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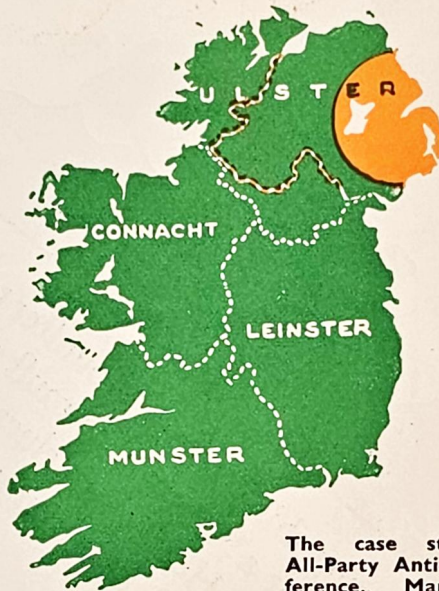
THE ORANGE CARD



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Issued by the All-Party Anti-Partition Conference, Mansion House, Dublin.

IRELAND'S RIGHT TO UNITY



The case stated by the
All-Party Anti-Partition Con-
ference, Mansion House,
Dublin, Ireland.

THE MAP

There is a majority of 80 per cent. in the whole of Ireland for unity. A minority opposition to national freedom was made the excuse by Britain, who organised and sustained it, for the partition of Ireland in 1920. That opposition comes mainly from an area, marked orange on the map, which is roughly within a 30 miles radius of Belfast. The area is just over one-third of the partitioned territory and is only one-sixteenth of Ireland. Outside it, there is a continuous block from the extreme south to the extreme north with a majority for unity. Within the partitioned area itself there is a majority in almost two-thirds of the territory for re-union with the rest of Ireland.

In the pamphlet, the cover of which is reproduced above, Ireland's case against Partition is stated. It is shown that

- The essence of democracy lies in the right of a people freely to determine how they are to be governed.
- The unit for this self-determination is the nation.
- Ireland through a nationhood never questioned in almost 2,000 years has that right.
- Partition is the denial of the right to self-determination.
- It is a refusal to accept the majority will of a people in choosing the government they themselves desire.
- No group, party, or political organisation in Ireland sought for or desired Partition.
- It was imposed by the British Government against the passionate protest of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people.
- First established by force, it is now maintained by British support and by flagrant manipulation with British consent of electoral boundaries within the area.
- The perpetual interference in Ireland's internal affairs by an outside power sets an example destructive of the rule of law among the nations.
- Partition gravely injures both parts of Ireland; it injures Britain too, for as long as it lasts Britain cannot sustain her claim to stand for democracy in Western Europe.

THE ORANGE CARD

Part I: CREATING A MINORITY PROBLEM

LIKE those of any other democracy, the Irish people are capable of finding a just solution within the national framework for any political differences that arise among them. If a solution has not yet been found for the problem of the British-supported minority in the nation it is not because of any insoluble difficulty in the problem itself. That problem, in varying forms, has been solved in many nations to the satisfaction of both the majority and the minority.

OUR COVER

"Now the President (The English General, Sir George Carew) discerning this war in Munster to be like a monster with many heads or a servant that must obey divers masters, did think thus: that if the heads might themselves be set at variance, they would prove the most fit instruments to ruin one another."

This quotation which appears across our cover is taken from PACATA HIBERNIA which is an account of the "pacification" of Ireland in the 16th-17th century by English troops. Sir George Carew made it the set object of his policy to create dissension among those seeking the independence of Ireland. He wrote of the people of Munster—principal scene of that "pacification" which left the province a desert—"Of the natives of Munster I make no reckoning, having means sufficient, by such instruments as I have found, to set division amongst them."

It is only where an outside power interferes that a minority becomes intractable and is led to make demands that are destructive of both majority rule and national right.

The motto "divide and rule" is as old as imperialism itself and it has ever been part of the policy of the English in Ireland. The encouragement of division and disagreement among the Irish people has indeed been the keystone of England's strategy since 1169. In the last two centuries this policy has been pursued with a resolute consistency.

"MORE IRISH THAN —"

History has provided many instances of the unifying forces Ireland contained within herself, of the nation's power to absorb those who had come to overthrow it. The phrase "more Irish than the Irish themselves" was first spoken by an English statesman lamenting the fact that the children of those sent to conquer had remained to accept the Irish national ideal and to join the struggle for Irish national independence. This power of

assimilation which had characterised the Irish nation for over a thousand years operated no less strongly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tentatively, at first, in the writings of William Molyneux (1656-1698) and Dean Swift (1667-1745) national aspirations began to influence the new settlers and gradually in the eighteenth century they took their stand on Ireland's side in the conflict with England. From among the descendants of those whom Britain had most recently established in Ireland the Irish Volunteers were organised as a national army. At a convention in Dungannon in 1782 they passed resolutions calling for an independent legislature and for the relaxation of penal laws against their Dissenter and Catholic fellow-countrymen. Led by Henry Grattan they succeeded temporarily in their aim. The Irish Parliament was freed from outside interference and the Act granting legislative independence was followed by two measures which removed some of the disabilities suffered by the Presbyterians and the Catholics.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN

There was one measure, however, without which the independence of Ireland was incomplete, and that was the reform of the Irish Parliament. It was not a truly representative body and single families controlled a number of seats. This enabled the English government to dominate the Irish Parliament. The Volunteers first, and later the United Irishmen, attempted to remedy this evil and to make the Parliament more representative, more democratic.

That was one of the aims of the United Irishmen, who were founded by Theobald Wolfe Tone in Belfast in 1791. There was no distinction of creed among the members and the majority in Belfast and in other areas were Protestants.

Tone and the United Irishmen set out to unite Irishmen of all persuasions behind the movement for national independence and among the leaders were many Presbyterian Ministers including Dr. William Steel Dickson, the Moderator of the Synod of Ulster.

It was the citizens of Belfast who were foremost in introducing republicanism into Irish national thought and when the Society of United Irishmen was outlawed, its leaders Wolfe Tone, Thomas Russell, Samuel Neilson and Henry McCracken met on Cave Hill outside Belfast and there swore to use all their efforts to establish Ireland as a free and sovereign nation. Tone in his autobiography summarises his aims :



Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) whose writings expressed the gradual conversion of the new settlers to Irish national ideals

“ To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, these were my means.”

In August, 1796, Lord Castlereagh wrote of the United Irishmen :

*“ Belfast is its centre, it is very general towards Lisburn, the County of Antrim has been largely infected, and the County of Down is by no means exempt.”*¹

INSURRECTION

From 1794 on, the United Irishmen decided to prepare for the assertion of Ireland's rights in arms and in 1798 British repression drove the nation to this course. The northern patriots led by McCracken and Henry Munro fought at Antrim and Ballynahinch where the memory of their courage and chivalry is treasured to this day, and they and the insurgent leaders in the rest of Ireland are immortalised in scores of national ballads.

¹ Lecky, *History of Ireland*, iii. 464–5.

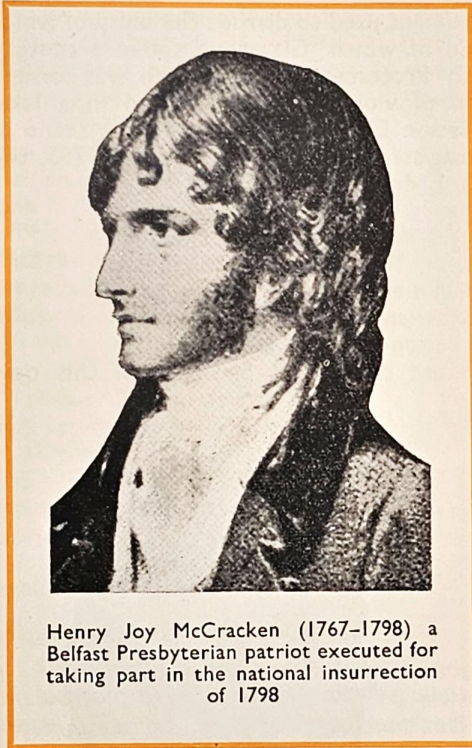
OUR EARNEST PRAYER

At its meeting in July, 1793, the General Synod of Ulster had rejoiced at the success of the Volunteers and the United Irishmen in lessening religious persecution and declared :

*"It is their earnest Prayer that the time may never more return, when Religious Distinctions shall be used as a Pretext for disturbing Society, or arming man against his neighbour."*¹

But the British power in Ireland had other plans.

The growth of the movement for liberty had greatly perturbed the English Government. They had introduced the forebears of these new insurgents into the country for the very purpose of defeating the Irish people's efforts to restore their former freedom. As the United Irishmen gained influence among the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, more and more of whose adventurous spirits joined them, correspondence passed between Dublin Castle, seat of the English power in Ireland, and the Cabinet in London, as to how this union of hearts might be most completely destroyed.



Henry Joy McCracken (1767-1798) a Belfast Presbyterian patriot executed for taking part in the national insurrection of 1798

NO EVIL SO BAD

Lord Grenville, British Minister for Foreign Affairs, had several years earlier written to the English Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, the Earl of Westmorland :

*"I cannot help feeling a very great anxiety that such measures may be taken as may effectually counteract the union between the Catholics and Dissenters, at which the latter are evidently aiming. I may be a false prophet but there is no evil that I would not prophesy if that union takes place in the present moment."*²

Westmorland himself in a letter to Pitt, the British Prime Minister, discussed the problem, recognising it as one of governing

Ireland against the will of the majority of its inhabitants. He said :

*"The present frame of Irish government . . . is particularly well calculated for our purpose. That frame is a Protestant garrison . . . in possession of the land, magistracy and power of the country ; holding that property under the tenure of British power and supremacy, and ready at every instant to crush the rising of the conquered."*³

That "frame of government" depended for its continuance on England's capacity to prevent unity and to foment dissension among Irishmen.

But the forces of unity were strong. The Presbyterian tenant farmers had clearly aligned themselves with the national cause⁴ and, despite all the government could do, even the "Protestant garrison" showed signs of acceptance of the national ideal. In strong majority they favoured legislative independence.

¹ Records of the General Synod of Ulster, iii. 157.

² Lecky, History of Ireland, iii. 37.

³ Ibid., iii. 48-9.

⁴ J. C. Beckett, Protestant Dissent in Ireland, 1687-1780, p. 105.

ZEALOUS NATIONALISTS

When he introduced his Irish Home Rule Bill in 1893, Gladstone (then British Prime Minister) answered the assertion that the Irish minority was unalterably opposed to Home Rule by pointing out that—

*“The Protestants of Ireland during the period of the independent Irish Parliament, were themselves not only willing but zealous and enthusiastic supporters of Irish nationality.”*¹

The triumph of British policy in changing this Protestant attitude he described as “the successful instigation of those whose plot it was to divide the people of Ireland, hitherto united.”

THE ORANGE ORDER

In 1795 a body arose which was to be the instrument used to disrupt the unity of which Grenville had warned Westmorland in 1791 and of which Gladstone spoke a century later. This was the Orange Order, an exclusively Protestant society which was formed in Armagh. The Order which was an association of violent men originated in a local sectarian feud and in the months after its foundation County Armagh was the scene of fierce persecution. At a meeting of the county magistrates on 28th December, 1795, the British governor of Armagh county, Lord Gosford, declared :

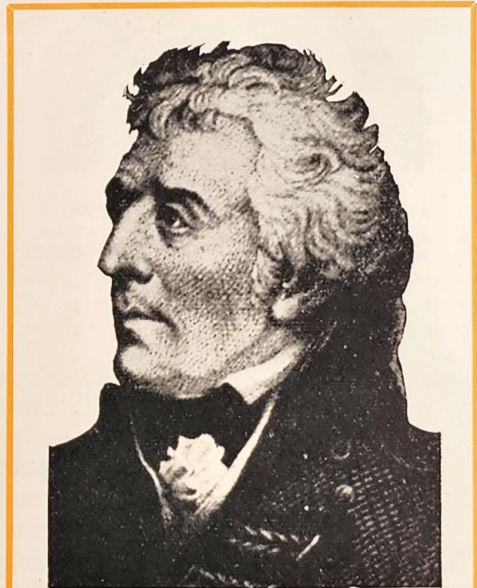
*“It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this county. . . . The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with is a crime, indeed of easy proof ; it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connection with a person professing that faith.”*²

The English Government was quick to see the use that could be made of this new association as an instrument to defeat national unity. “If I am permitted” wrote General Knox, Commander of the British Army in Ulster, “as I am inclined, to encourage the Orangemen, I think I shall be able to put down the United Irishmen.” Despite the denunciation by Lord Gosford the Government gave Knox the desired permission.

Thomas Pelham, the English Chief Secretary in Ireland, wrote to him that he endorsed his plan “to increase the animosity between the Orangemen and the United Irishmen” for he considered the destruction of the latter body so necessary to British interests that he said “one can hardly object to any means of gaining it.”

Soon Knox was reporting his designs :

“I have” he said “approved a plan to scour a district full of unregistered arms, or said to be so . . . and this I do not so much with a hope to succeed to any extent, as to increase the animosity between the Orangemen and the United Irishmen, or liberty men as they call themselves. Upon that animosity depends the safety of the centre counties of the North.” (i.e., their “safety” for Britain).³



General Lake, the British Commander-in-Chief in 1798, who according to Lecky “acted with a brutal, stupid and indiscriminating severity, that was admirably calculated to intensify and prolong the conflagration”

¹ Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 4th. Ser., viii. 1247-8.

² R. Barry O'Brien, *Thomas Drummond*, pp. 96-7.

³ Lecky, *History of Ireland*, iv. 52.

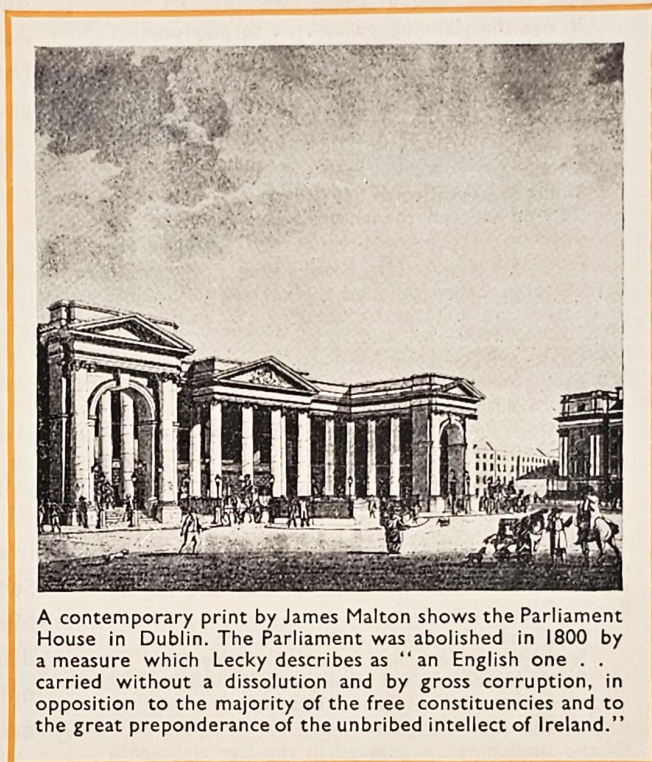
With the full approval of the British Government General Knox and his superior Officer, General Lake, Commander-in-Chief of all the British forces in Ireland, signalled their approbation of the Orange Order by taking part in an Orange demonstration in Lurgan, Co. Armagh.¹

When the United Irishmen rose in arms in 1798 the Presbyterians of Ulster fought as tenaciously for liberty as the Catholics and Protestants fought in the other provinces.

Britain seized the opportunity to create new dissensions by propaganda of a kind to which in the succeeding century the world was to become so accustomed. To the Protestants of the North-East the insurrection in the rest of Ireland was represented as an effort to destroy the Protestant religion.

The effect of such propaganda was exactly what the British expected and more than one highly placed government official expressed satisfaction that the north-eastern counties were being persuaded that the national uprising in which Irish men of all faiths had joined was "a religious war."²

After the suppression of the insurrection the English government decided to abolish the Irish Parliament. This aroused considerable opposition. Even the Orange Lodges passed many resolutions against the proposal.³



A contemporary print by James Malton shows the Parliament House in Dublin. The Parliament was abolished in 1800 by a measure which Lecky describes as "an English one . . . carried without a dissolution and by gross corruption, in opposition to the majority of the free constituencies and to the great preponderance of the unbribed intellect of Ireland."

PROMISES ALL ROUND

To defeat this opposition Britain made promises all round. The Catholics, who had been excluded from the Irish Parliament, were told that after the union with Great Britain the penal laws would be lifted from them and they would even be allowed to sit in the House of Commons. The Presbyterians were told that they would not have to pay tithes to the Established Church and their clergy were promised an increased Regium Donum or state grant. Existing members of the Irish Parliament were promised peerages and large sums of money for supporting the measure. Lord Grey said afterwards :

"There were never worse means resorted to for carrying any measure."⁴

Of all these promises those alone fulfilled in full were the bribes of money and peerages to the faithless who voted away their own self-government. The promise of an increased State grant to the Presbyterian clergy was carried out but mainly in an effort to induce the Ministers of that church to undermine the sturdy love of national liberty which had characterised the Presbyterians for so long.

¹ Lecky, *History of Ireland*, iv. 53.

² Lecky, *History of Ireland*, iv. 413-5.

³ See Barry O'Brien, *Thomas Drummond*, pp. 107-8:—The Wattlebridge Orange Lodge of County Fermanagh, referring to the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1782 by which Ireland secured legislative independence resolved :

"That, strongly attached to the Constitution of 1782, a settlement ratified in the most unequivocal manner as far as the faith of nations is binding we should feel ourselves criminal were we to remain silent while an attempt is made to extinguish it."

The Newtownbutler resolution on the proposed union was even more national in outlook :

"That no lover of his country could have proposed a measure fraught with such destructive consequences, and that all supporters of it should be execrated by their fellow-subjects and by posterity."

⁴ Lecky, *op. cit.*, v. 306.

DIVIDE ET IMPERA

The policy of creating dissension in Ireland has been pursued from the time of the Norman invasion from England in 1169. Professor Curtis of Trinity College, Dublin, said of these early invaders :

"It was the standing policy . . . to play one (Irish) chief off against another."—(*History of Mediaeval Ireland*, p. 246).

In 1598 Francis Bacon wrote to the Earl of Essex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, regarding Queen Elizabeth's plans for defeating the Irish who, led by Hugh O'Neill, were waging a successful war for independence :

"She shall have time to use her princely policy . . . to weaken them . . . by division and disunion of the heads."—(*Works of Francis Bacon* (1862), ix. 99).

Lord George Carew pursued this scheme with effect in Munster. In a letter to the Privy Council dated 17th June, 1600, he said :

"Of the natives of Munster I make no reckoning having means sufficient, by such instruments as I have found to set division amongst them ; wherein I have already sowed such distrust in their wavering humours, as it appears unto me they have no great opinion of success."—

(*Cal. Carew MSS.*, 1589-1600, p. 401).

Again in 1647 when Lord Digby was acting on behalf of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in trying to alienate the two Irish Generals, Thomas Preston and Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill, he wrote :

"In a month's time the Irish shall be more broken and weakened by art than they (the Parliamentarians) can hope to do with twelve months war."—(*Carte, Life of Ormonde* (1735), iii. 540).

Of the similar policy pursued in the late eighteenth century Rev. W. T. Latimer, official historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, says :

"It was then plain to be seen that the Episcopal aristocracy were trying to prevent Parliamentary reform by raising the animosity of Protestant farmers against their Roman Catholic fellow-sufferers, in order to ward it off from themselves ; while at the same time they excited the Catholics against their Protestant neighbours. We have a trustworthy witness to the truth of this in the Rev. Dr. Campbell (Presbyterian Minister at Armagh) who states that the authorities went so far as to even encourage the Defenders (a violent agrarian association of Catholic tenants) in order to strengthen the animosity of religious rivals in the North."—(*Ulster Biographies*, p. 4).

In the same work Dr. Latimer quotes James McKnight, one of the Presbyterian leaders of the Tenant Right League in the middle of the nineteenth century as saying at Newtownards, County Down :

"Parties have tried to break us up by arraying Protestants against Roman Catholics and Orangemen against the industrial rights of both classes of their countrymen . . ."—(*Ibid.*, p. 100).

HIGH PERSONAGES

In succeeding decades Britain continued to support one section of the community in Ireland to the detriment of the nation. At Wexford Assizes in 1814 Judge Fletcher forthrightly condemned the activities of the Orange Order :

"I have found," he said, "that the Societies called Orange Societies have produced most mischievous effects and particularly in the North of Ireland. They poison the very fountains of justice ; and even some magistrates, under their influence, have in too many instances, violated their duty and their oaths."¹

In spite of this indictment the Chief Secretary for Ireland, later a Prime Minister of England, Robert Peel, defended the Orangemen : "their only fault" he said "was the exuberance of their loyalty."² Men of the highest rank in Britain became Orangemen. The Duke of York and later the Duke of Cumberland were both Grand Masters of the Order ; and Cumberland admitted that he joined the society to support the minority in Ireland against the majority.³

So greatly were liberal-minded people disturbed by the activities of the Order that in 1835 the House of Commons set up a select committee to enquire into its proceedings. The report of this committee commented :

¹ Barry O'Brien, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.

² Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, xxviii. 743

³ Hansard, 3rd ser., xxxi. 1281.

*"It is notorious that the Orange Lodges exist under the patronage of men high in rank in England, Ireland and Scotland: and the countenance given, in consequence of all the orders of the Orange institution being issued by and under the authority of such men as His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, as Imperial Grand Master, and of His Grace the Duke of Gordon, Deputy Grand Master for Scotland, will be found to have a greater effect on the poor and ignorant—of which the Orangemen chiefly consist—than might be expected."*¹

Shortly after this report was issued William Sharman Crawford, an Irish Protestant Member of Parliament, said that the Orangemen had

*"been cherished and encouraged in every measure for many years by the several governments to whom power had been committed: were it not for this interference there would be no more valuable members of society than the great body of Orangemen of the North of Ireland."*²

As the Parliamentary franchise was extended, English political leaders became more and more interested in the Irish constituencies which returned over 100 members and could thus have an appreciable effect on the party strengths in the House of Commons. Both Tories and Liberals hoped to have supporters elected by Irish voters. The result was conflicts and intrigues that had nothing to do with Ireland's welfare or with the solving of her problems.

R. M. Sibbett, a member of the Orange Order, in his official history of Orangeism, speaking of that period, says:

*"The spirit of propaganda extended to Ireland with the result that, between Conservatives and Liberals, each party displaying a great, indeed a nervous, anxiety to further their particular views, the country was turned into an arena of fiercest political strife."*³

But again the unifying forces among Irishmen manifested themselves and a new national movement emerged which, under the name of Young Ireland, was to knit the people in their demand for freedom.

The leading figures in it were men of all classes and creeds whose national outlook showed a unity which the English Lord Lieutenant, Lord Clarendon, considered dangerous to British interests.

General Knox, to defeat Irish unity in 1796 had given arms to the Orangemen so, in 1843 Clarendon took similar steps when the Young Irelanders rose to assert their nation's right to freedom. The less extreme opponents of the Young Irelanders were refused arms to "maintain order," but the British Viceroy gave arms to the section whose use of them would, he believed, most embitter Irishmen's relations with one another.

IF BRITAIN KEPT OUT

In 1850 yet another new movement arose in Irish politics which illustrates how the country could have benefited had not an outside power divided the people. A common need brought tenants of all parts of Ireland into a league to redress agrarian grievances and representatives from every section of the country co-operated in the founding of the Tenant Right League. Dr. McKnight, editor of the *Banner of Ulster*, the official organ of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, William Girdwood, representing Lurgan Orangemen, Gavan Duffy of Young Ireland and others formed the council of the League.

At this same time religious controversy was roused as a result of the introduction in the House of Commons of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill which penalised Catholic prelates in England who included British place-names in their titles. Lord John Russell, the British Premier, extended the Bill to Ireland although violent religious unrest had already occurred in Britain on account of it. As the historian of the Tenant Right League puts it.

*"The suspicion was widespread that this extension of the measure was designed to break up the union of parties in Ireland."*⁴

¹ Report of the Select Committee on Orange Lodges, p. xxv.

² Hansard, 3rd ser., xxxi. 833-4.

³ Sibbett, *Orangeism in Ireland and throughout the Empire*, ii. 246.

⁴ Duffy, *League of North and South*, p. 123.

While it was not immediately successful in disrupting the League the seeds of discord were sown and led to the ultimate failure of the movement. The activities of the League had, however, been another proof of Irishmen's ability to work amicably together on the nation's problems.

The occasion of the disestablishment by Britain in 1869 of the Church of Ireland as the State Church provides an illustration of how quietly even the most difficult questions can be settled if it is nobody's policy to exploit divergences of opinion.

The Disestablishment Bill, like the Home Rule Bills later, was the signal for fiery speeches in the North. At Newbliss, County Monaghan, on 20th March, 1868, Rev. John Flanagan made a famous speech in which he said if any steps were taken towards disestablishment

*" 200,000 Orangemen will tell them it shall never be. . . . It appears wonderful that there is one thing upon which we can confidently throw ourselves and which has been overlooked by nearly all speakers—I mean the Queen's Coronation oath. She should be reminded that one of her ancestors, who swore to maintain the Protestant religion, forgot his oath, and his crown was kicked into the Boyne. . . . We must tell our gracious Queen that if she break her oath she has no longer any claim to the crown. . . . Put your trust in God, my boys, and keep your powder dry."*¹

Many similar violent pronouncements were made against this measure which abolished some of the privileges of the minority. Until then ninety per cent of the population of



A contemporary cartoon showing the Leader of the British Tory Opposition, setting out, in 1886, for Belfast. The legend says: "Lord Randolph Churchill, having failed to retain office by negotiating for an Irish Parliament himself, is about to visit the North, like another King William, 'to rouse the Orangemen' "

¹ Northern Whig, 21st March, 1868.

Ireland were forced to support financially a Church to which they did not belong. Nevertheless, a minority was vehemently opposed to any change and many threats of civil war were made. At Portadown, Rev. Thomas Ellis said :

*" We will fight as men alone can fight who have the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. We will fight—nay, if needs be we will die—die as our fathers died before us, as our sons will die who succeed us."*¹

These threats came to nought. No blood was shed. For this there was a simple reason.

AS IN OTHER NATIONS

The Tory party in England under Benjamin Disraeli had reached agreement with Gladstone, the Liberal Prime Minister, on the Disestablishment Bill and the question did not become the subject of English party intrigue.

Without British support for violent opposition in Ireland the problem was solved in a democratic manner, without disorder, despite furious speeches and predictions of chaos.

The general extension of the franchise in the 1880's allowed the Irish people to give new expression to their demand for self government. In the Election of 1885 Ireland returned 85 Nationalists as against 18 Tories (two of whom were from the University with its restricted franchise). In Ulster, a majority, seventeen of the thirty-three members, were for national self-government. This unequivocal declaration of Irish opinion made the English political leaders realise that the question of a separate Parliament for Ireland must be faced. As the Irish Nationalists held the balance of power in the newly elected Parliament both the English parties angled for their support.

The Tories, through Lord Carnarvon, Chief Secretary for Ireland, made contact with the Irish Nationalist leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, with a view to reaching an agreement.

In the meantime, the leader of the Liberals, Gladstone, had also decided in favour of Home Rule for Ireland but did not announce his decision as he wished not to make Home Rule a party issue. Gladstone's son, however, prematurely disclosed his father's views.

" BEYOND CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITS "

The Tories thereupon reversed their policy and, to defeat the Liberals, broke off negotiations with Parnell and decided to oppose Home Rule. On 22nd December, 1885, Lord Randolph Churchill wrote to Lord Salisbury, the Tory Leader :

*" If the Government went out and Gladstone introduced a Home Rule Bill, I should not hesitate, if other circumstances were favourable, to agitate Ulster even to resistance beyond constitutional limits."*²

In the succeeding months Churchill set out to rouse Ulster even to revolution in his attempt to break the Liberals. On 16th February, 1886, he wrote :

*" I have decided some time ago that, if the G.O.M. (The Grand Old Man, Gladstone) went for Home Rule, the Orange Card would be the one to play. Please God it may turn out to be the ace of trumps and not the two."*³

A couple of days later, he landed in Ulster intent on rousing the passions of the Orangemen against what his colleagues Salisbury and Carnarvon had been willing a few months before to offer to Parnell. He summed up his reckless encouragement of the Irish minority in a phrase. If the British Parliament decided on Home Rule for Ireland, he said :

" Ulster at the proper moment will resort to the supreme arbitrament of force."

¹ *Belfast Newsletter*, May, 1868.

² W. S. Churchill, *Life of Randolph Churchill*, ii. 28-9.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 59.

The Tories succeeded in their bid for power and defeated Gladstone. That they also succeeded in rousing Orange passions and in bringing a pogrom on the minority in Belfast in which many lives were lost was of no concern to them. Mr. Winston Churchill in his biography of his father tells of the riots his speeches caused :

*“ So savage, repeated and prolonged were the disturbances, breaking out again and again in spite of all efforts to suppress them, that they became in the end the subject of a Parliamentary Commission the evidence and report of which are not pleasant reading and proved, when finally published, damaging to the Orange party.”*¹

The Tories had played the Orange card and it proved to be the ace for them.

ROUSING THE MINORITY

In succeeding years English politicians frequently visited Belfast and its neighbourhood to keep alive the violent antagonisms they had created there. Joseph Chamberlain and the Marquis of Hartington, men of Cabinet rank, were among them.

It was not, however, until 1893, Gladstone having been returned as Prime Minister again, with a mandate from the British electorate to give Ireland self-government, that the Tories, now out of office, restarted their campaign of violence in Ulster.

Lord Salisbury, the Tory Leader, decided to visit North-East Ireland, but as he fell ill he sent his lieutenant, Arthur J. Balfour, who was later to be Prime Minister himself, to play the Orange Card.

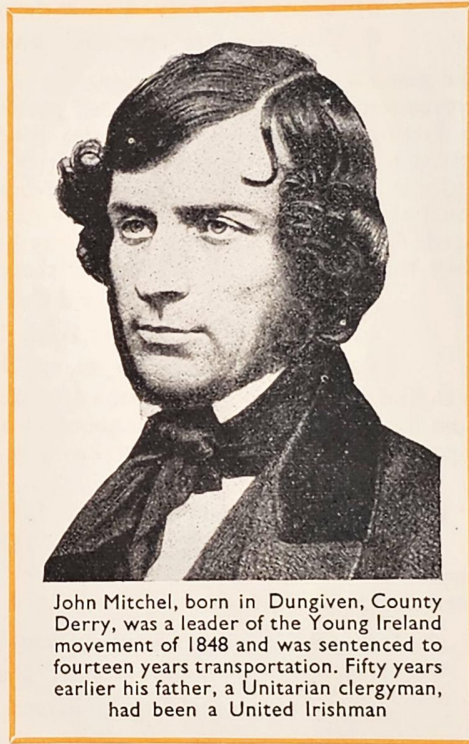
*“ I will not say ”, Balfour affirmed at Belfast, “ and I do not think any rational and sober man will say—that what is justifiable against a tyrannical king may not under certain circumstances be justifiable against a tyrannical majority . . . You have behind you . . . the great majority of the English people.”*²

Balfour, in other words, advised rebellion not only against the will of the Irish people but also against the will of the British Parliament and against the electorate.

It is a significant fact that the Tories' campaigns of violence in North-East Ireland coincided with the periods in office of the Liberal party.

In 1886, they succeeded in defeating Gladstone in the House of Commons but in 1893 the Home Rule Bill was passed in the representative House and was defeated only in the House of Lords. This House, dominated by the wealthy Conservative families, was always looked upon by the Tories as the instrument of their will and as their protector even when they advocated unconstitutional action against Parliament itself.

Shortly after the defeat of the 1893 Home Rule Bill the Tories, under Lord Salisbury, again took office and they held it until 1906. They had closely linked themselves with the Ulster Tories during that period and, when they lost power, it was arranged that an English Tory, Walter Long, should take over the leadership of the Irish minority representatives. His task it was to organise a recalcitrant minority in Ireland which could be used to oust the Liberals when an opportunity arose.



John Mitchel, born in Dungiven, County Derry, was a leader of the Young Ireland movement of 1848 and was sentenced to fourteen years transportation. Fifty years earlier his father, a Unitarian clergyman, had been a United Irishman

¹ W. S. Churchill, *Life of Randolph Churchill*, ii. 65.

² *Belfast Newsletter*, 5th April, 1893.

As in all such campaigns it needed newspaper publicity on a big scale really to frighten the public. That need was fulfilled, pressed down and running over; for the same Tory party who played the Orange card also influenced some of the most widely circulating newspapers in Britain. Those newspapers depicted for the Orangemen the destruction of all they held sacred once the Irish people became self-governing.

For two years this hurricane of propaganda swept from Britain into the North-East of Ireland. It created fear and a sense of helpless doom among the Orange rank and file. Without knowing that they were but tools in the hands of the Tory leaders they cried to their "Protestant brethren in England" for aid and protection. That cry, represented as ~~the spontaneous plea of threatened Northmen~~, was sent echoing through England by newspapers and politicians who cared little for Orange fears but everything for an English anti-Liberal response to them. Before the third passing of the Home Rule Act the Tories had the Liberals on the run. The game did not quite end as they intended it.

as we now know

For the Liberals, to save themselves, jettisoned the Irish to whom they were trebly pledged and to keep themselves in office surrendered to the now armed Orange minority and agreed to partition Ireland.

PEOPLE IN HIGH PLACES

~~The promised Home Rule Bill was not introduced in the British Commons until 1912 but ever since 1910 the British Tory campaign had been in motion.~~ Scores of British Members of Parliament who had nothing whatever to do with Irish affairs visited the Belfast area. They were just the kind of men who, as a House of Commons Committee said of their earlier prototypes—

"will be found to have a greater effect on the poor and ignorant—of which the Orangemen chiefly consist—than might be expected."

No less than seventy came to Belfast and its environs on one occasion and among these and others who followed as the campaign developed were—

two former British Prime Ministers, two former British Chancellors of the Exchequer, a former Secretary for War, a former Secretary for Foreign Affairs, a former Secretary for the Colonies, a former President of the Local Government Board, a former Post Master General, two ex-Lords Chancellor of England, several former Lords of the British Treasury, an ex-Governor General of India and of Canada, an ex-First Lord of the Admiralty, a Field Marshall, a retired Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet.

Many others who had not yet held office were to gain it as the result of this campaign. One became Prime Minister of England, another Lord Chancellor of England, a third, Secretary of State for the Colonies, a fourth, Secretary of State for Home Affairs, a fifth, Attorney General, a sixth, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and so on. Many received rewards of peerages and positions of emolument.

Since then there have been many examples in other parts of Europe of the highly placed politicians of one country inciting a minority within a neighbouring country to revolt and defy the will of Parliament. The same kind of speeches with the same note of mounting hysteria rang loud on the Continent in the two decades following this campaign of the British Tory leaders who used the Irish minority as their stepping stones to office.

who a few months later he was secretly ready to desert

RAISING THE BANNER—IN LIVERPOOL

(The same)

From Liverpool came one of the first orders to that minority to sectarianise their politics and make religion the issue. The speaker is ~~an Englishman~~, Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P. On July 19, 1910, Mr. Smith, ~~announcing his devotion to the Orange cause,~~ said—

"No matter what the rest of the country shall say we in Liverpool shall fight under the Protestant watchwords, 'No surrender: no compromise.'"

who a few months later he was secretly ready to desert

Later that year on December 6, 1910, Mr. Walter Long, M.P., ~~who was to be rewarded with the Colonial Secretaryship,~~ was one of the first to envisage even Civil War "if the

which in his secret correspondence he was ready to abandon

Liberals tried to force Home Rule on Ireland". Lord Londonderry stressed the "Civil War" aspect in the British House of Lords, exonerating from guilt the minority who were being incited to revolt. On July 20, 1911, he said—

"If blood was shed it would be the fault of His Majesty's Government. Those were strong words to use but he wanted to warn the Government of what would occur. They would ruin Ireland and bring about Civil War. . . . They (the Orangemen) declared if the worst came to the worst they would fight."

As the campaign proceeded the Tory speeches became wilder and the Orangemen were informed that they could go to any lengths in defying majority rule.

"He for one" (said Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P. at Liverpool on January 22, 1912), "speaking with a full sense of responsibility went further and said there was no length to which Ulster would not be entitled to go, however desperate and unconstitutional"

This threatening note soon came into all the Tory leaders' speeches. At Larne, County Antrim, Mr. Bonar Law, said on April 9, 1912 :

"I have only one word more to say and that is that if this Home Rule Bill should by any chance be forced through then God help Ulster, but heaven help the Government that tried to enforce it."

The Orangemen were sufficiently roused by this time but hesitant as to the protection and support they might receive for unconstitutional acts.

BLANK CHEQUE FOR MOB LAW

They received from Mr. F. E. Smith this promise made at Nottingham on April 18, 1912 :

"They will have the full support not only of the Unionists of Ireland but of the whole of the Unionist members of the House of Commons in all risks, at all hazards, and in every extremity."

But might not the British army put down armed revolt against an Act passed in Parliament, asked the now eager Orangemen? The Tory Party decided that even if it took the encouragement of mutiny to get to office they would not balk at that, and future Prime Minister, Bonar Law, answered from the British House of Commons on June 18, 1912.:

"There are stronger influences than Parliamentary majorities. . . . The Government which gave an order to employ troops for that purpose would run a great risk of being lynched in London."

A month later, on July 27, 1912, this leader of the British Conservative Party made a statement showing that the real inspiration behind the Tory campaign was not any concern for the position of Orangemen in a Home Rule Ireland but the desire to compel the Liberal party to face an election in the hope that it would be driven from office.:

"We regard the Government as a revolutionary Committee which has seized by fraud upon despotic power. . . . We shall not be restrained by the bonds which would influence us in an ordinary political struggle. . . . We shall use any means to deprive them of the power which they have usurped, and to compel them to face the people they have deceived."

SUBORNING THE ARMY

The heads of the British Army were drawn from the same class as the Tory leaders and these leaders hoped by eloquence and promises of reinstatement to rouse them to mutiny.

Mr. Alfred Lyttleton, British Conservative Leader, at Cork on May 31, 1913, spoke encouragingly to officers who might wish to put politics above their oaths. He said :

"There was grave doubt as to whether the officers and men would obey orders . . . if the forces of the Crown were so employed there were many officers and many men who would decline to lift a hand against those who they believed were fighting a righteous cause."

The moment was coming near for the final passage of Home Rule. The Orange card was about to be played in earnest and Sir Edward Carson, Orange Leader, acknowledged his gratitude in the British Parliament on June 10, 1913 :

" Even in the threat of armed resistance . . . we have now the open declaration of our (i.e., British) leaders, of the Leader of the Opposition, of the ex-leader of the Opposition, that we have behind us in that armed resistance, under present and existing circumstances, the whole force of the whole Conservative and Unionist party."

It still needed a public guarantee to the officers of the Army that if they mutinied that would not injure them in their careers. This guarantee was given by Mr. Evelyn Cecil, M.P., who, on September 29, 1913, was reported in the *Daily Express* (Dublin) as saying to his constituents :

" He believed many officers would resign their commissions rather than fight, and if they did resign, the next Unionist Government would reinstate them with honour."

By this time heads of the British Army were fully in line. " We have pledges and promises from some of the greatest generals in the Army," said Sir Edward Carson at Antrim on September 30, 1913.

GENERAL H.Q. COMES IN

The Tories had been secretly conspiring with General Headquarters. Sir Henry Wilson, later rewarded with the post of Chief of the Imperial General Staff, then the Director of Military Operations at the War Office, records in his diaries how he was consulted by Lord Milner, one of the Tory leaders, who repeated to him the pledges publicly given by Mr. E. Cecil, M.P., " that if any officers resigned they would be reinstated when the Conservatives came to power." Later Lord Milner asked him what would the army do. " I talked the situation over with Douglas (C.I.G.S.) and Sclater (Adj.-General) without of course saying anything about Milner. I was pleased with the result. They have no intention at all of moving"

Mr. Bonar Law drew a parallel for the English people and the English Monarchy in a speech in Dublin on November 28, 1913 :

" King James had the largest paid army which had ever been seen in England. What happened ? There was a revolution and the King disappeared. Why ? Because his own army refused to fight for him."

As these words were spoken arms were being purchased from Germany to equip a political army raised in opposition to the regular British army with the assistance of the British Conservative leaders from the now completely inflamed minority in the North-East of Ireland.

The British Government took steps to guard its military stores from this new threat. British troops stationed at the Curragh were ordered to go North to protect these stores now " specially liable to attack." The officers resigned rather than obey. The mutiny so long urged had come.

The British Tories had successfully played the Orange Card. Asquith the Liberal Prime Minister threw down his hand and, bowing to the political and military revolt against the will of the British Parliament and the British people, proposed that the Irish nation be partitioned.

The World War delayed the return of the Conservatives to office but two years later those who had preached treason, mutiny and rebellion were in the seats of the mighty : once more the Orange Card had proved the ace for them.

TWO WITNESSES

Two outstanding contemporary witnesses have left on record the real purpose of the mass-inflammation of the minority in Ireland described in this pamphlet.

Mr. Winston Churchill is reported in the London "Times" of August 12, 1912, as follows :

" They (the Tories) have always been striving after some short cut to office and they now seek to utilise the fanaticism of the Orangemen for the same purpose "

Mr. Churchill, speaking again on this subject a year and a half later, exposed the hypocrisy of the Tory " concern " for minority rights in Ireland. Behind every sentence of Bonar Law's speeches on the Ulster question, Mr. Churchill said, at Bradford, on March 14, 1914, there was the

" whisper of the party manager,
' We must have an election . . .
Ulster is our best card, It is
our only card. This is our one
chance.' "

To the English public Mr. Churchill added,

" Let me say this : we must be careful that the honest necessities of the Ulster case do not suffer from this entanglement with Tory party interests and intrigue."

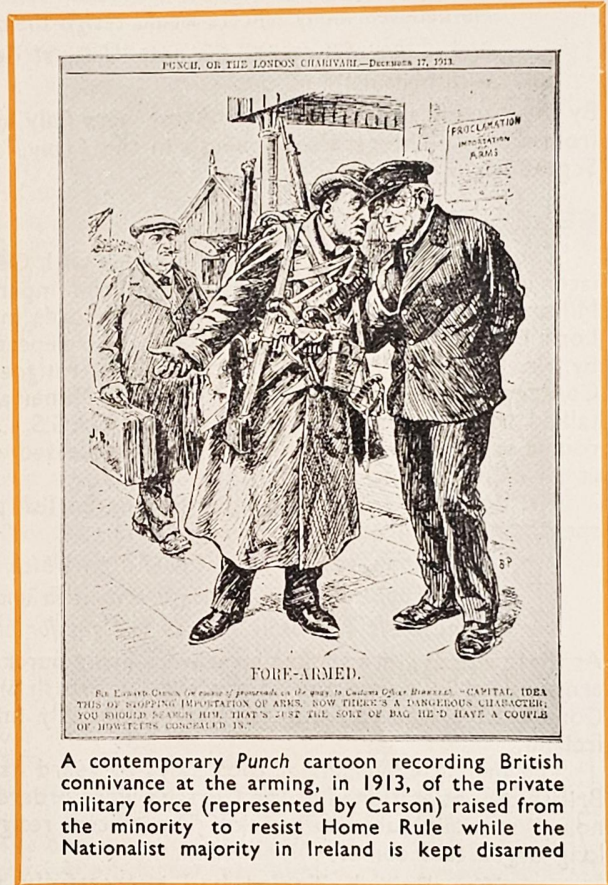
The most significant comment of all came from Sir Edward (now Lord) Carson the Northern minority leader, who had thought that the Tories were doing all this for him. On December 14, 1921, he surveyed in a speech in the House of Lords the effects of the Tory use of the Irish question as its ladder to office.

" I WAS IN EARNEST. WHAT A FOOL I WAS. I WAS ONLY A PUPPET AND SO WAS ULSTER AND SO WAS IRELAND IN THE POLITICAL GAME THAT WAS TO GET THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY INTO POWER."

The partition of Ireland was desired neither by the minority nor by the majority. Two English political parties, one seeking with all its might to hold on to office, and the other using every device to wrest office for itself, thought of partition, created the demand for it, and put it into force.

ECONOMIC DISRUPTION

In doing so they brought widespread misery upon Ireland to which they were entirely callous. Because partition disrupted the normal economic life of the nation it visited upon the cut-off area prolonged distress and frightful unemployment right up to the start of World War II. Because it is easier to inflame passions than to control them the incitements of 1886, 1893, 1910-14 had baneful results which continue even to this day. Pogroms have



A contemporary Punch cartoon recording British connivance at the arming, in 1913, of the private military force (represented by Carson) raised from the minority to resist Home Rule while the Nationalist majority in Ireland is kept disarmed

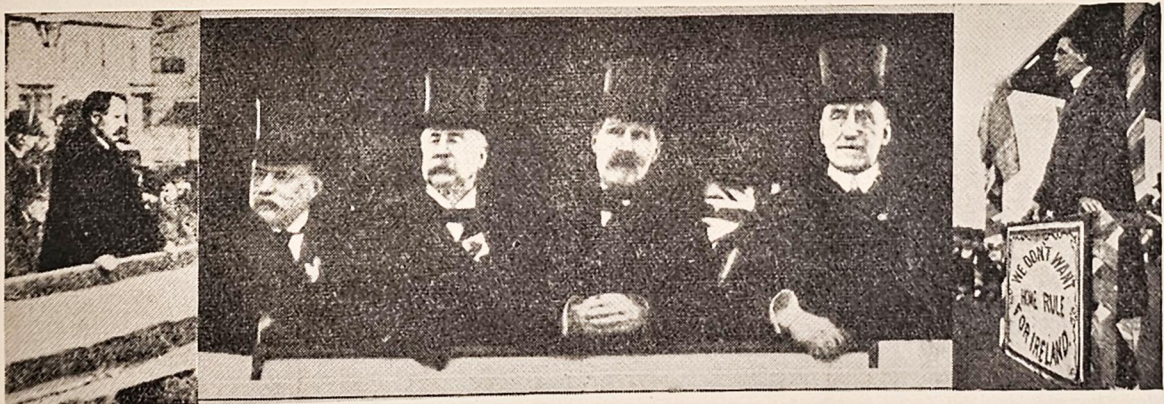
led to weeks of uncontrolled arson and murder in Belfast in which hundreds have been slain and thousands have had their houses and business places destroyed by incendiarism or damaged by mobs while they themselves have been pitilessly driven from their homes and their places of employment.

NOT OF IRISH ORIGIN

The rank and file of Irishmen of every group and party can at least take comfort that these pogroms and orgies of destruction are not truly of Irish origin. They have occurred only in response to incitements which, directly or indirectly, came from outside. Their real origin, as has been set out in this pamphlet, is to be found in a struggle where the contenders used Ireland as a pawn in a party game with office as the prize. The English Tories counted on victory by inciting a minority and arming it against the national will but the Liberals out-manoeuvred them at the last moment by dismembering Ireland themselves.

Britain based her partition policy on divergences she herself created and fostered among the Irish people. Other democratic nations have had similar problems to those of Ireland. These have been solved, with justice to all concerned and within the framework of the national units in question, because no powerful neighbour set out to prevent a settlement by exploiting internal differences. In Ireland, as this pamphlet has shown, the forces of unification if left to operate unhindered will find, in accordance with the national will, a just means of ending the present unnatural division of the nation's territory.

PLAYING THE ORANGE CARD




These three photographs emphasise the almost wholly British inspiration of the resistance of the minority in Ireland in 1910-1914 to the national will. The left hand picture shows Mr. Bonar Law, British Conservative Leader, addressing in a County Down meeting and on the right is another British Conservative Leader, Mr. F. E. Smith, on a platform in a County Antrim decorated with "We don't want Home Rule for Ireland," showing that even in this campaign Ireland was regarded as essentially a unit. In the centre are the speakers at one of the principal Orange rallies in Belfast in April 1912. They are (left to right) Mr. Walter Long, British Tory M.P. specially appointed to guide the rest of Ireland along lines useful to Conservative policy; Lord Londonderry, British anti-Home Rule movement in the House of Lords; Mr. Bonar Law, later to be British Premier, and Sir Edward Carson who, Conservative member of the House of Lords, was the main tool used by the Conservatives in this very campaign to eject the Liberals from office. Within a few years each of the four achieved British Cabinet rank through the success of their incitements in the North East of Ireland.

OTHER PAMPHLETS IN THIS SERIES


ONE VOTE EQUALS **TWO**

A STUDY IN THE PRACTICE & PURPOSE OF BOUNDARY MANIPULATION



ONE MONSTER—

The official statistics of the Department of the Interior, Dublin, Ireland, show that the population of the constituency of Ards is 10,000, while that of the constituency of Ards North is 15,000. This is a clear case of boundary manipulation, as the population of Ards is significantly smaller than that of Ards North, yet both are represented by a single member of parliament.

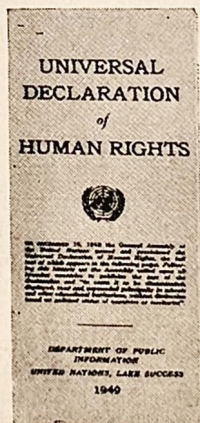


—AND ANOTHER

A similar example of boundary manipulation is provided by the constituency of Lough. The population of Lough is 12,000, while that of the constituency of Lough North is 18,000. This is a clear case of boundary manipulation, as the population of Lough is significantly smaller than that of Lough North, yet both are represented by a single member of parliament.

Issued by the All-Party Anti-Partition Conference, Mansion House, Dublin, Ireland.

DISCRIMINATION



INJUSTICE TO A MINORITY