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How to cite:

Wolffe, John (2017). Perceptions of Irish Religious History Among Community Activists in Northern Ireland, 2010–2013. In: Hill, Jacqueline and Lyons, Mary Ann eds. Representing Irish Religious Histories: Historiography, Ideology and Practice. Histories of the Sacred and Secular, 1700-2000. Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 261–274.

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Version: Accepted Manuscript

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1007/978-3-319-41531-4_17

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**Perceptions of Irish Religious History among Community Activists in Northern
Ireland, 2010-2013**

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During the last two decades the critical exploration of memory has become an increasingly important strand in the academic study of Irish history, a trend paralleled by political and community discussion of the most appropriate mechanisms for reconciling both painful memories of the Troubles in Northern Ireland and the conflicted longer term histories expressed in marches and other vernacular traditions. Academic interest in part arises from the influence of the seminal collection edited by Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, which appeared in French between 1984 and 1992 and was subsequently translated into English.¹ However it has derived particular impetus from awareness of the rich, albeit often divisive, cultures of memory widespread in Ireland itself as explored in *Reconciling Memories*, first published in 1988.² Edna Longley made an important contribution in her chapter in a volume published in 1991 to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Easter Rising. Subsequent significant publications have included Ian MacBride's study of the siege of Derry and his assembling of a wide-ranging volume of contributions from other scholars; Guy Beiner's work on the 1798 rebellion, its long term legacies and 'deep memory' in twentieth century Ireland, and Roisín Higgins's study of the fiftieth anniversary of the Easter Rising in 1966.³ There is also an increasing body of academic work exploring the development of memories of the Troubles since 1969,

emerging contemporaneously with the aspiration of the Consultative Group on the Past, which reported in 2009, for ‘remembrance ... which is more humane, comprehensive and rounded’.⁴ Most recently, the cross party panel chaired by Richard Haass saw ‘contending with the past’ as an important aspect of its endeavours to resolve outstanding inter-community tensions in Northern Ireland. In addition to specific measures to address the concerns of victims, it proposed the setting up both of a ‘Commission on Identity, Culture and Tradition’ and ‘an archive for conflict-related oral histories, documents, and other relevant materials’.⁵

Running through both the historical literature on memory, and public policy proposals on ‘contending’ or ‘dealing’ with the past is a more or less explicit assumption that Northern Ireland’s continuing community divide has been reinforced by conflicting and ultimately incompatible understandings of history. However a more positive view of the role of history in the province emerged in an interview with Monsignor Raymond Murray, well known as a leading Catholic supporter of Republican prisoners, who drew attention to the development of the Federation for Ulster Local Studies, which was formed in 1974, and survived through some of the darkest days of the Troubles. Its journal began by exploring neutral topics, such as placenames, but from an early date there was also coverage of the religious history of all traditions. According to Murray:

In the Troubles, you talk about history, but in the Troubles people were asking themselves who are we, what are we, are our traditions necessarily opposed? You had some people saying, even Tony Blair, ‘*Draw a line though history and forget it*’. We say the opposite. Open it up. Tell the truth about it, educate

people about it. It's no use having a faint and vague myth. Don't be ashamed of the past, don't draw a line through history. Open it up, face it.⁶

Murray's testimony is suggestive evidence of the potential for shared history to provide neutral ground and even resources for reconciliation, in the face of sectarian conflict. It is a very different view of the role of history from that underlying much of the literature on memory, which naturally tends to reflect its sources in tracing the development of polarized traditions rather than raising the question of whether there is actual or potential common ground between them.

Exploring Perceptions of the Past

This chapter seeks to develop a complementary view of the role of memory in contemporary Northern Ireland through an analysis of some of the comments on history made in semi-structured interviews with a cross-section of religious and community activists, conducted between 2010 and 2013. These were part of joint projects between The Open University and the Belfast-based Institute for Conflict Research and formed part of the work of Global Uncertainties Fellowships, funded by the UK Research Councils.⁷ In the first phase linked to a project on historic Catholic-Protestant tensions, a total of 66 interviews were carried out between in 2010, 2011 and early 2012, in three contrasting parts of Northern Ireland, Belfast, South Armagh, and a variety of locations west of the Bann, including South Tyrone, Fermanagh and Derry/Londonderry. The sample was made up as follows:

<u>'Community'</u>	Protestant	37	Catholic	29		
<u>Gender</u>	Male	33	Female	33		
<u>Location</u>	Belfast	31	S. Armagh	20	West of Bann	15
<u>Age</u>	Under 30	6	30-50	27	Over 50	33
<u>Churchgoing</u>	Regular	39	Occasional	11	Never	16

No children were interviewed, but otherwise the objective was to secure a wide spread of age groups, which ranged from late 'teens to mid-70s. However, there was a predominance of people in the 40 to 60 age range, who thus had significant personal experience and recollections of the Troubles, but at most childhood and teenage memories of life in Northern Ireland before 1969. This sample also represented a cross section of levels of religious practice; although over half the sample were committed and regular churchgoers; some were more occasional ones, and the remainder (although sometimes practising Christians in the past) were now atheists or agnostics or, in one case, a committed adherent of the Bahai faith. The sample included some individuals (termed 'key informants') who have played prominent roles in the recent history of Northern Ireland, such as Robin Eames, Harold Good, and Bernadette MacAliskey, but most respondents were people with a low profile outside their own immediate communities. As the key informants were in general selected because they were – or had been – playing strategic roles in the churches, their presence in the sample naturally accentuated the predominance of older age groups and of churchgoers. Of the remaining 51 interviewees, only 21 were over 50, and only 26 regular churchgoers.⁸

The second smaller phase of fourteen interviews was conducted in Belfast in the spring and summer of 2013, and focused particularly on respondents' perceptions of martyrdom and sacrificial death, with particular reference to the Easter Rising, the Somme, the Troubles and the hunger strikes, and on their hopes and fears for the centenaries of 1914 and 1916. They formed part of wider ongoing research comparing attitudes in Northern Ireland with those in the Republic of Ireland and in other parts of the United Kingdom, and also examining Catholic and Protestant views alongside Muslim ones. This sample was all drawn from the greater Belfast area, and comprised eight men and six women, six Catholics and eight Protestants, ten churchgoers, one occasional churchgoer and three non-churchgoers.⁹

The main purpose of the first set of interviews was to gain an enhanced understanding of relationships between present-day religious practice or the lack of it, attitudes to the security situation, and to the process of peacebuilding since the mid 1990s. However 38 of the 66 interviewees made some kind of explicit comment about history, mostly in response to being shown a list of events in Irish history, ranging in date from the seventeenth-century Plantation to the Good Friday Agreement. They were asked to identify and comment on those that they considered significant – for good or ill – for understanding the present-day situation in Northern Ireland. There was no limit on the number of events they could so identify.

Interpretation of the transcripts is somewhat subjective, especially as some respondents referred to an event that they implicitly did NOT regard as significant, but the following table gives an indication of the salient responses. It lists all the events identified as significant by at least five respondents.

	Catholic	Protestant	Total
Overall Sample	15	23	38
Plantation (early 17 th century)	4	8	12
Siege of Derry (1688-9)	1	4	5
Battle of the Boyne (1690)	2	7	9
Catholic Emancipation (1829)	3	3	6
Ulster Covenant (1912)	3	6	9
Easter Rising (1916)	2	8	10
Partition (1921)	3	7	10
Bloody Sunday (1972)	10	14	24
Hunger Strikes (1981)	9	8	17
Darkley Massacre ¹⁰ (1983)	3	5	8
Good Friday Agreement (1998)	10	11	21

Two other events on the list picked out by at least three respondents were the 1641 Rising and the Act of Union. Three events not on the list were also mentioned by several respondents – the Famine, the Shankill bombing of 1993 and the Omagh bombing of 1998. On the other hand, some familiar landmarks for professional historians of Irish religion, notably the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland,

attracted little attention and some respondents were quite open about the limitations of their own historical knowledge. For example one young Belfast Catholic disarmingly responded: ‘Catholic Emancipation I have heard of but can’t think what it is.’¹¹ The wife of a Pentecostal pastor queried ‘When you say disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, what does that mean?’¹²

It is immediately apparent from the table that, for many, events within living memory, especially if they were personally experienced in some way, seemed more significant than those in the historic past. A Church of Ireland administrator responded: ‘The Battle of the Boyne and all that jazz wouldn’t have much relevance to me.’¹³ A Catholic commented ‘These other things - ancient history, don’t interest me at all. They are relevant but for me don’t do much.’¹⁴ A Catholic woman in her 50s from Armagh highlighted Bloody Sunday, the hunger strikes and the Darkley massacre, and the Good Friday Agreement as a positive development, but ‘The Plantation of Ulster etc, they don’t really mean a lot to me.’¹⁵

Other interviewees who lived through the hunger strikes were profoundly affected by them. For a Catholic woman from West Belfast ‘It really hits home because a lot of them are from the Falls Road and some of the families I would have known.’¹⁶ A Protestant contemporary growing up in County Tyrone lacked the same personal contacts and acknowledged that ‘there wouldn’t have been any way at the time for me to understand what was going on’. Nevertheless ‘Bobby Sands changed my life ... it became the moment when I decided that I had to do everything in my power to ensure that this doesn’t happen again.’¹⁷ There was though acknowledgement that the passage of time had brought wider perspectives: a Catholic

who was nine at the time of the hunger strikes observed that it ‘was a much simpler world in the 1980s, it was black and white ... And it’s a different world now.’¹⁸ A Protestant recalled that at the time of the hunger strikes the attitude in her home was ‘Sure let them die’ but in ‘the past 15 to 20 years I have begun to see it through a different lens.’¹⁹

The emphasis on recent events was especially pronounced among the Catholic sample, with 36 identifications of events since 1969 and only 21 of historic ones. Among Protestant respondents on the other hand, historic events had a slight majority over recent ones, at 52 to 47. This widespread lack of engagement with more distant history clearly merits further reflection, and provides an essential context for analysis in the rest of this paper of how that history is regarded by the minority of the Catholic sample and small majority of Protestant one who do take an interest in it.

Towards Shared Understandings?

While Protestants in general have a stronger sense of history than Catholics, among this sample at least that sense of history was not especially focused on the traditional Orange-style celebration of the Boyne. Indeed it is striking that quite as many of them saw the Easter Rising as a significant event, primarily though because they perceived it as being such for Catholics, an assumption that ironically, but significantly, was not supported by responses from Catholics themselves. A Catholic woman educated at a convent school in Newry in the 1960s pointed out that the nuns ‘heavily frowned’ on republicanism and that, contrary to Protestant perceptions, she was not ‘indoctrinated in ... the goodness of the Easter Rising’.²⁰ On the other hand, another Catholic interviewee thought ‘I dare say if you talked to some of the Catholic

schools on the Falls Road for example and gave them those dates the only thing you would get back is the Easter Rising.’²¹

It must be acknowledged that as some of the more hardline Protestants approached to take part in the research declined to do so, their perspective was under-represented in the sample. Nevertheless it is striking that the predominant view among Protestant churchgoers who did take part was more critical than celebratory of key events in their own history. Thus an Omagh Church of Ireland woman in her 50s acknowledged a sense of sharing in ‘the guilt of the Protestant people ... when you think of the arrogance of us coming in and taking over’. She perceived Cromwell’s actions as ‘horrible’.²² It is possible to detect something of a generational change in the advance of such attitudes among those from a Protestant background. One respondent recalled a conversation at least ten years before with his now-deceased grandmother, who was talking about their ancestors who settled in Ulster in 1673. He asked her ‘But what about the people that lived here?’ and recalled that

she looked totally perplexed and shocked and really challenged and internally you could see that she was really struggling with this and it something she had never actually comprehended before. She said ‘You know I never thought about that...’²³

Another Protestant respondent, however, defended the Plantation on the grounds that the conventional narrative was distorted by nationalists who, he thought, ‘have been masters of rewriting history for their own purposes’. He thought that the idea that ‘the “Prods” from mainland Britain were imposed on the poor Catholics’ was

nonsense. His own version of the history of the seventeenth century highlighted the participation of Catholics themselves in the plantation, their presence in Cromwell's army, and the killing of Protestants as well as Catholics at the sack of Drogheda. He also appeared to believe that the controversial painting at Stormont supposedly showing Pope Innocent XI blessing William of Orange represented an actual historical event.²⁴ An aspiration to challenge historical mythologies can bring its own distortions.

Those who singled out the Battle of the Boyne, did so, not as an event to celebrated, but rather, as one respondent put it, because it was 'the start of everything that we've went through'.²⁵ Another Protestant interviewee, however, argued that 'if you understand the real historical context' it need not be divisive.²⁶ She did not elaborate on what aspects of the 'context' she had in mind but it is interesting to note that the sentiment that better understanding of the Williamite Wars could help to build bridges between communities was echoed by two respondents from Catholic backgrounds. A woman whose grandmother had met James Connolly and Patrick Pearse, and whose father had been interned in the 1970s, found a conference about the siege of Derry to be 'eye opening' in that it transformed her perception that it was a 'narrow sectarian thing', by setting events in Ulster in a wider European context. She came away thinking 'God, the term Londonderry doesn't feel threatening any more.'²⁷ For Bernadette McAliskey (*née* Devlin), a leading republican and socialist activist in the 1970s, the defenders of Derry had an heroic quality as 'an element of ordinary people defending the little they had with their lives when their leaders would happily have surrendered them'. On the other hand she characterised the Boyne as a clash

between ‘two parcels of rogues, who had history so determined that they fought at Dover, the rest of us would have been saved an inglorious history’.²⁸

A similar pattern of critical ambivalence was apparent in relation to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century events. One Belfast Protestant commented on contemporary responses to the Act of Union, notably Catholic enthusiasm and Protestant despair at the demise of the Dublin Parliament, attitudes which seemed to him to cast an ironic light on subsequent events.²⁹ A young Armagh Catholic man appreciated the complex legacy of Emancipation, perceiving the eventual alienation of Protestants from the nationalist cause as the price that was paid for greater Catholic freedoms.³⁰

Interestingly all the three respondents who made an unprompted mention of the Famine were Protestants. For one, closer study of what happened in the 1840s was a kind of revelation that gave him ‘a sort of context as to why Irish people don’t like the British’.³¹ Another reflected on the divergent perceptions of Protestants and Catholics: for the former it was an event in the distant past; for the latter it was though it had happened in ‘Granny’s lifetime’.³²

The Ulster Covenant was deemed of ‘tremendous significance’ by one Belfast Protestant, but his perspective on it was anything but celebratory. He saw something ‘quite dark and deep and sinister’ in what he felt was a misapplication of the Christian concept of covenant with God, implying an irrevocable commitment, to a particular political purpose.³³ A Catholic respondent also affirmed the significance of the

Covenant, but charitably commented on how it was in part a response to conflict over mixed marriages fuelled by *Ne Temere* in 1907.³⁴

As already noted, comment on the Easter Rising came primarily from Protestants rather than Catholics. One respondent perceived both the Rising itself and the subsequent executions of its leaders by the British authorities as ‘colossal mistake[s]’, albeit ones that was understandable in the context of a wartime situation in which military rather than political approaches were prioritised.³⁵ A young Protestant woman in Belfast was well aware of the extent to which a mythology was created after the event, leading her to emphasize the importance of critical historical study.³⁶

In the first set of interviews, largely conducted in 2010 and 2011, several Protestant respondents volunteered a concern about the upcoming ‘decade of anniversaries’. As one put it, ‘the potential is there ... for good or bad, for both.’³⁷ Another interviewee reflected further on the challenges raised both by regular annual commemorations and by the centenaries:

They’re lived history and I think that’s it ... I think the trick is how you retain those things with integrity and actually try to bring them through so that they can become not just simply memorials but something around this is part of our history ... I’m not saying you’ve got to celebrate it you know because I think to celebrate difference is impossible. I can’t celebrate things that for me are anathema ... It’s about recognising difference and it’s about finding ways to accommodate the difference ...³⁸

By the time that the second set of interviews was conducted in the summer of 2013 the centenaries were much closer, and there was opportunity to reflect on the commemoration of the Covenant that had already taken place in September 2012. These respondents spoke of the importance of seeking as much consensus as possible, but were also well aware of the challenges entailed in doing so – notably the risk of ‘official’ commemorations being outflanked by republican dissidents and loyalist hardliners. There was also significant concern about the potential for a resurgence of militant attitudes among young people with no first hand experience of the anguish of the Troubles and simplistic understandings of the more distant past. The response – it is suggested – needs to be not only one of carefully choreographed superficial consensus, even if that were possible, but also one of purposeful public education, based on rounded objective historical analysis and contextualisation. The comments of a former IRA hunger-striker are especially apposite. He feared polarised responses to the 1916 centenary,

But we can also then get to the point where looking back becomes sort of bland. We tone everything down to say, ‘*We’re all similar*’. But I think it is about thinking why did people sign the Covenant? Why did people join the UVF? What were the circumstances at the time? Rather than just singing the praises of the people who started this, or the people who then died for it. To me let’s look at what were the conditions at the time, what led to this? Why did they think this was a good move? What were the fears at the time?

So there needs to be a wee bit of analysis around it?

Of course. It is about learning from history.³⁹

The Covenant centenary drew positive comment both from a nationalist representative of Belfast City Council, which had successfully taken the initiative in facilitating an inclusive commemoration attended by both the SDLP and Sinn Féin,⁴⁰ and by an Orangeman who saw it as ‘a once in a lifetime thing’. He thought that ‘we have a unique opportunity and I suppose a responsibility to make sure the centenaries are commemorated in a way that will not promote division but will inform debate.’⁴¹ An academic assessment of the role of the churches in the Covenant centenary saw it as something of a missed opportunity insofar as there was a focus ‘on managing the risks of sectarianism rather than proactively reaching for a transformation of Northern Ireland society through self-critical reflection, commemoration and inclusion.’⁴² Nevertheless, the manner in which it was possible for the Covenant to be commemorated without giving rise to significant confrontations was an encouraging indication of the growing influence of better-informed and less partisan versions of history.

Conclusion

These interviews with religious and community activists thus present a significant counterpoint to the work of historians who have traced the divisive legacies of history in Northern Ireland. They provide evidence that in these quarters there is now a readiness to question entrenched polarized narratives of Irish history, and to seek to understand contentious events in an informed and rounded context. The small and perhaps not wholly representative nature of the sample makes it impossible to quantify this trend with any confidence, and it is clear that simplistic and partisan readings of history also continue to be influential, not least among the

generation of young people which has grown up since the end of the Troubles. Ironically, for all its intellectual sophistication, historical writing that implicitly presupposes the inevitable and indefinite persistence of two opposed traditions can have parallel cultural consequences. However, both the appetite of some for balanced analysis and the ongoing prevalence elsewhere of divisive mythologies, point to the potential for professional historians to have an active role as mediators and educators in the endeavour to build a 'shared future' in Northern Ireland, rather than merely one of passive observation and analysis of passing events. In part the task is an intellectual one of researching and writing a history that explores commonalities across traditions, and explores the contingent and external factors leading to conflict rather than assuming its inevitability. In part it is one of effective dissemination of their insights in the quarters where they can have the desired impact. This is a challenging medium to long-term task, which will extend well beyond the centenaries themselves. It is, however, one well worth undertaking, precisely because, as one interviewee observed, the centenaries, for all their potential difficulties, are outside living memory, and hence attract less emotional investment and offer greater potential for objective reassessment than the painful series of fiftieth anniversaries that will start to unroll from 2019 onwards.⁴³ There is hope that an increasing recognition that the tragedy of the First World War was one shared by all Irish people will counteract the more divisive political resonances of the Easter Rising. There is also value in taking a long view to promote greater historical literacy in time for 2022, likely to be a particularly challenging year beginning as it will with the fiftieth anniversary of Bloody Sunday, and ending with the centenary of the formal enactment of Partition.

Historians of religion have a distinctive contribution to make to this wider undertaking. Edna Longley wrote in 1991 that ‘religion, still the major psycho-cultural force in Ireland, has powerfully influenced the forms of Irish memory’ but observed that ‘the deconsecration of Irish memory is overdue – and underway’. The rapid secularization of Irish society during the last quarter of a century has indeed furthered that process, but, as the religious dimension forms an essential part of the context of the events in question, it is important that it too continues to be properly understood, rather than caricatured by sectarian or secular polemic. In particular our interviews suggested that somewhat monolithic perceptions of the history of Ireland’s main religious traditions remain widespread, especially among those who identify them with ‘the other side’ but also among their own professed adherents. Enhanced general public understanding of the Catholic Church’s often ambivalent relationship to Irish nationalism and of the rich internal diversity of Irish Protestantism would surely be valuable. A more widespread awareness of the contingent factors that during the nineteenth century created the Catholic-nationalist and Protestant-unionist alignments that came to seem axiomatic in the twentieth century would be helpful in prompting a questioning of their inevitability in the twenty-first century.⁴⁴ And while few people would regret that the technicalities of disestablishment, which aroused such strong passions in 1869, are of no public interest today, there may still be value in recalling that at a constitutional level the battle for religious equality and the separation of religion from the state in Ireland was won a century and a half ago, a 150th anniversary that could constructively be marked in 2019 alongside other more recent, painful and contentious events.

In 2009, the Consultative Group on the Past observed that:

Divided communities carry different experiences and understandings of the past in their minds and indeed it is this that divides them ... If these conflicting moral assessments of the past are to change, then all sides need to be encouraged and facilitated to listen and hear each other's stories. This listening must then lead to honest assessment of what the other is saying and to recognition of truth within their story. In such a process it might be possible to construct a remembrance of our past which is more humane, comprehensive and rounded.⁴⁵

The interviews analysed in this article provide evidence both that this process is already under way, and that there is much work still to do.

¹ Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de la mémoire* (3 vols, Paris, 1984-92); Mary Trouille (trans.), *Rethinking France* (4 vols, Chicago, 1999-2010).

² Alan D. Falconer (ed.), *Reconciling Memories* (Blackrock, 1988). A second edition, with additional material and edited by Alan D. Falconer and Joseph Liechty, appeared in 1998.

³ Ian MacBride, *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology* (Dublin, 1997); Ian MacBride (ed.), *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001); Guy Beiner, *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory* (Madison, 2007); Guy Beiner, 'Between Trauma and Triumphalism: The Easter Rising, the Somme, and the Crux of Deep Memory in Modern Ireland' *Journal of British Studies*, xlv (2007), pp. 366-89; Guy Beiner, 'Forgetting to Remember Orr: Death and Ambiguous Remembrance in Modern Ireland' in James Kelly and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Death and Dying in Ireland, Britain and Europe: Historical*

Perspectives (Sallins, 2013), pp. 171-202; Roisín Higgins, *Transforming 1916: Meaning, Memory and the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Easter Rising* (Cork, 2012).

⁴ For example see Brian Conway, *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory* (Basingstoke, 2010) and a review article by Stephen Howe, 'Memory and History in Northern Ireland', *History Workshop Journal*, lxxi (2011), pp. 219-31; *Report of the Consultative Group on the Past: Executive Summary* (Belfast, 2009), p. 14.

⁵ *Proposed Agreement 31 December 2013: An Agreement among the Parties of the Northern Ireland Executive on Parades, Select Commemorations and Related Protests; Flags and Emblems; and Contending with the Past*, pp. 16-17, 36 (downloaded from www.northernireland.gov.uk/haass.pdf).

⁶ Open University/Institute for Conflict Research [hereafter OU/ICR] Interview, K[ey Informant] 9, 29 March 2011.

⁷ The grants were RES-071-27-0062 'Protestant-Catholic Conflict: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Realities' and ES/K00025X/1 'Religion, Martyrdom and Global Uncertainties, 1914-2014', both awarded and administered by the Economic and Social Research Council, whose support is most gratefully acknowledged.

⁸ Anonymised transcripts of the interviews have been deposited with the UK Data Service (<http://ukdataservice.ac.uk>). I most gratefully acknowledge the essential contributions to this research of John Bell, who conducted and transcribed the great majority of the interviews, and of Neil Jarman, Director of the Institute for Conflict Research.

⁹ Anonymised transcripts of these interviews will also be deposited with the UK Data Service when the research is completed.

¹⁰ The ‘Darkley massacre’ was an attack by the self-styled ‘Catholic Reaction Force’ on a Pentecostal church in County Armagh, in which three members of the congregation were killed and seven others wounded. While, in terms of loss of life it was by no means the worst atrocity of the Troubles, the random shooting of innocent civilians during a church service was a particularly extreme manifestation of sectarian hatred.

¹¹ OU/ICR Interview 45, May 2011.

¹² OU/ICR Interview 42, April 2012.

¹³ OU/ICR Interview K5, November 2011.

¹⁴ OU/ICR Interview 40, March 2011.

¹⁵ OU/ICR Interview 36, February 2011.

¹⁶ OU/ICR Interview M[artyrdom]12, 20 August 2013.

¹⁷ OU/ICR Interview M2, April 2013.

¹⁸ OU/ICR Interview M1, April 2013.

¹⁹ OU/ICR Interview M10, 8 August 2013.

²⁰ OU/ICR Interview 29, 7 December 2010.

²¹ OU/ICR Interview M12, 20 August 2013.

²² OU/ICR Interview 48, June 2011.

²³ OU/ICR Interview 6, August 2010.

²⁴ OU/ICR Interview 30, 6 December 2010. On the painting see Tony Canavan ‘A papist painting for a Protestant parliament?’, *History Ireland*, 16:1 (2008).

²⁵ OU/ICR Interview 17, 17 September 2010.

²⁶ OU/ICR Interview 12, 27 September 2010.

²⁷ OU/ICR Interview M4, 5 July 2013.

²⁸ OU/ICR Interview K1, 28 March 2011.

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- ²⁹ OU/ICR Interview 23, January 2011.
- ³⁰ OU/ICR Interview 44, May 2011.
- ³¹ OU/ICR Interview 22, December 2010.
- ³² OU/ICR Interview 5, 12 August 2010.
- ³³ OU/ICR Interview 16, 6 October 2010.
- ³⁴ OU/ICR Interview K15, June 2011.
- ³⁵ OU/ICR Interview 4, 1 July 2010.
- ³⁶ OU/ICR Interview 19, November 2010.
- ³⁷ OU/ICR Interview 13, 13 September 2010.
- ³⁸ OU/ICR Interview 5, 12 August 2010.
- ³⁹ OU/ICR Interview M8, 24 July 2013.
- ⁴⁰ OU/ICR Interview M7, 24 July 2013.
- ⁴¹ OU/ICR Interview M9, 29 July 2013.
- ⁴² Nicola Morris and David Tombs, “‘A Solid and United Phalanx’? Protestant Churches and the Ulster Covenant, 1912-2012’, in John Wolffe (ed.), *Irish Religious Conflict in Comparative Perspective: Catholics, Protestants and Muslims* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 38.
- ⁴³ OU/ICR Interview M7, 24 July 2013.
- ⁴⁴ Andrew R. Holmes, ‘Religious Conflict in Ulster, c.1780-1886’, in John Wolffe (ed.), *Protestant Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the Twenty-First Century: The Dynamics of Religious Difference* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 101-31.
- ⁴⁵ *Report of the Consultative Group on the Past: Executive Summary* (Belfast, 2009), p. 14.