

#### Protestant Nationalists in Ireland, 1900-1923

From the turn of the twentieth century until the end of the Irish Civil War, Protestant nationalists forged a distinct counterculture within an increasingly Catholic nationalist movement. Drawing on a wide range of primary and secondary sources, Conor Morrissey charts the development of nationalism within Protestantism, and describes the ultimate failure of this tradition. The book traces the re-emergence of Protestant nationalist activism in the literary and language movements of the 1880s and 1890s, before reconstructing their distinctive forms of organization in the following decades. Morrissey shows how Protestants, mindful of their minority status, formed interlinked networks of activists and developed a vibrant associational culture. He describes how the increasingly Catholic nature of nationalism - particularly following the Easter Rising - prompted Protestants to adopt a variety of strategies in an attempt to ensure their voices were still heard. Ultimately, this ambitious and wide-ranging book explores the relationship between religious denomination and political allegiance, casting fresh light on an often-misunderstood period.

CONOR MORRISSEY is Lecturer in Irish/British History at King's College London. He previously held appointments at the National Museum of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin, and Hertford College, University of Oxford.



# Protestant Nationalists in Ireland, 1900–1923

Conor Morrissey

King's College London





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi- 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108473866 DOI: 10.1017/9781108596251

© Conor Morrissev 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Morrissey, Conor, 1985- author.

Title: Protestant nationalists in Ireland, 1900-1923 / Conor Morrissey.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019008056 (print) | LCCN 2019013347 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108473866 (Hardback) | ISBN 9781108462877 (Paperback) | ISBN 9781108473866

Subjects: LCSH: Nationalism-Ireland-History-20th century. |
Nationalists-Ireland-History-20th century. | Protestants-Ireland-History20th century. | Religion and politics-Ireland-History-20th century. |
Ireland-Politics and government-20th century. | Ireland-History-20th century.

Classification: LCC DA960 (ebook) | LCC DA960 .M675 2019 (print) | DDC 320.54094150888409041–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019008056

ISBN 978-1-108-47386-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To my parents



### Contents

|   | List of Tables             | page VIII |
|---|----------------------------|-----------|
|   | Acknowledgements           | ix        |
|   | Irish-Language Terms Used  | xi        |
|   | List of Abbreviations      | xii       |
|   | Introduction               | 1         |
| 1 | Radicals, c. 1900–1910     | 20        |
| 2 | Dissidents, 1900-1910      | 45        |
| 3 | Converts, c. 1910–1916     | 78        |
| 4 | Militants, 1912–1916       | 107       |
| 5 | Rebels, 1916–1917          | 131       |
| 6 | Outsiders?, 1918–1921      | 149       |
| 7 | Revolutionaries, 1919–1923 | 180       |
| 8 | Free Staters, 1922–1923    | 203       |
|   | Conclusion                 | 216       |
|   | Bibliography               | 225       |
|   | Index                      | 244       |

vii



# **Tables**

| 3.1 | Denomination of Protestant advanced nationalist         |         |
|-----|---|---------|
|     | women   | page 91 |
| 3.2 | Father's occupation of Protestant advanced              |         |
|     | nationalist women                                       | 92      |
| 3.3 | Geographic origin of Protestant advanced                |         |
|     | nationalist women                                       | 93      |
| 8.1 | Denomination of Irish Protestants in the National Army  | 209     |
| 8.2 | Denominational comparison between Protestants in        |         |
|     | the National Army and Protestants in the Irish Free     |         |
|     | State, 1926   | 209     |
| 8.3 | Father's occupation of Protestants in the National Army | 210     |
| 8.4 | Military rank of Protestants in the National Army       | 210     |
| 8 5 | Geographic origin of Protestants in the National Army   | 212     |

viii



## Acknowledgements

My first debt is to Professor David Fitzpatrick, for his many years of unfailing kindness, patience, and generosity. David's early death in February 2019 has robbed Irish history of one of its most brilliant practitioners. He will be sorely missed.

I must next express my gratitude to four brilliant historians: Roy Foster, Anne Dolan, Ian McBride, and Eunan O'Halpin, who have each proved a source of encouragement and strength. In Oxford, Senia Paseta, Marc Mulholland, and David Dwan have proved remarkably kind colleagues.

This book could not have been completed without the support of the Irish Research Council, which awarded me a doctoral fellowship and a postdoctoral fellowship, and the Board of Trinity College Dublin, who awarded me a postgraduate research studentship. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the librarians and archivists in Ireland and Britain who assisted me in my research. In particular, I must acknowledge the staff of the National Library of Ireland, the Military Archives, Dublin, the library of Trinity College Dublin, and the National Archives, Kew.

This book took a long time to write. I must record my gratitude to Jakub Beneš, John Borgonovo, John Cunningham, Peter Crooks, David Dickson, Jennifer FitzGerald, Sorcha Geoghegan, Tomás Irish, Martin Maguire, Edward Molloy, Eve Morrison, William Murphy, Cormac Ó Comhraí, Pádraig Óg Ó Ruairc, Eda Sagarra, Thomas Tormey, Ciarán Wallace, Fionnuala Walsh, and Tim Wilson. At Cambridge University Press, Liz Friend-Smith and Michael Watson have shown great faith in this project. I must thank my uncle and aunt, Patrick F. O'Donovan and Olive O'Donovan, who have always been an enormous source of encouragement. My grandmother, Ann O'Leary, has always believed in me.

ix



#### x Acknowledgements

Finally, my family. My siblings, Cian, Eva, and Elise, provide not just encouragement, but a never-ending supply of fun as well. But the final word belongs to my parents. Liz and John Morrissey have been an inspiration. Although no words can express the debt I owe, I hope this dedication is some small recompense.



# Irish-Language Terms Used

Ard fheis Annual party conference Céilí/Céilithe Irish dancing session/sessions

'Family of the Gaels': separatist organisation Clan na Gael

sister of the IRB

Coisde Gnótha Gaelic League executive Irish Guild of Witness Comhluadar Gaodhalach

na Fiadhnuise

Craobh na gCúig gCúigí

Cumann

Cumann Gaedhealach an

Cólaiste

Cumann Gaelach na

*hEaglaise* 

Cumann na nGaedheal

Cumann na Saoirse

Dáil Éireann

Feis/Feiseanna

Fianna Fáil Na Fianna Éireann

Sinn Féin Taoiseach Teachta Dála

Branch of the Five Provinces

Branch of society

College Gaelic Society (QUB)

Irish Guild of the Church

'Society of the Gaels': Republican front in

the 1900s; later Irish Free State political

'Society of Freedom': Pro-Anglo-Irish

Treaty women's group

Irish parliament Festival/festivals

'Soldiers of destiny': political party, 1926– 'Soldiers of Ireland': republican youth group

'We ourselves': political party, 1905-'Chief': prime minister of Ireland

'Deputy to the Dáil': Member of Parliament

χi



#### **Abbreviations**

AOH Ancient Order of Hibernians

BL British Library

BMH, WS Bureau of Military History, Witness Statements

CBS Crime Branch Special Records
CCCA Cork City and County Archives
CD Contemporary documents
CIG Church of Ireland Gazette
DIB Dictionary of Irish Biography

DL Deputy Lieutenant

DSO Distinguished Service Order

FJ Freeman's Journal

GAA Gaelic Athletic Association

GOLI Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, Belfast

GPO General Post Office, Dublin

ICA Irish Citizen Army
II Irish Independent

ILPI Independent Labour Party of Ireland IPHRA Irish Protestant Home Rule Association

IRA Irish Republican Army

IRB Irish Republican Brotherhood

IT Irish Times

IWA Irish Women's Association
 MAD Military Archives, Dublin
 McC Denis McCullough papers
 MRIA Member, Royal Irish Academy
 MSPC Military Service Pensions Collection

NAI National Archives of Ireland NLI National Library of Ireland PFOI Protestant Friends of Ireland PNS Protestant National Society

PRONI Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast

QC Queen's Counsel

xii



List of Abbreviations

xiii

RCBL Representative Church Body Library, Dublin RCPI Royal College of Physicians of Ireland

RIC Royal Irish Constabulary TCD Trinity College Dublin

TD Teachta Dála

TNA The National Archives, Kew UCD University College Dublin

UG Ulster Guardian
UIL United Irish League
ULT Ulster Literary Theatre
UVF Ulster Volunteer Force

VC Victoria Cross