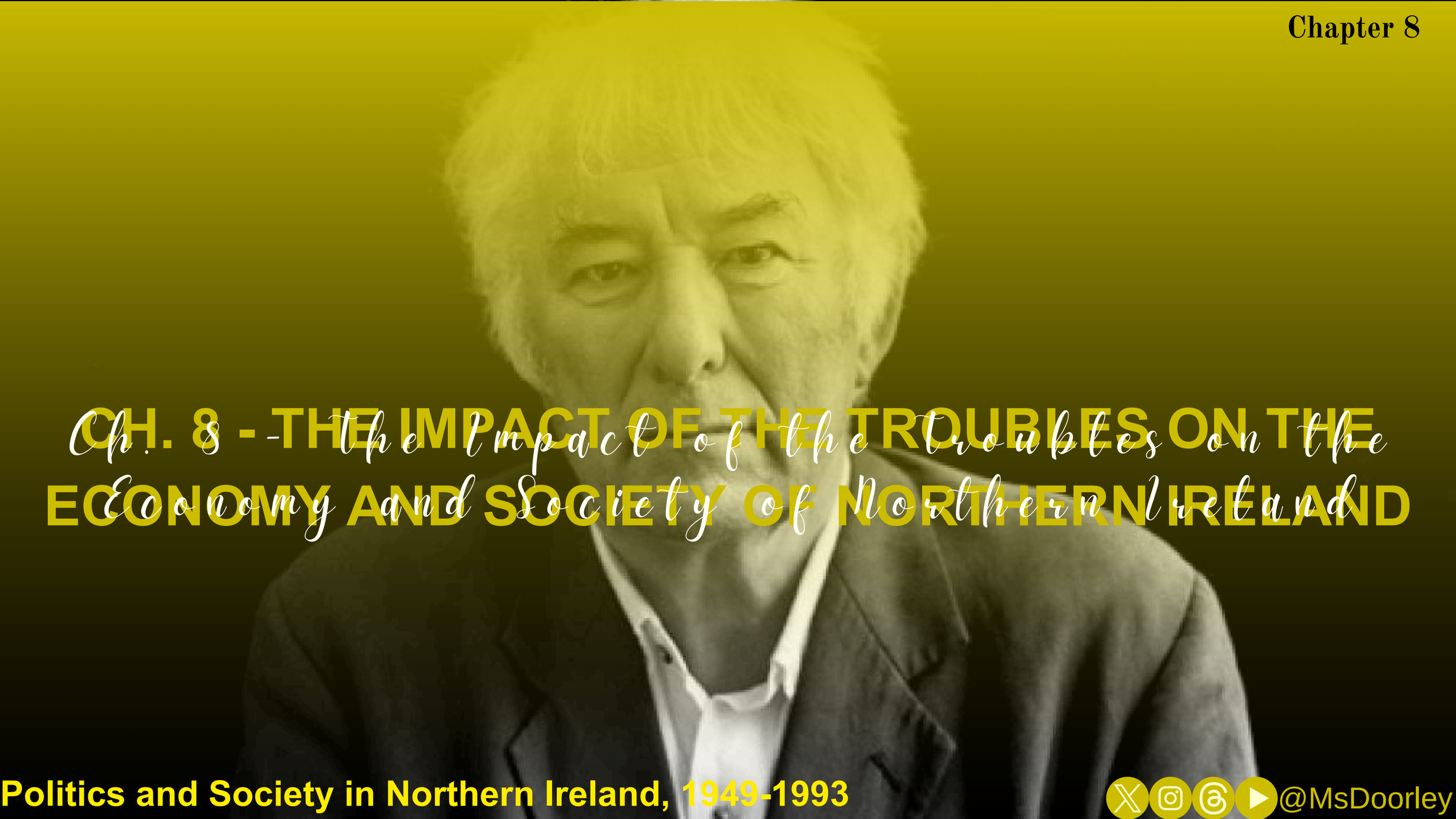

CH. 8 - THE IMPACT OF THE TROUBLES ON THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF NORTHERN IRELAND

Ch. 8 - The Impact of the Troubles on the Economy and Society of Northern Ireland

Learning Intentions

In this chapter you will learn about:

- The economy, religion and population change
- Education in a divided society
- The Apprentice Boys of Derry (Case Study)
- The nationalist identity
- The unionist identity

5.1 CASE STUDY THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS, 1932

Northern Ireland After World War II

The Economy

At the height of the Troubles during the 1970s and 1980s, the economy of Northern Ireland went through a phase of prolonged crisis and decline. This was a complete reversal of the economic progress during the 1960s. Factories closed, foreign investment declined severely and industrial employment fell sharply.

The decline in manufacturing industry was due to a number of factors, including worldwide economic depression following the various oil crises, and decline in demand for various products such as textiles.

However, the situation was worsened considerably by the bombing campaigns of the paramilitaries. The violence not only resulted in widespread damage to commercial property, but also created an atmosphere of uncertainty that deterred outside industries from locating in Northern Ireland. Between 1966 and 1971 foreign industries had created 11,600 manufacturing jobs in the province. In contrast, between 1972 and 1976 only 900 jobs were created by foreign companies.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

The Economy

These developments did not lead to an immediate decline in the total numbers in employment. During the 1970s there was a massive expansion of government services in health, education and security in Northern Ireland. There was increased investment on the part of the British Government in health and education in an attempt to bring social services into line with the rest of the United Kingdom. Both Labour and Conservative governments during the 1970s believed that better standards of healthcare and education would reduce poverty and lessen support for violence.

The conflict resulted in a huge expansion in the security services in Northern Ireland. In the beginning, troops arrived from Britain in large numbers, but from the mid-1970s a policy of 'Ulsterisation' was followed. This involved an increased role for locally recruited security forces in the policing of the province. Numbers in the RUC, the police reserve force, the UDR and the prison service expanded greatly. Most of these jobs were filled by members of the Protestant community.

Under Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government, between 1979 and 1990 investment in security forces grew. However, expenditure on social services such as health and education was restricted as part of cutbacks in the United Kingdom as a whole.

During the peace process from 1990 onwards the state of the Northern Ireland economy was high on the agenda of the various political parties. The words 'peace dividend' were used to indicate that social and political stability would lead to economic progress. The British and Irish Governments, the US Government, individual investors and the European Union were all committed to investing in the economy of Northern Ireland in the event of a peaceful resolution of the conflict there.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why was there a decline in the manufacturing industry in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s?
2. What impact did the Troubles have on foreign investment?
3. Why did these developments not result in an immediate decline in the total number of people in employment?
4. What impact did the peace process have on the economy of Northern Ireland?

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

Religion and Population Change

As well as discouraging investment in Northern Ireland, the Troubles also had a major impact on population distribution. As a result of violence and intimidation, thousands of people, both Catholics and Protestants, were forced out of their homes. In working-class parts of Belfast, people lived mostly in either Protestant or Catholic ghetto areas with a huge barrier known as the peace line separating them. In Derry, Protestants almost completely abandoned the Cityside area west of the River Foyle, which contained areas such as the Bogside and Creggan, and transferred east to the Protestant Waterside or to Protestant towns in Co. Derry such as Limavady and Coleraine.

According to the 1991 census, most people in Northern Ireland lived in areas that were either 90 per cent Catholic or 90 per cent Protestant. As a result of the Troubles, Northern Ireland had become one of the most segregated societies in Europe.

There was a steady rise in the proportion of Catholics in the population of Northern Ireland from the 1960s onwards. Catholics had traditionally formed about one-third of the population, but by 1991 they made up 42 per cent of the total population in the province. As a result there were significant Catholic populations in largely Protestant and unionist towns such as Lisburn and Portadown.

These increases in the Catholic population had important political implications. Unionists felt increasingly insecure as the two main nationalist parties, the SDLP and Sinn Féin, increased their electoral support. In the city of Belfast, for example, nationalist councillors accounted for nearly half of the overall membership of the corporation by the 1990s. This was a huge transformation from the situation that had existed in the past, when unionists had always dominated Belfast Corporation.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

Education in a Divided Society

Education in Northern Ireland was almost completely segregated at first and second level. Practically all primary and secondary schools were attended either exclusively by Catholics or exclusively by Protestants. While nearly all Catholic parents decided to send their children to Catholic schools, most Protestants attended state schools.

Although the vast majority of parents in Northern Ireland wished to have their children educated separately, a small minority thought differently. These people believed that children of different faiths or of no faith at all should be educated together in integrated schools. They hoped that this would lead to greater respect, tolerance and mutual understanding. The movement for integrated education faced many challenges, such as attracting sufficient funding and pupil numbers. While the movement received support from the British Government, education continued to remain deeply segregated in Northern Ireland.

The British Government believed that education had an important role to play in bringing about a more tolerant society in Northern Ireland. In 1982, they issued a Department of Education circular which stated that mutual understanding was both a duty and a responsibility for everyone in education. With the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1989, pupils in all types of schools followed the same programme of study. As a result of this initiative it was no longer possible for some schools to avoid the study of Irish history or to neglect the study of British history. Within the curriculum there were compulsory sections on cultural heritage and education for mutual understanding.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

Education in a Divided Society

While integration was largely absent at primary and secondary level in Northern Ireland, the third-level sector presented a different picture. Apart from separate Protestant and Catholic primary teacher training colleges, practically all third-level colleges contained a mixture of Catholics and Protestants. The increasing Catholic participation in third-level education since the introduction of the welfare state provided many of the leaders in nationalist politics during the Troubles.

The continuing violence in Northern Ireland had a serious impact on the proportion of Protestants attending third-level education in Northern Ireland. Many Protestant students chose to attend university in Great Britain from the 1970s onwards. They often remained in Britain to work after graduation. This trend became known as the 'Protestant brain drain' as the province lost some of its most capable young people. This contributed to the increased proportion of Catholics in the higher education sector in Northern Ireland.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE TROUBLES

1. During the 1970s and 1980s the Troubles played a major role in creating a period of prolonged economic crisis and decline.
2. Paramilitary violence: destruction of commercial property and an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty resulted in very little foreign investment.
3. Massive expansion in government services (health, education) in the 1970s and a huge expansion in security services, especially during the Thatcher years.
4. The Troubles brought population change: significant changes in population distribution with the establishment of Catholic and Protestant ghettoes, and the departure of many educated Protestants to Britain.
5. Education was segregated into Protestant and Catholic schools.
6. Conflicting cultural identities: unionists emphasised their British identity and played down their sense of Irishness - nationalist identity was defined in terms of Irishness and Catholicism.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Explain the effect of the Troubles on population distribution in Northern Ireland.
2. What was integrated education and what did its advocates hope to achieve?
3. Name some government initiatives in education that aimed at increasing the sense of mutual understanding in Northern Ireland.
4. What impact did the violence have on the proportion of Protestants attending third-level colleges in Northern Ireland?

Conflicting Identities

At the heart of the conflict in Northern Ireland was the existence of two separate traditions or identities - the Protestant/unionist identity on the one hand and the Catholic/nationalist identity on the other. This division was seen in many areas of life. The separate traditions attended different churches and schools, supported different political parties, played different sports and followed different teams. A glaring example of this division was the Protestant support for Glasgow Rangers and the Catholic support for Glasgow Celtic soccer teams.

The divisions in Northern Ireland stretched back centuries. However, memories of past triumphs were kept alive and fuelled conflict and division during the Troubles.

KEY CONCEPT: BIGOTRY

Bigotry involves **prejudice and lack of tolerance in dealing with people of different beliefs**. In Northern Ireland, it frequently involved constant references to past events, such as the Battle of the Boyne or the Easter Rising of 1916. Absolute belief in the validity of one's own convictions went hand-in-hand with the need to condemn and abuse the beliefs of other people. **Efforts to reduce the levels of bigotry were not helped by the largely segregated housing and schooling arrangements. Bigotry also led to the stereotyping of communities based on the Orange/Protestant culture on the one side and the Gaelic/Catholic culture on the other.**

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

KEY CONCEPT: TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE

Tolerance as a concept is associated with the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. As a reaction to the religious wars of the previous centuries, enlightenment thinkers called for tolerance of different beliefs in society. In **Northern Ireland, tolerance was associated with those prepared to reach out to members of the other community and to respect their point of view, even while disagreeing with it**. British and Irish governments, the leaders of the main churches, trade union leaders and many political leaders in Northern Ireland have advocated tolerance.

Intolerance is **the refusal to respect or understand a different political or religious point of view**. The most extreme examples of intolerance were the **terrorists who were prepared to use violence against their political opponents**. **Other forms of intolerance were a refusal by unionists to allow Catholics to profess their Irish identity** and **a refusal by republicans to accept that unionists had a right to their British identity**. Intolerant attitudes to other people's religious identity continued to damage relations between the communities in Northern Ireland.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

The Nationalist Identity

The identity of nationalists in Northern Ireland was defined in terms of being Irish and Catholic. At the outbreak of the Troubles in 1968 they were united by a common sense of grievance against unionist majority rule. Their focus was primarily on achieving an end to discrimination and securing equality of access to housing and employment.

While the general political aspiration among nationalists was a united Ireland, there were deep divisions within the Catholic community over the role of violence in achieving this. As the Troubles progressed there were conflicting loyalties in nationalist areas between supporters of the constitutional SDLP and Sinn Féin, the political wing of the IRA.

The distinct cultural identity of nationalists was seen in their sporting activities. They were deeply involved in the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), an all-Ireland sporting organisation. In contrast to the Republic of Ireland, there was a very close link between politics and the GAA in Northern Ireland. Under the association rules, members of security forces in the north were not permitted to join GAA clubs.

The Nationalist Identity

The Irish language was another important element in the cultural identity of northern nationalists. It was taught in Catholic schools and an Irish-speaking area developed in west Belfast. Irish-speaking nationalists in Northern Ireland called on the British Government to provide greater funding and support for the language. Unionist support for the Ulster Scots language was largely in response to nationalist attempts to promote the Irish language.

Just as poets and writers from the unionist tradition reflected the fears and aspirations of their community during the Troubles, writers also emerged from the nationalist tradition. In 1980, the playwright Brian Friel founded the Field Day Theatre Company in Derry. From the beginning, Field Day had a nationalist political agenda. Its plays were performed in Derry's Guildhall, a huge symbol of the British Empire. The actor and director Stephen Rea, one of the founding members of the company, observed that there was an irony 'in us doing plays there which maybe undermine that position and certainly come from a different point of view'. As well as producing plays, Field Day also published pamphlets that explored various cultural issues.

Another founding member of Field Day was the Nobel Prize-winning poet, Seamus Heaney.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

Seamus Heaney: A Poet's Response to the Troubles in Northern Ireland

Born in County Derry in 1939 into a Catholic farming family, Seamus Heaney studied English in Queen's University, Belfast. He became a lecturer in English in Belfast and later in Dublin. He started publishing poetry in the 1960s and in 1995 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. He died in Dublin in 2013.

Heaney's poetry frequently dealt with the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Although he held strong nationalist political sympathies, he believed that it was not the role of the poet to comment directly on political developments. He focused instead on the human suffering caused by violence. In 1995, he published a collection entitled North, which included poems responding to the Troubles:

"Now as news comes in
Of each neighbourly murder
We pine for ceremony."

In his 'Bog' poems, the sacrificial victims in ancient Scandinavian cultures represent the victims of violence during the conflict in Northern Ireland.

In 1982, Heaney wrote a poem called 'Open Letter' as a protest against his inclusion in the Penguin Book of Contemporary British Poetry:

"Be advised my passport's green
No glass of ours was ever raised
to toast the Queen."

Throughout his work Heaney responded to the Troubles by putting them in a long historical context, stretching back to the era of primitive people. He also showed the impact of violence and suffering on relations, friends, neighbours and local communities.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

Key Personality SEAMUS HEANEY (1939-2013)

Seamus Heaney was born in Co. Derry in 1939, the son of a farmer and the eldest of nine children. He was educated at St Columb's College, a Catholic boarding school in Derry, and at Queen's University, Belfast, where he studied English. In 1963 he became a lecturer at St Joseph's Teacher Training College in Belfast.

Heaney started publishing poetry in the early 1960s and came into contact with other poets in Northern Ireland, such as Michael Longley. In 1972, he moved to Dublin and lectured at Carysfort College. He left Dublin in 1981 and returned to Belfast, where in 1983, along with Brien Friel and Stephen Rea, he co-founded Field Day Theatre Company, which had a strongly nationalist political agenda.

While Heaney's poems have universal themes, they often deal with the rural surroundings of where he grew up in Derry. While not overtly political in nature, his poetry is in the nationalist tradition and allusions to sectarian differences and violence can be found. His Gaelic heritage is a central part of his work, both culturally and politically. Heaney was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1995.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Where was Séamus Heaney educated?
2. Where did he live between 1972 and 1981?
3. What organisation did he co-found with Brian Friel and Stephen Rea in 1983?
4. What themes are to be found in his poetry?
5. Name the award which Séamus Heaney received in 1995.
6. How did he portray the Troubles in Northern Ireland?

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

KEY CONCEPT: CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Cultural traditions refer to **the customs and practices that express the identity of particular groups in society**. For the **Protestant community**, these involved **loyalty to the British Crown**, which was expressed in various ways such as respect for the Union Jack and the anthem 'God Save the Queen', and participation in remembrance services for those who died while serving in the British forces during the two world wars. The Protestant community was also supportive of games such as rugby, soccer and hockey. **The greatest public cultural traditions of the community centred on the marches of the loyal orders, especially those of the Orange Order**.

The **cultural traditions of the Catholic community centred on the Catholic Church and on Gaelic identity**. Participation in church-related activities such as processions and pilgrimages was high. **Catholics were interested in the Irish language and in Irish music and dancing. Members of the GAA in Northern Ireland were almost exclusively Catholics** and Gaelic football flourished throughout Northern Ireland, with hurling featuring in Co. Antrim.

It is noticeable that the cultural traditions of both communities were separate, based on different cultural identities.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

KEY CONCEPT: CULTURAL IDENTITY

Different identities lay at the root of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Most Protestants identified themselves as British, while most Catholics adopted an Irish identity.

The cultural identity of Protestants was based on strong loyalty to the Protestant religion and to the British Crown. This was combined with a fear of being forced into a united Ireland, which in turn led to a 'siege mentality': they believed themselves to be under siege and reacted by emphasising their British identity by such means as Orange marches and streets festooned with Union Jacks and painted red, white and blue. Given the nature of society in Northern Ireland, for many Protestants pride in their own British heritage was combined with a hatred of aspects of Catholics' cultural identity, such as the Irish language and Gaelic games.

The cultural identity of Catholics was based on the twin pillars of religion and the Irish nation. They combined loyalty to their religion with a sense of being Irish and a commitment in many cases to a united Ireland. This cultural identity was seen in their interest in the Irish language, Irish music and Gaelic games.

Therefore, underlying and reinforcing the political and religious differences in Northern Ireland were two cultural traditions at variance with each other.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

The Unionist Identity

As a result of the Troubles, many unionists felt threatened and insecure. In these circumstances, they supported traditional expressions of their cultural identity, such as the Orange Order. Landmark events such as the fall of Stormont, the IRA campaign and the Anglo-Irish Agreement further deepened their siege mentality or belief that their way of life was under threat.

The whole issue of identity was a major dilemma for many unionists. While their main identity was British, before the Troubles many would have described themselves as Irish as well. Against a background of IRA violence to promote the cause of Irish unity, many unionists emphasised their British identity and downplayed their sense of Irishness.

Poets from the unionist tradition such as Michael Longley responded to the Troubles by writing poetry relating to the victims of the violence. He graphically described the effects of conflict in the province. Another poet, Tom Paulin, argued that the poor morale among Protestants was reflected in the low status of the Ulster Scots language, which was the language of their unionist ancestors.

Organisations such as the loyal orders defended the cultural identity of Protestants. Included among these loyal orders were the Orange Order and the Apprentice Boys of Derry.

CULTURAL IDENTITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 1949-93

1. The deep divisions in Northern Ireland stretched back centuries: Protestant/ unionist identity stressed the British heritage, whereas the Catholic/nationalist identity looked to its sense of Irishness.
2. The unionist siege mentality, reinforced by the Troubles, found expression in the Protestant religion, the British connection and the loyal orders.
3. The most visible expression of unionist identity was found in the various loyal orders, and attempts to curtail Orange marches were regarded by unionists as an attack on their identity.
4. Protestants/unionists usually attended Protestant schools and played British sports like rugby, cricket and soccer.
5. Nationalist identity in Northern Ireland was based largely on being Irish and Catholic and support for a united Ireland.
6. During the period 1949-93, Catholics availed of the new opportunities in education under the welfare state to improve their position in society and assert their civil rights.
7. Nationalist cultural identity masked deep divisions between those who favoured peaceful means to achieve a united Ireland and those who supported violent republican organisations.
8. Other pillars of nationalist culture were the Irish language and the GAA.
9. The two cultural identities were reflected in the work of writers, musicians and artists such as Michael Longley and Tom Paulin from the unionist tradition and Seamus Heaney and Brian Friel from the nationalist tradition.
10. In the search for peace and reconciliation, respect for the culture and the traditions of the other community played an important part.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

CASE STUDY THE APPRENTICE BOYS OF DERRY

CASE STUDY: The Apprentice Boys of Derry

The Loyal Orders

Commemorating the past plays a very important part in the cultural identity of Protestants in Northern Ireland. Each year they remember Ulster Protestants who died fighting in the British forces during World War I (1914-18) and World War II (1939-45). However, the main focus of their commemorations lies much further back in history, namely the War of the Three Kings (1688-91), when the Protestant William of Orange defeated the Catholic King James II, who was assisted by his cousin, King Louis XIV of France. The defeat of James II paved the way for a secure Protestant Ascendancy (Protestant control) throughout Ireland. In Northern Ireland, the Protestant Ascendancy continued down to recent times.

To keep the memory of historical victories alive and to organise annual commemorations, three Protestant loyal orders were established. The most powerful, the Orange Order, was founded in 1795. The Orange Order organises parades each year to commemorate the victory of William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690. Although Orange parades take place at various times of the year, the main event is on 12 July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

In 1797, two years after the foundation of the Orange Order, the Royal Black Institution was established. Those wishing to join the Royal Black had to be members of the Orange Order first. In general, the Royal Black catered for better-off sections of the Protestant community. Like the Orange Order, it organised parades throughout Northern Ireland.

The third loyal order, the Apprentice Boys of Derry, founded in 1813, was the last to be founded. Its main function is to commemorate the Protestant victory during the Siege of Derry (1688-9).

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

The Siege of Derry

The Siege of Derry, which lasted from December 1688 to August 1689, was the longest in the history of Great Britain or Ireland. It began in earnest when the Catholic forces of James II arrived outside the walls of the town on 18 April. Inside, the population was swollen by the arrival of Protestant refugees from all over Ulster. When the governor, Colonel Robert Lundy, wished to surrender, thirteen apprentice boys defied him and closed the gates in the face of the Catholic army. Lundy's replacement as governor, the Rev. George Walker, became one of the heroes of the siege.

After a harrowing 105-day experience involving gunshot, cannon balls, hunger and disease, the siege was broken by the arrival of relief ships from Britain. Ever since then, Protestants in Northern Ireland have drawn inspiration from the victory (Document 1).

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 1: COMMEMORATING THE SIEGE OF DERRY

At the centre of Ulster Protestant culture lies a cycle of myths concerning the seventeenth-century struggle between Protestant and Catholic, settler and native, for supremacy in Ireland. The high point of the Protestant calendar is the Twelfth of July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne (1690), still kept as a bank holiday in Northern Ireland. By comparison, the parades held to commemorate the shutting of the gates of Derry (18 December 1688) and the relief of the city (12 August 1689) are local affairs. It is the Siege of Derry, however, which is the key episode for loyalists ... The Siege of Derry carries an emotional charge that the more famous Battle of the Boyne lacks. In part this is simply because the 'Maiden City', unlike the River Boyne, is situated within the six Ulster Counties which became Northern Ireland in 1921. Ulstermen and women participated in the defence of Derry, and their descendants still live there... The story serves to reinforce the social cohesion and political resolve of Ulster Protestants by recalling the unchanging threat to their faith and liberties posed by the Catholic majority in Ireland; 'No Surrender', the watchword of the defenders of Derry, has become the arch-slogan of loyalism.

I. McBride, The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology (Dublin, 1997)

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

The Foundation of the Apprentice Boys of Derry

Although the relief of Derry was commemorated regularly during the eighteenth century, there was no specific organisation set up to take charge of the celebrations. This situation changed when the Apprentice Boys of Derry organisation was founded. On 7 December 1813 the first Apprentice Boys club was formed in Dublin by fourteen Derrymen. Shortly afterwards, a club was formed in the city of Derry itself. In 1824, with the formation of the 'No Surrender' club, the Apprentice Boys took charge of the annual ceremonies in the city. In 1856, a General Committee of the Apprentice Boys was formed to co-ordinate the siege celebrations.

These celebrations take place each year around 18 December and 12 August. On 18 December the ceremony of the closing of the gates is held. This involves young members of the Apprentice Boys dressed in seventeenth-century costumes re-enacting the shutting of the gates against the Catholic army in December 1688. Afterwards an effigy of Robert Lundy is burned (Document 2).

On 12 August the main Apprentice Boys commemorations take place. After a religious service in the Protestant Cathedral, the Apprentice Boys, complete with banners, wearing sashes and to the accompaniment of bands, march around the walls of Derry. These ceremonies mark the anniversary of the relief of Derry in August 1689.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 2: ANNUAL APPRENTICE BOYS COMMEMORATIONS

Picture A: An Apprentice Boys parade passing along the walls of Derry in August.

Picture B: The Apprentice Boys burning an effigy of Lundy.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

A Divided City

Following the implementation of partition and the creation of Northern Ireland in 1921, the city of Derry became the second largest in the new province, after Belfast. However, its Protestant population felt far from secure. There had been strong nationalist pressure to have it included in the south because of its Catholic majority. Under these circumstances, local Protestants welcomed the annual Apprentice Boys celebrations, when their co-religionists from all over Northern Ireland came to the city to join them in recalling a Protestant victory.

This feeling was expressed by the preacher at the Apprentice Boys' cathedral service in August 1947, the Rev. J.G. MacManaway. He also happened to be the unionist MP for Londonderry City in the Northern Ireland Parliament (Document 3).

However, for the majority Catholic community in Derry, the annual Apprentice Boys parade was a source of provocation. A statue of Governor Walker had been erected on a column overlooking the largely nationalist Bogside area. As the Apprentice Boys marched along the section of the walls overlooking nationalist areas, they frequently exchanged insults with the local inhabitants. Such exchanges would not normally lead to serious unrest, but as tension mounted in Derry in the 1960s it became clear that the Apprentice Boys ceremonies had the potential to become a flashpoint of violence between the two communities in Northern Ireland.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 3: ULSTER'S PROTESTANT SHRINE

We in Ulster have our own Holy Place, our own religious shrine to which our history as Protestants forever joins us. The Protestant shrine of Protestant Ulster is forever Derry. We do not meet together to provoke anybody or criticise any man's faith. But, just as our forefathers before us, we are resolved that we shall not be driven out of this country by political pressure or economic measures to deprive us of our freedom and our faith.
Rev. J.G. MacManaway as reported in the Belfast News Letter, 13 August 1947

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

The Apprentice Boys of Derry and the Battle of the Bogside

In the summer of 1969 the city of Derry was in a highly tense state. Ever since the civil rights march there on 5 October 1968, when police had baton-charged the marchers, relations between the Protestant and Catholic communities in the city had deteriorated. Trouble was expected (Document 4).

With the Northern Ireland Government under James Chichester-Clark refusing to ban the Apprentice Boys march, efforts were made at a local level to persuade the organisers to call it off. One such attempt was made by a Catholic community leader in the Bogside, Paddy Doherty (Document 5).

When the Apprentice Boys refused to cancel their proposed march, it was clear that conflict could erupt between the marchers and the local Catholics. This in turn could lead to serious violence between the Catholic inhabitants of the Bogside and the RUC. Journalists and television crews made their way to Derry in anticipation of such events. One of the young Apprentice Boys who took part in the march in Derry on 12 August 1969, Billy McFetridge, wrote an account of his experiences that day. Compare his account (Document 6) with that of a nationalist resident of the Bogside, Brigid Sheils (Document 7).

The Battle of the Bogside between local Catholics and the RUC that followed the Apprentice Boys parade in Derry in August 1969 is seen by many historians as the real start of the Troubles in the province. It led immediately to the deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland, which radically altered the political situation and paved the way for direct rule from Westminster in the future.

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 4: TROUBLE EXPECTED

On 12 July [1969] the Orange Parade was stoned in Derry and rioting between the Bogsiders and the RUC lasted for three days, with an RUC man shooting and wounding two civilians... Everyone knew the crunch would come on 12 August. That was the day of the Apprentice Boys parade in Derry, when thousands of Orangemen from all over the North would come to Derry, and parade through the city and around the walls overlooking the Bogside to commemorate the siege. It was virtually a direct celebration of the plantation and the Protestant Ascendancy and served as a yearly reminder to the Catholic population of who was master even in this Catholic city.

After a year of civil rights marches banned from the centre of every town and batoned off the streets of Derry, the Catholics were in no mood to be reminded of their inferiority. If the march went ahead there was bound to be a riot... The Stormont government turned down all appeals to ban the march.

M. Farrell, Northern Ireland: The Orange State (London, 1976)

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 5: AN ATTEMPT TO AVERT TROUBLE

We passed a slogan 'Give Peace a Chance', daubed in large white letters on the tarmac, as we made our way up Fahan Street towards the Apprentice Boys' Hall in the walled city... Our principal purpose was to make the controlling body of the Apprentice Boys aware of the possibility of serious trouble if the parade were allowed to take place. Their granite Scottish baronial building with its turrets and high, square battlemented tower, dominated its surroundings. It had been constructed on the site of the old monastic settlement which dated from the sixth century and was the world headquarters of the Apprentice Boys of Derry.

The meeting was chaired by Doctor Abernathy who remained silent during the proceedings, leaving the talking to Jim Guy, the Secretary, and Reverend Dickenson, the chaplain. Politely, they explained the precautions they had taken to ensure that the march would pass off peacefully. We Bogsiders insisted that the only way to ensure that there would be peace would be to call off the parade. They flatly refused.

Returning to the Bogside, we saw two boys with pots of black paint busily obliterating the white plea for peace from the tarred roadway. No one slept that night. Residents scoured the area for material for barricades. The Bogside was now on a war footing.

P. Doherty, Paddy Bogside (Cork, 2001)

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 6: AN APPRENTICE BOY'S ACCOUNT

It happened in 1969 when I was twenty. I had joined with my mates and had become an Apprentice Boy - a thing all young men in Ulster are encouraged to do. Although I wasn't particularly religious or patriotic, I felt proud to take the solid oaths of allegiance to God, the Order and my country. It was during the mass parade in Derry, while the bands marched and we were about to be made Apprentice Boys inside the Guild Hall there, that they reckon the so-called recent troubles began. I'd noticed an unusually heavy police presence throughout the day, but I took no special notice until after the ceremony when we were parading through the Diamond in Derry. Suddenly a mob of teenage boys pressed in close, cursing and laughing at us. A police cordon was formed to keep us apart. Within seconds all us lads were being pelted by stones and missiles launched by a gang the police said had come from the Roman Catholic Bogside.

I remember a lad in our own parade broke rank, and charged through the crowd trying to get his hands on one of the troublemakers. But before he could turn down the passage where they had retreated, a big police sergeant reached out a massive hand and grabbed him by the collar and shouted, 'Hey where are you going?" The newly made Apprentice Boy replied that he was going after the retreating Catholics. 'Aye, that's just what they want you to do. Don't you know that if you go down there you'll not be coming back?' I was shocked by his words. Did he really mean that the boys meant to kill him? Instantaneously, shock gave way to anger that the police didn't chase them. They had insulted our banner. They had injured us with rocks. Indeed they meant to murder any one of us. I wondered why the police were letting them get away with this.

B. McFetridge, 'An Apprentice Boy 1969' in S.H. King and S. McMahon (eds), Hope and History: Eyewitness Accounts of Life in Twentieth-Century Ulster (Belfast, 1996)

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 7: A NATIONALIST POINT OF VIEW

Surprisingly, the annual Orange Order parade on 12 July passed without any major confrontations, but as the date of the annual Apprentice Boys' Parade in Derry drew near, there was a definite feeling that trouble was brewing ...

There was an eerie sense of anticipation on the morning of 12 August. The huge Lambeg drums boomed steadily inside the Derry Wall as over 15,000 Apprentice Boys and their supporters, which included large numbers of B-Special reservists, assembled for the parade. For me the sound of those drums served as a flashback to my childhood and I could feel tension and anger mounting within me.

Shortly before 4 p.m. I walked up William Street to watch the parade emerge from the Derry Walls prior to its route along the end of the Bogside. All hooligans were at their usual site and we observed the first exchange of rocks between the two groups the Battle of the Bogside had begun. The RUC and marchers joined forces to charge the group of young rock-throwers who attempted to hold their ground. I prudently retreated to my mother's flat to prepare to assist those who were certain to appear at our door seeking first-aid.

M. Bernard, Daughter of Derry: The Story of Brigid Sheils Makowski (London, 1989)

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

Through Conflict to Consensus

Like its sister loyal orders, the Orange Order and the Royal Black Institution, the Apprentice Boys organisation had a turbulent history during the conflict in Northern Ireland. In 1970 and 1971, a ban was imposed on the Apprentice Boys parades and between 1972 and 1974, they were restricted to the Protestant Waterside district of the city. In 1973, the IRA blew up the Walker monument where the effigy of Lundy had traditionally been burned during the December commemorations of the closing of the city gates. The Apprentice Boys were not allowed to march around the city walls again until 1995.

Like the other loyal orders, the Apprentice Boys frequently found themselves in conflict with local nationalist residents over the right to march. 'Feeder parades' were also a source of conflict with nationalist communities. This involved groups of Apprentice Boys marching in various parts of the province before getting on buses to travel to the main parade in Derry. The British Government appointed a Parades Commission to adjudicate on contentious marches. However, a satisfactory solution was not reached until the Apprentice Boys agreed to discuss marches with the local residents in the late 1990s. When they did so they reached a compromise acceptable to all sides at a time when the Orange Order had still not accepted the need for this approach.

During 1989, there were special celebrations to mark the tercentenary of the siege. Some of these were organised by the nationalist-controlled Derry City Council, which believed that the siege and relief of Derry were part of the heritage of all its citizens. However, these events obviously mattered most for the Protestant community, and the Apprentice Boys of Derry continued to have members in all parts of the world. At a time when many Northern Ireland Protestants felt insecure facing the challenge of conceding equality to their Catholic fellow citizens, the memory of past victories still had a role to play (Documents 8 and 9).

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 8: THE TERCENTENARY CELEBRATIONS (1989)

The tercentenary of the siege in 1989 was the occasion of extensive celebrations in the city. The Apprentice Boys' organisation co-operated with the nationalist City Council in various functions and commemorative events. In August, characters in period costume re-enacted scenes from the siege, and a mock breaking of the boom by the Mountjoy was staged...

At the Cathedral service in Derry on 12 August 1989 the preacher, Reverend James Kane, spoke of the many deaths and destruction of the previous twenty years. In an official Apprentice Boys' tercentenary brochure, which referred to both the general political situation and to the local reduction of the number of Protestants on the west bank of the city, the chairman of the tercentenary committee wrote: 'The siege of Derry is, in many senses, still going on'.

Other publications at this time included a book on the siege by Peter Robinson MP in which he declared: 'For three centuries Londonderry has been the symbol of Protestant resolve and dogged determination to stand against any threat to its inhabitants and their way of life'.

B. Walker, Past and Present: History, Identity and Politics in Ireland (Belfast, 2000)

Adapted from Modern Ireland (Fourth Edition) by Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, Gill Education.

DOCUMENT 9: THE APPRENTICE BOYS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

The siege of Derry is recalled today by large numbers of the Protestant and Unionist community in Northern Ireland who annually celebrate the event in well-attended parades, church services and other ceremonies in Derry ...

Expansion in the number of clubs and members since 1969 should be seen as part of the growing interest in loyal orders and parades in the unionist community as a result of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. In recent years, and perhaps particularly since the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, Protestants have felt their constitutional position, and therefore their sense of national identity, more threatened than at any time since partition. One response to this crisis of identity has been to parade more frequently in local areas and also to organise more parades for more events.

The rise in outside support for this particular event is perhaps attributable to the symbolic loss of Derry to nationalist control and to the reduction of the number of Protestants in Derry. In the face of this shift, there is a need felt to show Protestant and Unionist solidarity.

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Case Study: REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. The Loyal Orders

a. Who was the victor in the War of the Three Kings (1688-91)?
b. Why do Protestants in Northern Ireland commemorate the defeat of the Catholic King James II?
c. Name the three loyal orders in Northern Ireland.
d. Why do the main parades take place on 12 July?

2. The Siege of Derry

a. How long did the siege last?
b. What suggestion was made by Governor Robert Lundy?
c. How did the local Apprentice Boys react?
d. How was the siege lifted?

3. The Apprentice Boys of Derry

a. When and where was the Apprentice Boys of Derry organisation founded?
b. What occurred in 1824 with the formation of the 'No Surrender' club?
c. Describe the Apprentice Boys ceremonies that take place in Derry on 18 December each year.
d. Why were the main ceremonies held on 12 August?

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Case Study: REVIEW QUESTIONS

4. A Divided City

a. Why did Protestants feel insecure in Derry even after the creation of Northern Ireland in 1921?
b. Why did local Protestants welcome the annual Apprentice Boys march?
c. What was the attitude of the majority Catholic community to this event?
d. Why was the parade likely to become a flashpoint for violence in the late 1960s?

5. **The Apprentice Boys and the Battle of the Bogside**

a. Why was there a high degree of tension in Derry in the summer of 1969?
b. How did the Unionist Government react to appeals to ban the Apprentice Boys parade planned for 12 August 1969?
c. What actions were taken by local Catholic community leaders in the city?
d. Were these initiatives successful?

6. **Violent Conflict in Derry**

a. How did groups of local nationalist youths react to the Apprentice Boys parade in August 1969?
b. Did the RUC remain neutral in the conflict between the marchers and the nationalists?
c. What was the 'Battle of the Bogside'? (d) How did it transform the security situation in Northern Ireland?

7. **From Conflict to Consensus**

a. How were the parades of the Apprentice Boys of Derry restricted during the 1970s?
b. What is the function of the Parades Commission appointed by the British Government?
c. What celebrations did the Apprentice Boys of Derry organise in 1989?
d. How did the approach of the Apprentice Boys to local nationalists differ from that of the Orange Order during the 1990s?

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Case Study: Documents-Based Questions

1. **Comprehension**
   a. According to Document 1, what are the two main celebrations held in the city every year by the Apprentice Boys of Derry?
   b. What slogan painted on the street did the author of Document 5 see as he made his way towards the Apprentice Boys' hall?
2. **Comparison**
   a. How did the views of the Apprentice Boys parade presented in Document 3 differ from the views of the author of Document 4?
   b. Compare the different attitudes to the RUC shown by the authors of Documents 6 and 7.
3. **Criticism**
   a. Is Document 4 a primary or a secondary source? Identify the political viewpoint of the author.
   b. Why should historians treat Documents 5 and 6 with caution?
4. **Contextualisation**
   a. What role did the Apprentice Boys of Derry play during the Troubles in Northern Ireland?
   b. How did the Apprentice Boys of Derry contribute to the creation of a unionist cultural identity?

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Ecumenism in Northern Ireland

Because of the violence in Northern Ireland between Protestants and Catholics, ecumenism - the peaceful search for unity among Christians - had a special role to play. Ecumenical discussions between Catholics and Protestants were largely uncontroversial in the Republic of Ireland and in most parts of the world. However, this was not the case in Northern Ireland. During the Second Vatican Council (1962-5) the Catholic Church began to support dialogue with other Christian churches. Ian Paisley conducted several campaigns against such contact and frequently disrupted ecumenical gatherings involving Catholics and Protestants. Evangelical or Bible-based elements within other Protestant churches were also strongly opposed to the ecumenical movement.

In the deeply divided society of Northern Ireland, ecumenical activities invariably involved a small minority of the population. However, from the 1960s onwards small groups of Catholics and Protestants reached out to one another in a spirit of mutual respect and tolerance. In 1965, Ireland's first peace and reconciliation organisation was set up at Corrymeela in Co. Antrim. In the difficult decades that followed, it organised workshops and provided training in reconciliation for many groups in society.

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Ecumenism in Northern Ireland

In 1970, the Irish School of Ecumenics was founded by Fr Michael Hurley; it went on to open centres in Dublin and Belfast that provided a high level of academic training in the area of ecumenism. Groups of Catholic and Protestant clergy and laypeople organised regular meetings, often quietly, in order to avoid hostility from people opposed to such contacts.

As well as trying to reach out to other Christians through ecumenical contacts, some Protestant and Catholic clergy were to play important roles in the search for peace in Northern Ireland. Two Redemptorist priests, Fr Alec Reid and Fr Gerry Reynolds, helped to bring about the IRA ceasefire in 1994 by facilitating discussions between Gerry Adams and John Hume. On the Protestant side, a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Roy Magee, and the Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh, Dr Robin Eames, persuaded loyalist paramilitaries to institute a ceasefire as well.

Therefore, whether by means of ecumenical meetings or their involvement in the peace process, both Catholic and Protestant clergy played an important part in the path to peace and reconciliation.

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KEY CONCEPT: ECUMENISM

Ecumenism is the effort to bring about unity among Christians by means of peaceful discussion and mutual understanding. During the twentieth century, co-operation began to replace hostility between various Christian churches. Beginning among Protestant churches, it was supported by the Roman Catholic Church from the time of the **Second Vatican Council** (**1962-65**) onwards. **Pope John XIII** (**1958-63**) who summoned the council was a strong supporter of ecumenism. Catholic and Protestant leaders began to meet to discuss matters and to pray together. Most Christian churches in Northern Ireland supported ecumenism. However, the Reverend Ian Paisley, the leader of the Free Presbyterian Church, condemned ecumenism and held public protests against the Pope in various parts of the world. One example of the power of the ecumenical movement was the crucial part played by Catholic priests and Protestant clergymen in the search for an end to violence and a strengthening of the peace process.

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Towards Greater Understanding

With the advent of the peace process, there was a greater awareness of the need to accommodate the two traditions in Northern Ireland. There was a growing recognition that a stable society would need to take account of diversity and difference. This more open attitude was seen in the increased willingness within local communities to arrive at an agreed resolution to the contentious issue of marches. As new structures were being developed for the future of Northern Ireland, there was an increased willingness among both unionists and nationalists to heal the divisions of the past.