 1950s. Many of these TDs became representative of strong Protestant Farming interest in the border Counties.

The Boundary Commission was established under the Treaty to evaluate the final location of the Irish Border. On 7 November 1925 its findings were leaked. Small parts of Armagh and Fermanagh should go to the Irish Free State, while an area of east Donegal, and Glaslough in

County Monaghan, would go to Northern Ireland. Opposed by both Governments, the findings were ignored, and no changes were made.

Tribulation, Tragedy and Terror

The end of the Great War did not bring peace to many in Ireland. The fallout from the Easter Rising, and subsequent execution of the ringleaders, led to an increase of support for Sinn Fein and the IRA.

The 1918 General Election witnessed the destruction of Redmond's Home Rule Party. They were reduced to six seats, four of which were in Ulster. Sinn Fein had 73. As a consequence, republicans accelerated their campaign against the British Government. Attacks on police, soldiers, and symbols of the Britishness increased. Between 21 January 1919 and 11 July 1921 Ireland was in a state of chaos. All civilians suffered during the Anglo-Irish War/War of Independence. This was especially the case for the minority Protestant community in the south and west. Lofty ideals of liberty and justice rang hollow as, in many places, Irish Independence meant 'Kill the Planter'.

For the next four years the Orange family were engulfed in a maelstrom of lawlessness and terror as the terms Protestant, British, and Loyalist, were embodied in the perpetual Irish republican view of the British Bogey man – Orangeism.

The Anti-Sinn Fein League

During both the Anglo-Irish War (21 January 1919 – 11 July 1921) and the Irish Civil War (28 June 1922 – 24 May 1923) Orangemen were viewed as Loyalists and thus, automatically, enemies of the Irish Republic. In places like Cork, rumours abounded about an Anti-Sinn Fein League, a framework created within the Protestant and Loyalist community to assist the British. This 'league' was just a cover for Auxiliaries placing notices and posters in local newspapers. Nevertheless, Protestant civilians suffered as a consequence.

One of many chronicled examples can be seen in the treatment of Sir Henry Forde in 1921, former Deputy County Grand Master of Cork Orangeism. (**LOL No. 798 in Bandon**). Forde was threatened and expelled from Bandon in the closing months of the Irish Civil War. As one IRA man put it "It is believed that he was a member of the Anti-Sinn Fein gang which was undoubtedly an off-shoot of the Orange society of which he is a member...I think he is one of

those better out of the Country for the Country's good." His only crime was that he was an Orangeman and, therefore, seen as an enemy of Ireland.

In February 1922 the IRA occupied the recently opened Carrigans War Memorial Orange Hall in Donegal, a strategic point on the main railway to Londonderry.

Raids and Retribution – Personal Reflections

As the Dail met on 21 January 1919, and representatives extolled the virtue of selfdetermination for Ireland, the IRA ambushed a delivery of dynamite to a quarry at Soloheadbeg in Tipperary. Two RIC men were killed heralding the start of the Anglo-Irish War. This marked the beginning of a twin track approach to undermining British authority; attacking Crown forces, and establishing a 'shadow' government and judicial system.

A south Donegal Orangeman said that raids on Protestant Houses for guns were common in the 1920s. On one occasion his father had been "chopping sticks in the yard" when he was surrounded by a group of men. He ignored them until one placed his foot on the block. The tense silence was broken when one of the group encouraged the others to leave. Years later the son of this IRA man told the Orangeman that it was *his father* who had intervened. Such were the small margins between life and death.

A west Donegal Orangeman recounted how his grandfather was stopped on the road one day by two men who said they would be coming for his shotgun. He replied, "If you come for my gun, you will also get its contents." Although his farm was never raided, he always carried a gun and even slept with one under his pillow.

The tragedy of the next few years was that neighbour was pitted against neighbour in a conflict that few could explain. Minorities became the target. This was especially true of the scattered Protestant community across the Irish Free State. In many sad cases, the effort to achieve Independence became hidden in the midst of sectarian retribution and petty score settling.

Clergyman Murdered: On 12 June 1921 Rev John Finlay, retired Dean of Leighlin, was confronted by a mob of 50 men at his home near Bawnboy, County Cavan. The assailants dragged the 79-year-old from his house and accused him of helping the Crown Forces. His

house was to be burned. When the retired Rector objected, he was shot in the head and his skull crushed. Finlay was just one of the many bloodstained steps on the path to 'Irish Freedom'!

Reorganisation and Response

Violence against the scattered Protestant community continued to form the backdrop to negotiations between the Government and Republicans. One example occurred on 31 March 1921 when William Fleming and his son were murdered at Drumgarra, Castleblayney. They had resisted an IRA arms raid the previous year.

As stories of outrage filled newspaper columns, the Loyal Orders took action. Just as they encouraged Orangemen in the north to join the Ulster Special Constabulary, so they appealed for Orangemen, indeed all loyalists, to join the newly established Orange, Black and Loyalist Defence Association.

Orange, Black and Loyalist Defence Association

In May 1921 Grand Lodge circulated the objects of this new movement to all Orange lodges. Its creation was a response to the deteriorating law and order situation, and a feeling within the two largest Loyal Orders, that something was needed to protect the Protestant community. Throughout 1921 and 1922 the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland urged its members to join in public effort to promote stability and direct their members away from several 'Defence Associations' that had been established.

This new group was not simply a reincarnation of the UVF; it had a wider purpose. In public it defiantly railed against the proposed nature of the Irish Free State, as proposed by the Treaty between London and the Dail, "...if an Irish Free State is set up, Loyalists will be compelled to defend their lives and liberties by force – a result most distasteful to them – but force is the only argument accepted by His Majesty's Government." In private, a fund was established to help buy land for those Protestants forced out of the border Counties. Throughout the 1920s money was donated to the cause of dispossessed Protestants, including over £2,000.00 from the Institution in Canada.

As a defensive organisation this group largely confined its efforts to providing recruits for the newly established Ulster Special Constabulary, a move welcomed by Major-General Sir Arthur Solly-Flood, military advisor to the Northern Ireland Government who, himself, was from a Wexford based military family.

The Ulster Patriotic Fund was launched, to help purchase land in northern Ireland for Protestants dispossessed in the Irish free State.

Terror and the Teachta Dala

"British Soldiers? I planted oats on British Soldiers, and it was good oats."

Martin Corry

The experience of the Protestants in West Cork between 1919 and 1922, sent waves of terror across the wider Southern Protestant community. It was here that civilians felt the bitter impact of violence during the Anglo-Irish War and the Irish Civil War.

Many of these story's centre on the actions of a future TD, Martin Corry. Eyewitness accounts report that at least 35 people were 'executed' and buried on his farm. He was described by fellow IRA volunteers as the chief executioner of the 1st Cork IRA Brigade. A cellar on his property was turned into a jail, that became the last port of call for members of the security forces and innocent civilians alike.

In Cork, any organisation that was viewed as vaguely pro-British became a target – the YMCA, the Orange Order, Church leaders, Boy Scouts, and ordinary Protestants. Included amongst those accused of 'aiding the Enemy' were several members of the YMCA. They were kidnapped and executed.

One case concerned the fate of William Edward Parsons, a 15-year-old member of the YMCA and the Boys Brigade. On 23 March 1922 he was abducted by the IRA on suspicion of being a spy for the British. He was tortured and endured a mock execution at Corry's farm. Corry himself stated that the boy was threatened with hanging if he did not reveal the names of others. Eventually he gave his interrogators some names and was taken outside and shot.

Corry and others claimed that they were combating an Anti-Sinn Fein League that was operating throughout County Cork, and aiding the British. There is no evidence for the existence of such an organisation; it was simply an excuse to attack anyone perceived to be pro-British. Indeed, Martin Corry was often heard to utter another version of the quote above – "I planted oats on members of the Anti-Sinn Fein League."

Corry was one of the founding fathers of Fianna Fail and a TD for Cork from 1927 until 1969. He once advocated the use of poison gas against Northern Ireland!

Orange in the Firing Line

Partition had a profound effect on the Loyal Orange Institution. Many of their brethren had been left behind in the new Irish Free State.

The lawless atmosphere of the Anglo-Irish War had seen the Orange family become targets of violence and intimidation. It appeared that remarks by the former Grand Master, Sir James Stronge, might come true; Unionists in the south had been "thrown to the wolves."

Fast Fact: Two members of the Loyal Orders had found themselves imprisoned with hundreds of republicans during Easter Week, 1916. Bro. George Parker, Caretaker of Orange Headquarters in Dublin, and David Norrie, General Secretary of the Apprentice Boys, had been accidently arrested during the confusion of that week. It took three weeks to secure their release!

Orange Headquarters Seized

An uneasy truce had officially ended hostilities between the IRA and the British Army on 11 July 1921, but violence continued. Moreover, tensions mounted between Belfast and Dublin, even after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty on 6 December 1921. Refugees moved north and south.

In March 1922, just prior to the start of the Irish Civil War, Orange Headquarters in Rutland Square, was taken over by a party of 50 armed 'Sinn Feiners'.

Mrs Eleanor Watson, granddaughter of George Parker recounted the event; "My grandfather, George Parker, had five children, four girls and a boy, William, my father. One evening there was a knock at the door and his oldest daughter, Ellen opened it. A party of armed men pushed their way inside and took over the building. The family were forced out and the place ransacked." The Parker family moved to the Stranmillis area of Belfast.

Orange Headquarters was occupied by Anti-Treaty republicans at the start of the Irish Civil War and suffered attack from Free State forces.

Eleanor Watson's father, William Nassau Parker, had been evacuated to Belfast in 1921. He was in the army cadets and, along with his father, had previously been threatened by republicans. Sadly, William would later be killed in the Princess Victoria disaster on 31 January 1953.

The years after Partition witnessed the gradual removal of perceived 'Unionist' heritage. Statues were removed, or destroyed, and streets renamed. The Boyne Obelisk was blown up on 31 May 1923, by elements of the Free State Army, and the Statue of King William III, on College Green, Dublin, was destroyed by a republican bomb on Armistice Day 1928.

Massacre in The Bandon Valley

On 26 April 1922 a party of IRA volunteers arrived at Ballygroman House, the home of the Hornibrook family, outside the small village of Ovens, County Cork. The events of the next few nights would become infamous.

Prelude to Slaughter

For months, Thomas Hornibrook's family had been subjected to petty acts of theft and intimidation. As an ex-soldier he was viewed as a Loyalist and thus an opponent of the 'Irish Republic'. The intimidation was so severe that even the local IRA commander, Lt. Michael O'Regan, supplied the family with a gun to ward off those intent on theft. That night a party of IRA men from the Bandon area knocked on his door and demanded entry. When the family refused, they entered by a window and proceeded up the stairs. A shot rang out, presumably fired by Captain Herbert Woods, an ex-army officer relative of Hornibrooks, who had come to stay with the family as a consequence of their previous experiences. The shot killed IRA Commander Michael O'Neill. Later that morning, a larger party of IRA men returned and demanded the men of the house appear. They agreed on condition that they would not be harmed. Wood, Thomas Hornibrook, and his son Samuel were subsequently kidnapped and murdered.

These three murders were not the end. Over the next 72 hours 10 Protestants from the area around Dunmanway, Cork, were murdered by IRA raiders. Included in their number was a 16-year-old schoolboy, a man with learning difficulties, and an 82-year-old pensioner. Others would have also been murdered had they not escaped into the countryside. The local 'official' IRA based in Dunmanway did nothing to stop the events.

Two of those who escaped the killing spree were William Morrison, headmaster of the local Model School, and William Jago who helped with the local Boy Scout troop. It was later established that both had been targets, along with a potential 20 others!

News of the Dumanway killings caused panic within the Protestant population in Cork. The Free State Government appeared to be able to do little to control the Cork IRA and the British

Government were reluctant to intervene. Newspaper reports circulated that many Protestants were now choosing to leave Cork, and other parts of the Irish Free State, for fear of similar attacks.

Terrible things happen in wartime, but this massacre took place after the Truce and prior to the outbreak of the Civil War.

Attempts to engulf the 'North'

As lawlessness stalked the Free State, the Unionist government in Belfast was determined to prevent it creeping into Northern Ireland. Ulster, however, would also be a focus of attention for republicans in the south. 'Liberating the fourth Green Field' would be a cause that could unite all republican factions and prevent a civil war.

Northern Ireland was not immune to the Anglo-Irish War. Sectarian tensions boiled over in a grim extension of the deadly feuding that had taken place throughout 1920. Attacks on Roman Catholics fired sectarian attacks on Protestants in the south. Circumstances were exacerbated by a World economic crisis. Acts of sectarianism fed off each other and continued the spiral of community tension and grievance.

Clergy of all denominations condemned the violence, but attacks continued.

'The Pettigo Triangle'

In May 1922, elements of both the Free State Army and the Anti-Treaty IRA seized the towns of Belleek and Pettigo. Within days a large force of Special Constabulary descended on the area. As their vehicles moved towards Belleek they were fired on by the IRA. The driver of the first vehicle was killed and his armoured lorry blocked the road. The rest of the Specials were thus forced to retreat. At this point the army reinforced the 'Specials' and gradually began to force back the insurgents.

Sister Hazel West had a yacht on Lough Erne and helped ferry B Specials and soldiers back and forward when they could not use the road. It is said that she carried a revolver with her during this tense period.

The fighting was so intense along this crucial stretch of border that Churchill despatched the Royal Navy to Londonderry. On 4 June Pettigo was liberated and four days later the Union Flag flew over Belleek Fort.

On 8/9 June 1922 the IRA kidnapped 40 Unionists from the Clogher Valley in response to the arrest of five IRA volunteers. These civilians would all be released, with one, Anketell Moutray, the aged County Grand Master of Tyrone refusing to be intimidated and keeping his spirits up by singing Psalms, Hymns and Rule Britannia....much to the consternation of his captors!

What did You Know, Minister?

"I didn't expect that of you, Willie" - The Altnaveigh Massacre

Those were the last words of the elderly Elizabeth Crozier after her husband had just been murdered by IRA attackers. She then, was also murdered.

On 17 June 1922 the small hamlet of Altnaveigh, outside Newry, witnessed a barbarous attack. Planned by the 4th North Division of the IRA, under the command of Frank Aiken, a party of IRA men left Dundalk barracks and headed north. As a supposed 'reprisal raid', in response to B-Special activity in Armagh, this event has been etched in the minds of the Protestant community. Before daylight Protestant homes were attacked and burned, with six members of that small rural community being horribly murdered. Even local IRA commanders were divided over such brutality, with the deputy commandant of Newry IRA left horrified and surprised that Frank Aiken would have been involved in such an act.

Other IRA men justified the targeting of Altnaveigh because all the families concerned were "Orangemen and B Specials." In fact none were members of the security forces.



Lambeg Drum in memory of those who were murdered during the Altnaveigh Massacre. Image reproduced with kind permission of Chris Irwin. Those murdered were Thomas and Elizabeth Crozier, James Lochart (21), Joseph Grey, John Heaslip (50) and Robert Heaslip (17)

Many of those active in the IRA between 1919 and 1923 would go on to hold elected office in the new Irish Free State and then the Republic. Some, like Frank Aiken, would even become Government Ministers. In such circumstances, how could members of the Protestant community speak out?

Orangeism in the 1920s and 1930s

The first few years of the Irish Free State were characterised by disruption and discord. As factions fought both the withdrawing British, and each other over the Treaty, southern Protestants appeared to become the focus of lawlessness, attack, and sectarianism.

Events appeared to reinforce the view that it was open season on Protestant neighbours.

"A few evenings ago the Protestants residing in the townland of Graddum, near Kilnaleck (County Cavan) were terrorised by a band of armed blackguards who made an incursion into the district. The scoundrels first attacked the local Orange Hall, and, having saturated the building with petrol, burned it to the ground. Not content with this fell act, the miscreants next raided nearly all the Protestant farmsteads and robbed the occupiers of money, clothing and provisions. The Orange Hall, which was destroyed, was the only building available to the Protestants of Graddum for the holding of meetings and social evenings, and its destruction will be keenly felt."

Belfast Telegraph Saturday December 1922

There were, however, shoots of civility that would lay the foundations for better relations. When the police barracks in Glasslough, County Monaghan, was destroyed by Anti-Treaty forces, local Orangemen offered the police the use of the Orange Hall until their own facilities were ready.

By the 1930s, although tensions between the two communities remained, and was particularly evidenced by Nationalist opposition to public celebrations on the Twelfth of July, Orange leaders continually encouraged their followers to look for better days ahead. At the opening of

the new Orange Hall in Cloverhill, County Cavan, in May 1935, JJ Cole, Acting County Grand Master, reassured those assembled that the organisation was still healthy;

"(He)...congratulated them on the possession of such a magnificent building. He then went on to review the position of Protestants in the Free State, and advised those present to be courageous and united, and to 'sit tight', as he believed there was a great future for Protestantism in Southern Ireland. He further said, that he was glad to be able to tell them that the membership of the Orange Institution had increased in County Cavan during the past year, and he urged every eligible young man to join the Order."

Belfast Telegraph Friday 10 May 1935

JJ Cole was an example of how Orangemen engaged with the new State. He stood in several elections between 1923 and 1945, being returned as TD on three occasions.

July 1935 saw bitter sectarian violence in Belfast. This sparked a wave of sectarian violence in the south, with Protestant businesses, homes, places of worship, and facilities being attacked. The end on one anonymous letter to a Protestant owned business in Clones read; "...*We don't want you or your Orange bastards in the Free State. We want revenge take a kindly warning you and your orange employees clear out – beware the IRA." (Buried Lives p112)*

From Free State to Republic – a Minority under Siege

"They went to bed British and woke the next morning as Irish".

Although this abrupt change was a disappointing shock, the Orange and Protestant community quickly adapted and endeavoured to be good citizens.

For Protestants, there were still some links to their old past that provided an aspect of comfort for a people who regarded themselves as British. The *Treaty*, between the Government and Sinn Fein, which ended the Anglo-Irish War, ensured that there were constitutional and legal links. Many thought that *making the best of* it in this new Dominion, might just work. They publicly declared their allegiance to the new government.

Undermining the Treaty

One by-product of De Valera's drive to undo the terms of the Treaty, and remove the Irish Free State Constitution, was to continually expose and isolate the minority Orange Family in the

South. The protections offered by the Free State's membership of the Commonwealth, and the recourse to the British Court system, were all repealed as De Valera strove to achieve his ideal Irish Republic.

De Valera had been part of the Anti-Treaty campaign and released IRA prisoners upon Fianna Fail gaining power in 1932. If Irish identity in the first 10 years of the Free State was defined in terms of a Gaelic outlook, then it became a Catholicised, Nationalist and Gaelic Irish Identity, under Eamon De Valera.

The arrival of the Fianna Fail Government of 1932 sounded the death knell of the Irish free State Constitution. De Valera's appointments reflected that real political republicanism had arrived. Frank Aiken, the man behind the Altnaveigh massacre, was appointed Minister of Defence.

Orange Comfort

Orangeism continued to offer a support framework to a community that felt increasingly excluded by the State. Orange Halls were a safe place for meeting, socialising, and simply mixing with people who had the same view, outlook, and faith. They were a community below the radar.

Roaring Meg Heralds a Republic

Successive Free State Governments had been eroding articles of the settlement with the United Kingdom even before the ink was dry. In some respects, this was a fulfilment of what Michael Collins had predicted, that the Treaty was merely a steppingstone to Independence.

The Abdication Crisis of 1936 presented De Valera with an opportunity to further break with the old Treaty Constitution and, instead of endorsing the new King, as other Dominions had done, any mention of the King as Head of State was removed from the new Constitution. In addition, the Irish Free State stopped attending Commonwealth Conferences in 1937.

After World War II, moves to create a Republic accelerated. The significant moment took place at a dinner in another dominion – Canada.

In 1948 Taoiseach Jack Costello was a guest of the Bar Association in Canada. It was during this tour that an incident occurred that soured relations between the Governor General of Canada and the visiting premier. Earl Alexander of Tunis, Governor General and former senior soldier, had recently been made a Freeman of the city of Londonderry, during which he was presented with a silver replica of Roaring Meg – the famous canon that had guarded the walls of Londonderry during the Siege.

At the State dinner, organised to welcome Costello, the replica canon was given pride of place as a table centre piece. Although standard practice, this was viewed as an insult by Costello. In actuality, no offence had been offered, but a few days later the Irish Republic was declared!

Home Rule <u>DOES</u> Mean Rome Rule! – the Role of the Roman Catholic Church

Orangemen had always feared that the Roman Catholic Church would have an undue influence over a Dublin Parliament. The early years of the Irish Free State appeared to run contrary to this fear. Roman Catholicism played a role, but this appeared to be a reflection of the religious basis of the country.

After the atrocities of the Anglo-Irish War and the Irish Civil War, community relations appeared to settle. There were areas of sharp difference, but on the surface things were good. This was reflected in Orange speeches during the mid-1920s.



Image of Micheal E Knight, County Master of Monaghan.

In 1926 Micheal E Knight, County Grand Master of Monaghan, used his speech at the Twelfth celebrations, near Ballybay, to publicly state that Protestants, if treated equally, would be good citizens.

"He strongly appreciated the increasingly friendliness and courtesy shown them by those who differed from them in religion. Nothing would be left undone by the Orangemen to cement that good feeling. They were passing through trying times in this country. Agriculture, the chief industry, was suffering from serious depression, taxation was a grievous burden, farmers were hard hit, and if they were to emerge from the shadows into the sunshine one of the first conditions was that men should live together in peace and harmony and in obedience to those who were placed in authority."

His comments reflected the pragmatism of many Orangemen. If there was equity, equality, and liberty of conscience, they would give their allegiance to the administration in Dublin.

This hope quickly evaporated, especially as successive Fianna Fail Governments eroded the Treaty settlement and elevated the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Their power would be such that they indirectly dictated the social and moral content of the 1937 Constitution.

Mayo Librarian Case

In 1930, Mayo County Council's Library Board refused to confirm the appointment of a Protestant Librarian. The view was that a Protestant could not possible understand the views of the majority of the population. This was reinforced by the Catholic Dean of Tuam, Monsignor D'Alton. Cosgrave's Government dismissed the Council's approach and ordered that the appointment be confirmed. There followed a period of boycotting of the libraries that the Protestant staff member had control over. She was subsequently moved to a different post. When coming to power in 1932, Fianna Fail sided with the Council.

The Puppet and the Puppet Master. Who was Who?

The Influence of the Roman Catholic Church

During the 1920s the influence of the Roman Catholic Church grew. Cosgrave ensured protections for minorities but was also inclined to move the new Irish Free Sate towards a decidedly Roman Catholic ethos.

In 1929, the centennial anniversary of the granting of Roman Catholic Emancipation, Roman Catholic lobby groups pressed the Government. In that year the government appointed a Minister to the Holy See in Rome and, a few months later, the first Papal Nuncio for 300 years arrived. This coincided with the introduction of Censorship legislation. Charles MacQuaid, Archbishop of Dublin, pressed for more conservative policies and the State responded. Divorce was not permitted, and the government began to erode the Treaty settlement. Catholics were

also discouraged from attending the 'Protestant' Trinity College. It appeared that the Government would do the Church's bidding.

In 1930, when the Church of Ireland had the audacity to claim St. Patrick, Cardinal MacRory hit back in public, claiming that the Protestant Church "…was not even part of the Church of Christ." A war of words erupted between ecclesiastical and political bodies North and South.

Orangemen echoed this protest at the 1933 Twelfth celebrations;

"We emphatically protest against the arrogant, intolerant and un-Christian pretensions fulminated by Cardinal MacRory and other Clerical and Lay spokesmen of the Church of Rome against the Protestant Churches of Ireland; and we repudiate with all indignation his, and their, attacks on Protestantism, which we hold is the essence of civil and religious liberty."

When De Valera became premier in 1932 he placed huge stock in the formal and informal utterances of Archbishop John Charles McQuaid of Dublin. The deference shown him was remarkable. Until the 1960s, the South became Catholic and Conservative in outlook. The rhetoric of Orange Ulster, in response to this Catholicisation, was predictable. On Twelfth of July Sir Basil Brooke stated "…ours is a Protestant Government, and I am an Orangeman."

In 1937, Article 44 recognised the "special position" of the Catholic Church in the Constitution. Some colleagues were appalled at early drafts of this religious clause; "...It acknowledges...that the Church of Christ is the Catholic Church." Minister of Lands, Gerry Boland stated; "If this clause gets through as now worded it would be equivalent to the expulsion from our history of great Irishmen....under such a sectarian constitution.....And I would not live under it either...I would take my wife and children and put myself out of it." The clause was watered down and acknowledged the existence of other churches and faiths but still retained the "...special position (of the Roman Catholic Church) as the guardian of the faith professed by the great majority of the citizens." The clause was not overturned until 1973.

Identity

One of the most significant features of 1930s Ireland was the creation of an Irish Identity that was almost exclusively nationalist and Roman Catholic.

Today, many southern Orangemen view themselves as politically Irish, that is, they were born in the south. This acknowledgement reflects the attitude adopted by the Southern Orangeism from the mid-1920s, when they determined to make the best of things. As Bro William Martin, declared at the County Monaghan Twelfth celebrations in 1924; "We are now citizens of the Irish Free State and now that Government has been forced upon us against our will...we are all determined to do the best we can to support it."

Cupla Focal; Conscious or unconscious sectarianism

The imposition of compulsory Irish at school, and then as part of employment requirements, especially for government and local authority positions, was part of a clumsy attempt at Nation Building. De Valera was keen to impose an Irish Identity that would create clear blue water between Ireland and any remaining sense of Britishness or Anglo-Irish outlook. The promotion of the Irish language was also perceived, by many Protestants, as a way to remove and exclude them from government service and key civil servant jobs, again, fulfilling De Valera's interpretation of Irishness as being Gaelic, Nationalist and Roman Catholic.

Compulsory Irish was initially opposed by political leaders and Protestant Church leaders. Irish was being used as stick to beat those who felt themselves culturally British.

"Irish, as a language, was alien to us. It was just another way of imposing a particular Irish Identity that was not part and parcel of how we were brought up." (South Donegal Orangeman)

One Cavan Orangeman recounted an incident that took place when he was at primary school in the early 1940s – "Our primary school was taking part in the local fheis and I was taught to sing a song in Irish. The song was Boolavogue. In later life I learned this was a song associated with the 1798 United Irish Rebellion and eulogised a leader of the rebels in Wexford, Father John Murphy. They probably thought it was a joke to get the Protestant orphan boy to stand up and sing a rebel song in Irish."

Marginalised

"We were excluded. To be Irish meant you were Nationalist and Catholic. This was even reinforced by the way history was taught at School." (47-year-old Donegal Orangeman)

At the annual Relief of Londonderry celebrations at Castleblaney, in 1924, Orangemen summed up their objection to plans for compulsory Irish; "...while we are quite in sympathy with the promotion of the study of the Irish language, so long as it is voluntary, we must protest

in the strongest manner against it being made compulsory in our schools, except where the parents of the children desire."

Clouds of War

In 1939 an 'Eire Sub Committee' was established by the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland to help the Orange Family in the south articulate its position. At this stage County Grand Lodges were still making returns from Cavan, Donegal, Dublin and Wicklow, Leitrim, Monaghan and a district lodge in Kingstown. Despite attacks on Orange parades and Orange Halls, the organisation in the Irish Free State had remained determined; **bent but not broken**. As the County Grand Master of Monaghan assured Grand Lodge "…although the Order did not appear very much on the surface in Eire, it was still working well."

Southern Orangemen welcomed the establishment of the committee. As the Grand Lodge minutes record; "It would help wonderfully in the protection of Orangemen and Protestants in Eire. As they knew, Orange demonstrations could not be held in Eire – in fact, to do so would be courting disaster." Despite assuring Grand Lodge that the Institution was not just operating, but "growing" in some areas, bro James W Lowth "sought official permission to carry on without wearing regalia in their Dublin Lodges. The reasons were quite obvious." Permission was naturally granted.

The outbreak of hostilities took the focus of the World to the various theatres of what would become the Second World War. Thousands of Irishmen and women joined the Allied cause or took part in vital war work, despite the Irish Government's declaration of neutrality. Among them were many Orangemen.

The post War era would see a steady decline in the Protestant population as young people moved to the UK, or elsewhere, for work. This was reflected in the regular cancellation of Lodge warrants from southern Counties.

Fast fact – Relations between Eire and the UK during the War were ambiguous. Although the rhetoric was unfriendly, in practice, there was valuable cooperation, epitomised by the Donegal Air Corridor. The Axis powers continually complained that De Valera and the Irish administration were assisting the Allies.

...Wherever the firing line extends...

Despite memories of the bitter sacrifice of southern Orangemen during the Great War, many answered the Allied cause during the Second World War. One of those was Stewart Graham of Killymard LOL No. 1013. Working in London at the outbreak of War, Stewart enlisted in the Royal East Kent Regiment and, with only two weeks of training, was to take part in the evacuation of Dunkirk. He later transferred to the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry and was deployed to Egypt. During his deployment he took part in actions around Tripoli and Tobruk and was elected to train for the Long Range Desert Group. Stewart would see out the rest of the War in the Middle east, being discharged from the army in 1946.

Growing Up in Post War Ireland

Periods of tension and conflict have been keenly felt by the Orange Family in the Republic of Ireland. This was especially true during the course of the IRA Border campaign (1956 - 1962) and the 'Troubles' after 1969. As a result, it often resulted in the movement of population back and forward across the border.

Another driver was economic hardship. This became a major factor for many leaving the Republic of Ireland after World War II. The Protestant community was no exception.

Border Voices

A Killyfargey Orangeman (Farmer and former agricultural labourer) recalled; "My mother's side of the family all left in 1952. There was simply no living to be made here and it was still felt that any State jobs there were, Protestants wouldn't get them. I'm the last of my family still here."

"The Orange is part of my identity. For years the church was hostile to me as an Orangeman. There used to be a good connection between the Church of Ireland and the Orange in this area but in the 1960s some clergy wanted to stop the parades. This annoyed me greatly."

"My parents were British Citizens. I still have their papers. They, and I, were proud of that."

A Glaslough Orangeman; "In 2018, during a very hot summer, we moved our band outside our Orange Hall to practice. Because of this there were some local people started labelling us bigots. There are still some undercurrents there, trying to cause trouble and make things uncomfortable for us. It's the same old story, you are acceptable inside the four walls, but once you step outside of that, you are not." A Monaghan Orangeman; "I joined Stonebridge when it was a flute band and then it changed to an accordion band. We practiced in the old Stonebridge school because there was electricity there. When we were practicing down on the road, marching, or thought we were marching, a neighbour would have come out and walked along with the band. When we finished, he would give us advice as to what we were doing wrong. He played the big drum in Smithboro AOH band. There used to be a Protestant band and a AOH band in Smithboro and they would have borrowed the drums from each other."

"On the Twelfth of July we used to walk over the border to Rosslea. It was your Roman Catholic neighbours who did the milking or make hay for you. We did the same for them on 15 August. There was a lot of cooperation. Sinn Fein destroyed a lot of that by polarising the people. Your neighbour could not be seen to be helping you out. It was intimidation."

Fast fact: In 1952 instruments used by locals to herald Cavan's capturing of the Sam Maguire Cup, were borrowed from an Orange Lodge in Baileborough.

In their Own Words

A South Donegal Orangeman; "During the Troubles, it didn't matter if you were in the Orange or not, you were still called an Orange Bastard at times. For some people to be a Protestant meant you were an Orangeman."

"I joined at 17. My father was a member and I wanted to become a member. It represented my Christianity and what I believed in. It was a community, part of who we were and are. If you can't stand up for who you are then it is no use. Members of the Roman catholic community have a lot of respect for me as an Orangeman."

A West Donegal Orangeman; "It is a genuine thing. When you stand up and say who you are as an Orangeman, people do respect your views and what you believe. There may be a slight change in attitudes when you are on parade or wearing you collarette, but generally there is a degree of respect."

A South Donegal Orangeman; "The Twelfth was an exciting day. I was initially in the band and we would have gone round to the Orange Hall early in the morning and everyone would have assembled there." *A West Donegal Orangeman;* "At its height, my lodge had upwards of 80 or 90 members but today there are only 25. A generation of people were missed. There is a missing generation here in Donegal but we are holding our own. There was some sort of dispute over politics, a Fianna Fail, Fine Gael split, which resulted in families leaving the Orange, but they are gradually coming back."

A South Donegal Orangeman; "I am Irish, but I also have an allegiance to the Queen and the Royal Family. I was born Irish and there is no getting away from that."

"Orangeism is very important to me. I am proud to be Protestant and proud to be a member of the Orange Order. Its something to be proud of...we shouldn't be ashamed of our Protestant Faith of the Loyal Orange Institution either.

A County Monaghan Orangeman; "On one occasion I tried to do a project highlighting the Orange band tradition in my school. I was met by a lot of agitation from the staff in the school and the teacher over it was very concerned about people's views on the Orange Order and was concerned that my display might cause offence to some people, so the project was diversified... my school is a Protestant ethos school so I thought it would have been no problem. I produced a stand, and this was promoted as a music stand, but I did display uniforms and instruments from Protestant bands. There were no negative comments, but I was not able to show any Orange through it..."

Processions and Celebrations

For years the Orange Hall became an outlet for faith, fraternity and friendship, as safe place, where the Orange Family could continue to uphold, practice, and cherish their British cultural Identity. Another aspect of their tradition would not survive long in the new country – the Twelfth of July procession.

Imperialist Agents of Great Britain – No Twelfth Here!

As a public expression of identity and heritage, parades and processions would fall victim to inter community tensions, in the new Irish Free State. Initially, it appeared that Twelfth celebrations would continue under the protection of the new Government. This protection was gratefully received. On Twelfth July 1924 Bro. Rev T C Magee declared their appreciation for the freedom to assembly; "As far as the civic guards are concerned, they have almost outshone

the old RIC and left nothing to be desired." Such attempts to ease tensions and demonstrate that Orangemen were determined to be good citizens, under the Treaty settlement, were not often reciprocated.

For Orangemen these celebrations reflected centuries-old-thanks for the Glorious Revolution and the Reformation. In changing times, they provided a platform from which the Orange community felt they could articulate issues of concern.

This toleration was not to last, and 1931 proved a watershed moment. With the prospect of a general election approaching, tensions were high. Republicans decided to target Twelfth celebrations. Newtowngore, County Leitrim, was the first to witness intolerance in action. On the morning of 12 July, a large party of Roman Catholics blocked off the town and destroyed a wooden platform that had been previously erected. Over 200 republicans proceeded to march through the town, with local police unable to intervene. In a sinister development, the IRA turned back army reinforcements that had been dispatched to keep the peace. Across the border Counties, the dominos fell.

In Monaghan, the parade was not blocked but a nationalist arch was erected across the route. In Bailebrough County Cavan, local Lodges assembled amidst much tension. One of the speakers, a Presbyterian Minister, Rev David Bennie, berated the errors of the Church of Rome. The following weekend, the Rev Bennie was kidnapped from his home at Canningstown, interrogated by his captors, and ordered to sign a public apology for his address. He was subsequently released 10 miles from his home and forced to walk barefoot. Locals were too afraid to offer him assistance. A month later, as the Loyal Orders assembled to celebrate the anniversary of the Relief of Derry in Cootehill, a large party of republicans cut off the town, tearing up the railway line, seizing the station and pulling down telegraph lines. Lodges and preceptories diverted to Auchnacloy instead.

Fear ensured that Cavan, Monaghan and Leitrim would abandon their annual celebrations the following year. Apart from Donegal, there have been no major Twelfth of July celebrations in the south since 1931.

The Orange Tree Has Deep Cultural Roots

The actions of republicans in disrupting Twelfth celebrations in 1931, posed a question for the Loyal Orders in the Irish Free State. They were determined to celebrate their heritage, as the

law allowed, but were unwilling to expose their members, women, and children to potential violence. Despite assurances from the authorities that there would be "no interference", the County Grand Lodges of Monaghan, Cavan and Leitrim decided to forego major celebrations.

Travelling for the 'Twelfth'

Since 1931 Orange lodges from across the Republic of Ireland travelled north to take part in Twelfth celebrations. Although not a national holiday, many took time off work to mark the Glorious Revolution and celebrate their identity. On that day the railway stations at Clones, Newbliss, Ballybay and other border towns were full of Orangemen and their supporters as special excursion trains, from the Great Northern Railway, were laid on to take them to Twelfth celebrations in Northern Ireland.

As one 80-year-old *Monaghan Orangeman* recalls; "The Twelfth was a great day. Our band and lodge paraded into Newbliss and were met by crowds of people. After all the lodges and bands had paraded to the railway station, we boarded the train for Fermanagh. You knew there was a good crowd on board because the engine struggled up the hill into Lisnaskea station. The same colour and pageantry took place when we arrived back at night, a kind of mini twelfth in Newbliss before we paraded back to our halls. One of my clear memories of my first twelfth in 1946 was arriving back to the Orange hall for a great tea. Food stuffs were still scarce after the war but a great spread had been laid on."

Rise of the 'Orange Picnic'

Over the years the Orange family established a new way of publicly celebrating their Orange heritage in the Republic of Ireland. Mini parades, along the lines of community fetes, replaced the major Twelfth celebrations. These were an opportunity for bands and lodges to celebrate their identity, with a mixture of games, displays, exhibitions and music completing the offering. Several of these still take place across Monaghan and Cavan today and are a precursor to the Orange celebrations at Rossnowlagh, prior to the Twelfth demonstrations in Northern Ireland. Orangeism is hugely important to the border Protestant family. **As** an 18-year-old Monaghan Orangeman confirmed *"It is my culture and my faith."*

The Protestant community in the south have a layered approach to identity, with many viewing themselves as Irish, Ulster-Scots, British and Orange. They see this diversity as a strength, not a contradiction.

Modern Ireland

A feeling of separateness continued after World War II, with examples such as the Fethard-on-Sea incident, where the local Priest encouraged a boycott of local Protestants in response to a mixed marriage breakup, continuing to demonstrate the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

Another demonstration of the power of the Church came with the Mother and Child episode, when the State bowed to the wishes of Roman Catholic Church leaders.

Economic expansion during the 1960s did bring a period of relative prosperity and positive community relations.

The Northern Ireland Troubles

The Troubles in Northern Ireland created a difficult environment for some Protestant communities, especially along the border. Many recount how attitudes and relations with their Roman Catholic neighbours would cool, particularly after events like 'Bloody Sunday', the Hunger-Strike and the Drumcree dispute. The 'people apart' felt periodically isolated.

Thankfully the violence of the 1920s and 1930s was not repeated, but there have been several attacks on Orange Halls and related facilities. In County Cavan alone, there have been six documented attacks on Orange Halls since 1981, with many minor attacks going unreported. Isolated incidents of boycotting and exclusion continued to force the closure of Protestant family businesses up until the 1970s. Tensions were sufficiently high to cause the suspension of the annual Battle of the Boyne celebrations at Rossnowlagh for several years during the 1970s. As one Orangeman put it; "Intimidation was growing, and the safety of our family and young people was too important." This was evidenced by a sectarian riot in St. Johnston, Donegal, in July 1971.

Change

Modern Ireland has witnessed tremendous economic, social, and cultural changes. These changes have contributed to an evolving geopolitical environment and allowed *some* Protestants, especially in urban areas, to feel more accepted. In rural Ireland, many still feel themselves a people set apart from the State and Irish identity.

The Impact of Terrorism

Emerging from the 'Troubles'

The impact of terrorist action in Northern Ireland rippled through the rest of the island. Many in the scattered Protestant community feared that events in Northern Ireland would result in negative repercussions for their own lives in the Republic. In some cases this was true, and tensions between communities were keenly felt on the southern side of the border, especially during periods of outrage or difficulty in Northern Ireland.

One **Donegal Orangeman**, who grew up during the 'Troubles', confirmed what life was like in late 1960s and 1970s; "I remember a lot of sabre rattling from the Government. Jack Lynch was threatening to send the army into Northern Ireland. Convoys of army trucks were seen in the area. On occasions there was intimidation, some Protestant farms were attacked but remarkably our Orange Hall was left alone...up until 2014."

"There was some degree of constant low-level tension between the communities. If there were incidents in Northern Ireland, then it would result in stone throwing down here. The night before I was doing my school leaving certificate a bullet was fired through the living room window. However, some police didn't ant to accept that Protestants were under threat."

Community relations were also soured when Loyalists carried out a series of bombings in the 1970s. Two teenagers were killed in Belturbet in December 1972, and the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of May 1974 claimed the lives of 34 innocent people.

A County Donegal Orangeman noted that some aspects of sectarianism continued into the late 1990s. In 1997 a Boys Brigade Service was due to take place at a Methodist Church but a note was slipped under the door in advance saying "You may March till you Drop but the fighting won't stop."

He continued "To be fair, the local Guards wanted us to continue with the parade but in the end we just paraded the BB Standard with two bands and took the boys straight to the Church service. "He thinks this note was probably a reaction to issues surrounding Loyal Order parades in Northern Ireland, but it did reflect some of the tensions between communities that remained in the south.

Growing Confidence

Not until the mid-1990s did the Protestant population in the Republic of Ireland begin to revive. A number of factors, including immigration, contributed to this. The last twenty years have witnessed a growing confidence within the Southern Orange Family.

Speaking Up

Societal changes have encouraged Irish Protestants to engage, and the Orange family have embarked on a series of lobbying exercises to ensure that the voice of Irish Protestants is heard at both a local and national level. Issues such as community development, school transport and equity of treatment, have been high on the agenda, with representatives from the Orange community taking their case to the heart of Government in the Dail.

Recognition

Recent government initiatives have demonstrated a greater recognition for this section of Irish society. The funding of a border County development scheme in the form of CADOLEMO and the opening of the Battle of the Boyne Visitor Centre, although small steps to outsiders, have been viewed as positive recognition by the Southern Orange Family. CADOLEMO was a community group representing the Orange family in Cavan, Donegal, Leitrim, and Monaghan.

In political terms, there is some Protestant representation at a local and national level, including the prominence of Minister Heather Humphreys TD.

Stakeholders

The active response of Southern Orange Lodges in providing PPE and other items for Care Homes and the local community, during the Covid 19 pandemic, is a demonstration of how the Orange Family have always viewed themselves as responsible citizens in the Republic of Ireland.

Public Celebrations

Forced to abandon the traditional Twelfth celebrations in the early 1930s, the annual celebrations at Rossnowlagh remain the only major procession associated with the Twelfth of July in the Republic of Ireland. Nonetheless, the Orange Family have adapted to this trying situation by developing the 'Orange Picnic'. Resembling a country fete, these events take the form of band parades, exhibitions, talks and community sports, and have allowed the Orange family to celebrate and platform their identity and heritage to a wider audience.

Staff Roles

Sarah Cameron BA (Hons) Museum Support Officer sarah@goli.org.uk

My role at the Museum of Orange Heritage is that of Museum Support Officer. The Collections database and cataloguing of any items is a vital and integral aspect of my role. Artefacts, manuscripts, and other material which is donated or loaned to the Museum, requires processing and recording.



Working with artefacts and manuscripts, some of which are over 200 years old, is a fantastic way to experience history and is an extremely fulfilling part of my role within the museum. Ensuring that the collection, and related items, are safe and secure, is central to my role in conjunction with the Museum Curator.

As the Museum Support Officer, I am also responsible for Museum bookings and visits. Tours are frequently facilitated for community groups, lodges and schools. Tours are an exciting aspect of my role, as I enjoy meeting and engaging with those that are visiting the Museum of Orange Heritage.

In addition, I provide help and assistance to the Museum Curator with any upcoming exhibitions and historical research inquiries, as well as being the administrative support for the friends of Schomberg House.

MINI Digi Barbie BA (Hons) Digitisation Officer carly@goli.org.uk



My name is Carly Wallace and I am the digitisation officer at the Museum of Orange Heritage. I am originally from Ballymena, where my interest in history began to develop from an early age.

Before taking on this role last September, I had recently just finished my undergraduate degree in Ancient History and Archaeology from Newcastle University.

As part of my role, I aim to help the museum increase the accessibility of their archives. This will allow us to share more information with the public and help facilitate their independent research. The new digitised material will help to build upon the pre-existing catalogue information and give users a more thorough insight into the manuscripts and artefacts held at

the museum. We are prioritising material on the basis of genealogical interest and educational information as well as those with preservation issues or concerns.

Digitisation has many benefits within the museum sector as it allows us to improve the conservation of valuable materials which would otherwise be lost over time. Digitally preserving our history is extremely important and will allow for a wider audience to connect with the Museum of Orange Heritage and all those associated to it from its beginnings. The majority of museums have already made the shift online or like ourselves are in the process.

David Scott Services & Outreach Manager david@goli.org.uk



I have been employed by the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland since 2004. In the earlier years, I was employed as the Institution's

Community Education Officer, principally involved in all outreach activity and community engagement. In 2016, the role was modified with a new accompanying title of Outreach & Services Manager.

The Community Education Officers role was initially about meeting local groups and individuals to help them explore the orange culture in a safe space, planning and designing new educational initiatives, facilitating workshops, recruiting, training and supervising volunteer facilitators and undertaking outreach work to encourage more people to participate.

Over the years, I have been afforded the wonderful opportunity of initiating new projects as well as opening up new avenues and opportunities for people to learn more about the Orange Order, it's culture and heritage. Some of the initiatives include designing educational pamphlets and leaflets that would be suitable for a range of age groups, particularly schools as well as assisting with the designing of mobile exhibitions. However, taking the story of Orangesim into a larger arena was an exciting challenge. I have led one of the main public outreach projects to the annual Balmoral Show on approximately 12 occasions, since we first went along in 2006. Large scale projects, such as the Balmoral Show helps to mainstream the organisation, it increases brand awareness and enhances the Institution's reputation as a purpose-driven and trustworthy organisation.

Community education schemes are open to people of all ages. The key in community outreach is to help people learn more about the Orange Order in a safe non-threatening space. If participants are members of the Orange Institution, it's about helping them to learn more about themselves, to build their capacity, as well as teaching them how to address an issue so that they can take on the issue themselves and influence others to do the same.

More recently, I have taken the lead on planning and delivering the annual Orange Community Awards project. The annual awards ceremony showcases the extensive community work undertaken by members of the Orange Institution as well as recognising and rewarding excellence. I am the proud recipient of the Terry Donaghy/Bearnageeha Reconciliation Award from St Patrick's College in north Belfast, which was presented to me by the school in April 2011.

Dr Jonathan Mattison Museum Curator jonathan@goli.org.uk

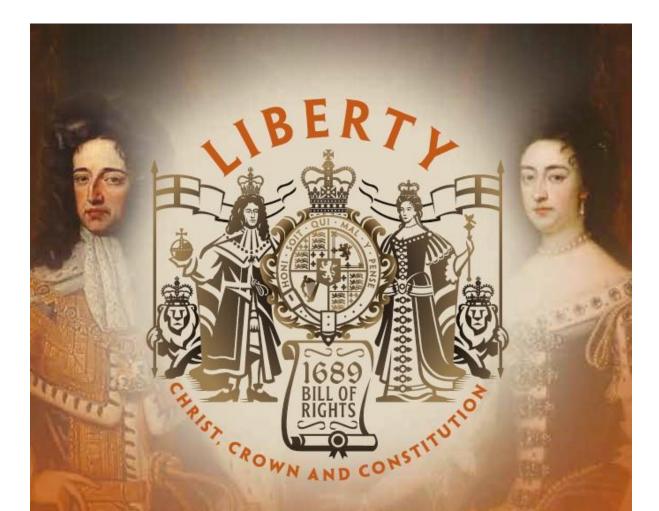


As curator I am responsible for maintaining the Collection held by the Museum of Orange Heritage for the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. It is my role to act as custodian for this material

and ensure that it is accessible to the public as well as being preserved and passed on for future generations to enjoy. I also oversee all the activities and projects being carried out by the Museum of Orange Heritage and work closely with the GOLI Outreach Officer to deliver associated educational programmes.

Tours, talks and educational initiatives are also a core aspect of my job as we try to build a greater understanding about the history, heritage, and current role of the Orange Family in wider society. I am also in charge of creating the exhibitions and displays at the museum, ensuring aspects of our permanent collection are rotated, and creating themed temporary exhibitions that allow the visitor to explore in greater detail elements of Orange history.

The Museum of Orange Heritage is a wonderful shop window for Orange heritage and provides a professional platform to promote greater understanding about our heritage. I work very closely with the Friends of Schomberg House and am heartened by the support we receive from FOSH and other groups within the wider Orange family. Community trust and engagement is vital to any heritage facility, and we continue to build communities of interest at home and abroad.



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