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John William Nelson
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The Cultural Legacy of the Williamite History in the Context of Northern Ireland

John William Nelson

Independent Field Study Project

Fall, 2011



SIT Ireland: Transformation of Political and Social Conflict

Aeveen Kerrisk, Program Coordinator

Dr. Elizabeth Crooke, University of Ulster, Project Advisor

Research Conducted in Dublin: Republic of Ireland, Drogheda: Republic of Ireland, and Londonderry: Northern Ireland, U.K.

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Author's Introduction

History, in one capacity or another, is relevant to all of us. History influences and affects every individual in some way. It is a defining point of any cultural group; it determines that group's values and the lens through which the group's individuals look at the world. With that being said, it is more often than not the perceived history of a group, rather than the factual historical record, which holds the most sway over a culture's identity. The legacy of that collective memory of history is what this paper seeks to examine. In the following pages, the author will try to convey how one group, the Ulster Protestants, have interpreted, utilized, and perceived their own history and how the legacy of historical events continue to influence and affect members of that culture group in the present. Specifically, the research looked at the legacy of the Irish Williamite War (1688-1691) in the Northern Ireland Protestant society. In many ways, the historical events of that time period have influenced and shaped the Protestant Unionist culture of Northern Ireland through to the present era, and continue to hold relevance to many people today. The historical events of the Williamite period are key components in many Ulster Protestants' cultural identity, and a celebrated part of their past, and therefore, this concentrated study is an ideal microcosm for exploring the more universal questions about the relevance and legacy of history in modern society—especially in a socio-politically conflicted theatre such as Northern Ireland.

As both a student of history and international relations, the legacy of history is something which has always held import for me, the author. In recent years, I have studied history, as well as the theories and abstract concepts of the discipline, and appreciate the relevance it can have on even contemporary issues. While studying in the Republic of Ireland, I could not help but note the importance history seemed to have on average people—everyone I talked to seemed well

versed in their local and national history. This seemed to be a part of the culture; one individual expressed that “You couldn’t swing a cat by the tail without hitting a little bit of history, that’s how much is in this country.”¹ Another individual, who works in peace and reconciliation, expressed his view that it was a country “obsessed with history.”² This was even more evident when I crossed into Northern Ireland for several weeks of study, and experienced the charged nature of historical recollection there. This historical *obsession* struck me, as a history student, and prompted me to begin looking at it more in depth culminating with me selecting this topic as my independent study.

The following report is the manifestation of that project, and an attempt at clarifying the complex influence of historical legacy on a specific culture group in Northern Ireland. As the author, I do not claim to have found any definitive solutions or final answers to the issue at hand, but rather, want to present my study, research and analysis in a thoughtful and objective way, that it might prompt readers to think on it and form their own opinions about history’s legacy in contemporary society. In the following pages, I will discuss the factual Williamite history, the perceived history of the Ulster Protestants in regards to the Williamite Era, the relevance of that history to cultural identity, and the ways in which that historic legacy is still reflected today by Ulster Protestant culture. I will lay out a clear and concise presentation of my methodology, my research, my findings, my analysis, and finally, a conclusion. Attached will also be several appendices of information I believe will be useful in understanding and experiencing the topic fully. It is my earnest hope that this report will illuminate the cultural significance of the Williamite history to the reader, and prompt further thought on the importance of historical legacy in a wider context.

¹ Katy O’Donnell, Personal Conversation with Author. 22 October, 2011. As recorded in personal journal.

² Eamon Rafter, SIT Discussion, 1 September, 2011. As recorded in personal notes.

Methodology

Introduction:

It is vital to lay out the methodological process which I undertook in conducting this research project, in order to clarify how I came upon the impressions and conclusions shared in this paper. By presenting the order of research and experiences that I performed and underwent during the course of my study, I hope that it will give the reader a comprehensive view into how I went about my research and how, in that way, my findings and understandings were shaped. I have strove to maintain an objective viewpoint throughout the study, and also reflect candidly enough to admit when emotion or bias may have influenced me. Overall, I hope to illuminate my methodology in the following few pages so as to bring the reader along on the educational journey that I have undertaken for the last several weeks of intense research. In so doing, it would be intended that the reader will then be able to experience, process and digest the information for themselves, so as to form their own thoughts and conclusions on the subject of history's legacy in the modern state of Northern Ireland.

My wish during this project was to study the relevance and legacy of history in the modern society of Northern Ireland and the Republic. This, however, was far too broad an issue to devote simply a month of study too, so I was forced to limit my research to one specific event in Irish history—the Williamite campaign in Ireland. I narrowed my field of study even more, by looking at the way the Williamite history has been interpreted, celebrated, and utilized by the Protestant-Loyalist-Unionist communities of Northern Ireland and how that history still remains relevant and influential in that culture group's contemporary society. It was necessary that I narrow my topic in order that I could make a focused effort on immersing myself in the topic and exploring it in its entirety, in order to do it justice. The wider issue of history's legacy and

influence on contemporary times and modern cultures is a very important and complex one, and I hope that through this concentrated study of one aspect of that, I may be able to explore the more universal topic and provoke thought on the issue as a whole. This was my initial goal on entering into this project, and must be made clear, so that my following methodology may also be understood.

Discussion of Secondary Sources:

To begin, I must acknowledge that my background knowledge of the Williamite War in Ireland was slightly lacking before I undertook this research paper. Entering into this project, I had a fairly good understanding of the elements of the power struggle between William, Prince of Orange, and James II of the House of Stuart, and had an apt chronological notion of the key events of the war—the Siege of Derry, the Crossing of the Boyne, and the final battle of Aughrim. That being said, I was far from having an ample understanding of the complexities and details of the war between the two kings. I lacked both detail and scope, in that I was not well versed on the greater European political tides of that time period, nor the particulars of the campaign in Ireland.

I addressed this deficiency by devoting a large part of my first few weeks to background research. I spent several days simply poring over academic sources dealing with the logistics of the history—the facts, as agreed upon by the objective academic community. A complete list of sources consulted is included in my bibliography, but a few I found especially helpful were Padraig Lenihan's 1690: Battle of the Boyne, Peter Beresford Ellis's The Boyne Water: The Battle of the Boyne 1690, Patrick Macrory's The Siege of Derry, Brendan Clifford's Derry and the Boyne, and Richard Doherty's The Williamite War in Ireland 1688-1691. All these gave a good account of events during the war and also offered insight into the larger issues of day such

as France's influence, the Grand Alliance, the religious context, and the democratic elements at hand. A very helpful source that I also consulted for a clear and objective narrative of the Williamite War was Battle of the Boyne 1690: The Irish Campaign for the English Crown, by Michael McNally, under Osprey Publishing. While not a traditionally academic source, this easy to read and well researched book was a starting point for me in gaining a clear knowledge of the Williamite campaign in Ireland and also gave several references to other sources that I went on to use.

All of the above listed sources served to give me a background on the history of the Williamite War and the campaign in Ireland. However, the history was only a piece of my project. The more vital part of my study was how the history of the Williamite War still holds relevance in the culture of Northern Ireland today. For an understanding of this, I had to look at other sources which focused on groups affiliated to, and cultural reflections of, the Williamite War. My main secondary sources which served me to this end included Brian Kennaway's The Orange Order: A Tradition Betrayed, Martin Mansergh's The Legacy of History, W. A. Hanna's Intertwined Roots: An Ulster-Scot Perspective on Heritage, History, Hostility and Hope in Northern Ireland, Marcus Tanner's Ireland's Holy Wars, The Struggle for a Nation's Soul, 1500-2000, Mervyn Jess's The Orange Order, and Peter Collins's Pathways to Ulster's Past. All these sources dealt with the legacy of history in regards to Northern Ireland. Some, like Brian Kennaway's and Mervyn Jess's books, looked at specific groups who claim origins in the Williamite history, while many of the others looked at the relevance and legacy of history, and the complexity of the relationship with the past in Northern Ireland. Another great source that I found very helpful in understanding contemporary people's relationship to the past was a collection of statements called The Twelfth, What it means to Me, edited by Gordon Lucy and

Elaine McClure, which featured responses from over fifty individuals with varied background, answering the question of what the twelfth of July celebrations (regarding the Battle of the Boyne, Orange marches, etc.) mean to them. This provided me with insights into the meaning of the twelfth celebrations to a plethora of individuals, with a variety of answers. It offered a wide range of perspectives and was vital in providing me with the scope of people's connections to the past.

Together, the secondary sources about the Williamite history, and those dealing with the legacy of that history in the contemporary society of Northern Ireland served to bolster my understanding of historical events and the cultural relationship to that history. My secondary source examination provided a foundation with which I was able to approach my study confidently and well informed. However, it would not have been enough to stand on its own as a complete study of the issue, and I therefore had to go beyond the pages of a book and the walls of a library. I had to enter into the field, meet real individuals and hear their personal stories of how the history has influenced them and what that legacy means to them. I had to go to the places to gain a more complete perspective on just how important the history is to the Northern Irish protestant's cultural identity. I had to go out and experience it.

Discussion of Primary Sources and Field Study Work:

I. Drogheda and the Boyne

One of the first ways in which I did this was by going to Drogheda and the Boyne. I visited the site of the Battle of the Boyne twice—once before I had conducted any background research and the second time, after I had a good foundation of understanding in regards to the history. My reasoning for two different visits was that I first wanted to see what a typical tourist or lay-person would experience when visiting the Boyne battlefield with no background research, and

what impressions I would come away with; a control sample in scientific terms, if you will. The second visit, following my intensive period of background research, could then serve as something to compare it to. *Did I get the same impressions as last time? Was the presentation by the park and visitor's centre in line with what I had learned from my research? How did the two experiences vary?* The second visit also enabled me to pursue avenues of research which I had not conducted during my first visit. The first time, I simply went through the visitors' centre exhibit, watched the informational film, and walked the battlefield along the suggested routes—the normal things any lay-visitor would do. The second time, along with comparing the presentation on site with the academic material I had studied, I talked to people there about the visitors' centre and battlefield park. I questioned the attendant behind the reception desk, an employee in the tea shop, and talked to several visitors as I walked the grounds. By visiting the site two times, I believe I gained a great deal of insight as well as a good educational experience.

Since I was studying the Williamite War in Ireland, the Battle of the Boyne seemed like an essential visit, especially because it was so easily accessible and well presented and maintained by the Office of Public Works. If time and transportation had allowed, I would have also been inclined to visit Aughrim, Enniskillen, and Carrickfergus for their significance in the war, but as it stands, the Battle of the Boyne site provided excellent material as I looked at how the history was interpreted and presented through an official, government endorsed project at the Boyne.

II. Scratching the Surface of Derry and Personal Trial During Independent Study

I must take time out briefly, from my narration of my study, to acknowledge that I missed a few essential days that could have been spent working on my project to a family emergency at home. Following my first week of study, I made my way to Derry on Friday night. That

following morning, as I was watching the annual Apprentice Boys' Initiation Parade into the walls of the city, received word that my sister had been in a tragic automobile accident and in critical condition in the hospital. After watching the culmination of the march, I made immediate plans to return to Dublin and possibly prepare for departure back to the United States. For several days because of this personal issue, I remained in limbo, trying to determine whether I would have to return home prematurely or stay here and continue with my research. Even after these initial first days of inactivity, once I began work on my study again, it was somewhat difficult concentrating on a project when such a dire situation was taking place in my personal life. Because of this, I must acknowledge that I was somewhat emotionally inhibited and distracted from my work. I must admit to the reader that if circumstances had not been so difficult, if I would have had those few crucial days and not so many distractions, I believe I could have gone even more in depth, met with more people and been active in my field research for a more extensive period. With that being said, a researcher must do the best possible with the time and material given, so I pressed on with my research and have hopefully done a sufficient project with the time provided and under the aforementioned circumstances.

III. Derry—The City Under Siege

Following my several days of inactivity and apprehension, I proceeded on to Derry to begin conducting field research. While in Derry, my goal was to meet with several individuals which had been pre-arranged via email, and based on the individuals' willingness to cooperate. I also had several potential interview subjects in Belfast, but because of time constraints and the above mentioned personal issues, I was unable to meet with them. I was fortunate, however, in that I was able to meet with several of the key people I had wanted to interview while in Derry.

In selecting my interview subjects in Derry, however, I looked for a varied range of subjects in regards to their involvement with the Williamite legacy. For instance, I sought out several members of the Apprentice Boys Club of Derry—highly involved with the history, a musician with background in the loyalist community who had distanced himself but remained active in traditional music—slightly involved with the history, and a member of the protestant community who initially felt he had no affiliation with the history. My main subjects all came from the Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist Ulster-Scot cultural group, and they were all, by coincidence only, male. The age range varied from 30s to 60s, and was not a determining factor in the selection process. Age and gender did not play a role in my reasoning for interviews; I did not think it relevant to the topic at hand. My more pressing concern was that I found a varied group in regards to their knowledge and affiliation with their community's Williamite history. I believed in this way I could get the broadest and most encompassing view of how that history's legacy on the culture of the Ulster Protestant group.

Interviews, both formal and informal, served as one of my two main components to the field research I conducted while in Derry. I met with and interviewed the leading historian of the Apprentice Boys of Derry, Mr. Billy Stewart, and the General Secretary of the Apprentice Boys of Derry Club, Mr. Billy Moore. I also met several other members of the Apprentice Boys Club briefly and in a social setting while I was in Derry. Additionally, I was able to capitalize on notes I had taken from a prior visit to the Apprentice Boys of Derry Siege Museum in October. At that time, I received an informative tour of the exhibit and received an excellently detailed as well as slanted account of the events surrounding the Siege of Derry, which I was able to use to great effect in the following paper. I did not, however, use the tour guide's name in my following

quotations of his tour, due to the fact that I did not have explicit permission from him, in that it was prior to the start of the ISP period.

I was also able to interview a Derry resident and musician with a Protestant- Loyalist background, but who personally has a broader and more objective view of the situation in Northern Ireland. He specifically requested not to be named. My fourth chief interview was with a Presbyterian man of Ulster Scot, Unionist tradition who is very religiously active but who did not have a background of formal historic knowledge in regards to the Williamite history. He also asked not to be named and asked me to keep the specific name of the location—his Presbyterian church, also anonymous.

During my time in Derry, I was also in contact with Professor Bill Rolston of Belfast, Leo Coyle—a Derry historical tour guide, and Dr. Elizabeth Crooke, my project advisor and specialist on Heritage Studies at the University of Ulster, Magee Campus. Through all these contacts, formal interviews, and personal interactions, I was able to shape and develop my topic while experiencing first hand viewpoints that I could not have attained without pursuing direct field interaction.

The second main element to my field work in Derry was my observational research wherever I went. While I was stationed in Derry working with my Independent Study, I was careful to document my observations and thoughts as I saw, explored and experienced different presentations of the Williamite history and different examples of its legacy on the Ulster Protestant community of Derry.

I returned in person to Derry late on the 11th and was there for Remembrance Ceremonies on Saturday the Twelfth. I had hoped they would hold some relevance to my project but alas, they mostly focused on the more recent conflicts of the world wars. The ceremony I

witnessed would still be a useful piece of field research in a more broad study of historical legacy in Northern Ireland, but in my narrow field of study, it was not highly relevant.

The following week I spent doing extensive field research. On Monday, I walked the walls to get a sense of the physical legacy of the Williamite history. It also provided me with a chance for unstructured personal observation. My background research again proved useful in my independent exploration of the walls, in that I now had a much better understanding of the historical events surrounding them than I did on my first visit with the SIT group in early October.

I continued my observational field study throughout the following days in Derry. I visited the Tower Museum, the Apprentice Boys' Club Hall Siege Museum, Saint Columb's Cathedral, an anonymous Presbyterian Church, and the Fountain and Waterside Districts of the city, which are almost exclusively Loyalist, Unionist, Protestant neighbourhoods. I wanted to experience the official presentation of history through sanctioned museums such as the Tower Museum, the presentation of that same history through affiliated exhibits such as the Apprentice Boys' Siege Museum and St Columb's Cathedral, and I also wanted to gain perspective of the legacy through the on-site feel of places like the the Waterside and the Fountain neighbourhoods, where murals celebrating and referencing Williamite history could be seen on the sides of buildings.³ All these contrasting experiences gave me plenty of opportunity for informal observation and analysis of the historical legacy's different forms in the Maiden City of Derry.

Before concluding my discussion of my primary field research materials, it is essential to the methodological nature of this section to note how I went about documenting and recording

³ In the Fountain District, a mural reads: LONDONDERRY West Bank Loyalists Still Under Siege: NO SURRENDER," featuring several obvious references to Williamite history. Another depicts the breaking of the boom by the *Mounjoy* and is entitled "The Relief of Derry." This stands as not simply a reference to but an obvious celebration of the Ulster Protestants' celebration of their Williamite past. Meanwhile, in the Waterside, a mural celebrates the Apprentice Boys closing the city gates in the face of Jacobite forces.

the material of my interviews, conversations, interactions, impressions and observations. I carried with me at all times a small reporter's pad meant for jotting down quick notes and brief thoughts. I would then use these notes as a prompt immediately upon my return to my journal, at which time I would write a detailed journal account of whatever observation or experience I had just had. I did the same for my interviews, jotting down quotes and later formulating the experience into a coherent account of my time with the interviewee. The final step in this detailed and meticulous documentation was the transcribing of these accounts onto my computer for digital filing. It was, however, necessary to keep a detailed and accurate record of my observations and experiences during my Independent Study Project, in order that I would be able to better formulate my final report and back up my arguments with validated evidence.

Acknowledgement of Biases, Assumptions, Pre-Conceived Notions and Other Difficulties Experienced During the Study:

I must acknowledge that before I began this project, I had a slightly sceptical view on the Ulster Protestant interpretation of the history. This had been acquired from some of my experience in Northern Ireland on my group study trip there earlier this semester, when I encountered historical inaccuracies from an Orange Order historian in South Armagh, and later, experienced a somewhat slanted interpretation of history in Derry from an Apprentice Boys Club tour guide.

Because of these experiences, I entered my project ready to find misinterpretations and misrepresentations among the Ulster Protestant historical tradition of the Williamite Wars in Ireland. However, once I began my work on the project, and especially once I began interacting with members of the Ulster Protestant community in discussing their history, these pre-conceived biases began to soften and I began to get a more open minded view.

I believe I can safely say that by the time I commence writing this paper, I had overcome any special scepticisms against the Ulster Protestant cultural interpretation of Williamite History. I have attempted to present a non-biased and yet critical examination of the relevance, influence, and uses of the Williamite history in the Ulster Protestant community today and throughout the past.

Presentation of Work:

With all that being said, I hope I have left the reader with a clear understanding of how I went about conducting my research and ascertaining the findings I reached in the end. The following pages contain the manifestation of the work I have described in detail in this methodology section. I hope that the reader would be able to see how my methodology led to the ideally objective, cognitive and useful report in the succeeding study.

Definition of Terms:

In the following paper, I would just like to clarify a few terms that I will be using consistently and which it will be important for the reader to understand fully.

When I refer to *The Williamite War/The Williamite Wars/The Williamite Campaign*, I am referring to the power struggle between William of Orange, Crowned William III of England, and James II, of the House of Stuart. This conflict took place between the two kings between the years of 1688 and 1691.

When I refer to *Jacobites, Jacobite⁴ Forces, etc* I am referring to those loyal to and supportive of James II's claim to the English throne.

Williamite, likewise, will refer to those loyal to and supporting William III's claim to the English throne.

Ulster Protestants will be my preferred term when discussing the cultural group of Northern Ireland often affiliated with Unionism, Loyalism, Protestantism and the ethnic distinction of Ulster Scot. I will use the term Ulster Protestant because it most accurately reflects the makeup of the group that maintains a similar culture opposed to Irish nationalism and adhering to a celebration of the Williamite victory—not all the group I am referring to is Unionist, Loyalist, or Ulster Scot, but the vast majority fall under the umbrella of being Ulster Protestants.

⁴ From the Latin *Jacobus*, meaning “Of James”, as explained in 1690 Battle of the Boyne by Padraig Lenihan Tempus Publishing 2003, Gloucestershire.

Analysis and Presentation of Findings

Introduction:

The Williamite history's relevance on Northern Ireland's Protestant community is not a study unto itself, but rather a microcosm of the larger issue of history's relevance and influence in the present. A people's relationship to their past, whether it be the perceived past or the factual historical record, is a defining point of any group's culture, and can be recognized universally. One of the main ways in which people define their cultural affiliations and identity is through their history.

The history of a people is based on the collective recollection of the entire group, not necessarily the strict historical record, as will be made apparent in the following report. There is a difference between historical fact and the perceived history of a culture group, and the more influential of the two most often in the latter. This perceived cultural history reflects truths about the group in that it is an interpretation of the past, influenced by the values and circumstances of the group in the present. Therefore, over time, a historical recollection can change and adjust, based on the changes in the contemporary society of the culture group. At the same time, that historical past serves as a defining component of the cultural identity for the group, and thus, must be respected and acknowledged as an integral aspect of the culture group's makeup. The traditions, celebrations, and values passed down from the culture's historical past are important and vital to the integrity of the group. The component that makes all this provocative however, is when the traditions, values, and history of one group effect and intertwine with opposing or contradictory historical traditions in another culture. This is what occurs in Northern Ireland between the Ulster Protestant culture group and the Irish Catholic culture group, where the events and historic traditions of over 300 years ago continue to resonate in the modern clash of

cultures in that state. Many from each group are quick to adopt the historical narrative of conflict and division and utilize it to fit the modern difficulties between the two groups, adjusting it and interpreting it in ways reflective of their own experiences. The following report will explore this phenomenon while raising questions about conflicting historical traditions, perceived versus factual history, and the significance of historical legacy and heritage to a group's cultural identity.

Much of the historical narrative that influences the cultural identity of the Ulster Protestants originates from the period of their history surrounding the Williamite struggle in Ireland, between the years of 1688-1691. The legacy and relevance of that history today is one of the most controversial and volatile historical legacies in the Western world, as it plays out in Northern Ireland in the clash between the Ulster Protestants and their Irish Catholic neighbours. To fully appreciate and understand this controversial historical legacy and the turmoil surrounding it, one must have a grasp of the perceived and actual histories of the time, a knowledge of how that history has been viewed by Ulster Protestants now and in the past, and a clear understanding of how that historical legacy still influences the culture and thinking of the contemporary Ulster Protestant population.

A Brief and Objective Summation of the Events of the Williamite War:

In the year 1685, Charles II, King of England and Ireland, died, leaving his younger brother James to ascend the throne and become king. King James II almost immediately met with opposition; in his first year alone, he faced two insurrections. His unpopularity was rooted in his religious affiliation to Catholicism and his tendency towards a more absolute monarchy. His sceptics became even more alarmed when in June of 1688 a son was born to James, removing the

protestant daughter Mary from direct succession and ensuring the continuation a Catholic, Stuart monarchy.

Encouraged by English supporters William of Orange, Mary's husband and elected Stadtholder of the United Dutch Provinces, sailed for England in November of 1688 with the intention of seizing the English crown from his father-in-law James. In what became known as the "Glorious Revolution," William of Orange landed at Torbay on November 5 of that year and successfully drove James from the island to claim the English throne in less than two months. James fled to France, where his ally, King Louis XIV, harboured him.

England and Scotland accepted the rule of their new king with relative ease, but the situation was not parallel in Ireland, where the majority of the population, being Roman Catholic, still remained loyal to James. The deposed king soon realized that his best chance of reclaiming his throne lay in Ireland, and so on March 12, 1689 he landed in Kinsale to lead his campaign for a Stuart Restoration with the backing of France. The Jacobites' first move in the campaign was to move against the Ulster Protestant settler population, whose fealty had transferred to their religiously compatible king, William. By the end of March, the Jacobite forays into eastern Ulster drove most of the Protestant Williamites into the shelter of Derry, Enniskillen, Ballyshannon and Sligo—the last of the Williamite enclaves in Ireland. Through a series of uncoordinated events, the Jacobites attempted to parley a settlement with the residents of Derry, but after misunderstanding and a breakdown of negotiations, hostilities commenced against the walled city and a siege, of sorts, by the Jacobites commenced on April 18th. This siege lasted for 105 days during which time the Williamite defenders were able to hold out against the Jacobite besiegers. The relief of Derry by a naval convoy signalled the end of the siege, and on the 1st of August the city celebrated its victory.

Events progressed as a Williamite army under the Duke of Schomberg landed at Bangor Bay, in east Ulster, soon after, and William arrived in person the following spring to head the campaign south against James. James marches north with his army to halt the advance of William and his forces, and James chooses to attempt a stand along the River Boyne, just west of Drogheda, near the ford of Oldbridge on the 12th of July, 1690. After James's army is outmanoeuvred and faces the threat of being overrun, the Jacobites are forced to retreat towards Dublin following what would become the infamous Battle of the Boyne. It was the largest battle ever fought in the British Isles in terms of manpower present on the field, but casualties were relatively low.⁵

Within days, James sailed to France, leaving his army behind him to fight on. Having successfully defeated James in person and with the war progressing towards victory, William returned to England by September of 1690. As the Jacobite army relinquished Dublin, it was pushed west into Munster and Connacht, until it was met and decisively defeated at the Battle of Aughrim on July 12th of 1691. The war in Ireland officially ended on October 3, 1691 with the Treaty of Limerick. James lived out his days in exile in France, while William ruled England as joint monarch until his death in 1702.

The Factual and Perceived Histories of the Williamite War in Ireland:

While not primarily an historical research paper in the traditional sense, it remains essential that the reader would have some understanding of the events of the Williamite campaign in Ireland, that they may better understand the subsequent analysis of how those historical events have been interpreted, utilized and celebrated by the Ulster Protestant community. By having a basic understanding of the factual history of the Williamite War, one

⁵ McNally, Michael. Battle of the Boyne 1690. (Osprey Publishing, Oxford: 2005).

can also come to understand how that history has remained relevant to, influenced, and shaped the culture of the Ulster Protestants. It is also vital to be able to compare and contrast the commonly perceived history with that of actual historical record, and to distinguish where the two coincide and where they diverge. The main diversions between commonly held beliefs and the actual historical record came in several different categories of misinterpretations: The two Kings' policies, France's role in the Williamite War, the makeup of the opposing sides in the conflict.

I. The Policies of William and James

One of the main misunderstandings surrounding the Williamite War is in regards to the two kings' policies and political platforms. To some Ulster Protestants, James is seen as the despotic, intolerant and absolute Catholic monarch, while William is seen to epitomize the modern ideals of "liberty, equality, and fraternity"⁶ and even, religious tolerance. Proponents of this latter claim would reference William's flag at his landing in Torbay, in England, which displayed the phrase "I will maintain religion and liberty."⁷ My tour guide at the Apprentice Boys Museum was quick to make this claim as well, along with highlighting the fact that William was an *elected* leader in the United Provinces, referring to him as the "equivalent of a president."⁸ The Presbyterian man also shared these extremely polarized views with me in our interview. Admitting that he didn't have a great grasp of the Williamite history, he nonetheless shared with me his understanding that William was the progressive and tolerant leader tending towards democracy, while James represented the "old catholic, medieval-style monarchy."⁹ This rhetoric distinguishing William

⁶Adamson, Ian, as found in The Twelfth, What it means to Me. Editors: Gordon Lucy and Elaine McClure. (Ulster Society: County Armagh, 1997). 3.

⁷ As quoted in Brian Kennaway's Orange Order, A Tradition Betrayed. (Methuen Publishing, London: 2007) 3.

⁸ Tour of Apprentice Boy's Museum, 13 October 2011, As recorded in personal field notes.

⁹ Interview with Derry Presbyterian, conducted by author, 19 November, 2011.

as good and enlightened and James as despotic and evil was even more pronounced in earlier periods of Ulster Protestant interpretations of the Williamite events. In a sermon given by Edmund Arwaker in Dungannon as early as 1698, the reverend explicitly compared James to the biblical King Ahab and William to the wise King Solomon.¹⁰ As the author, Peter Collins notes, the Ulster Protestants have latched on to William of Orange as a representation of parliamentary democracy, freedom, and modern thought as well as a champion of Protestantism.¹¹ I found this also be the case throughout my own field study, as noted above in my experience with the Presbyterian man from Derry and the Apprentice Boys tour guide.

These notions of William as the enlightened democrat and James as the medieval must be more closely examined in light of other historical facts, as true history is never so simple or straightforward. Looking at historical evidence from the time, it can be seen that James was not as religiously intolerant or despotically minded as lore would imply. The Jacobite Parliament of James, based in Dublin, in 1689, had abolished religious discrimination under Acts 13 and 15, outlawing state religious support totally, and declaring that all religions should be treated equally under law.¹² At the siege of Derry, similar religious tolerance was expressed by James's constituents when, on July 10th of that same year, the Jacobite commander Richard Hamilton offered favourable terms of surrender to the besieged garrison of the walled city:

“You cannot be ignorant of the King's [James's] clemency towards his subjects. Such of you as choose to serve the King, shall be entertained without distinction in point of religion. If

¹⁰ *A Sermon Preached on the Day of Thanksgiving for Peace at St Ann's Church in Dungannon*, Dublin, 1698, pp 1-7, as found in Tanner, Marcus. *Ireland's Holy Wars, The Struggle for a Nation's Soul, 1500-2000*. (Yale University Press, New Haven: 2003). 160.

¹¹ Tanner, Marcus. *Ireland's Holy Wars, The Struggle for a Nation's Soul, 1500-2000*. (Yale University Press, New Haven: 2003).

¹² Ellis, Peter Beresford. *The Boyne Water: The Battle of the Boyne 1690*. (Blackstaff Press: Belfast, 1989). 151.

any choose to leave the kingdom, they shall have passes. You shall be restored to your estates and livings, and have free liberty of religion, whatsoever it be.”¹³

Meanwhile, the actions of William’s English parliament undermine the arguments that he was the restorer of religious freedom and civil liberties in England. The Treaty of Limerick at the end of the Irish Williamite war, which guaranteed religious equality towards Irish Catholics, was never ratified by parliament. Following the Williamite War, the Anglican Church became the only recognized church in Ireland, and even more Catholic held lands were seized. It was also under William’s reign that the Penal Laws, blatantly discriminating against Catholics, were voted into effect.¹⁴ To be fair, William himself was never a proponent of these drastic and punitive measures against his Catholic subjects, but it must be acknowledged that William’s ascension to the English throne did not bring with it the kind of large scale influx of religious and civil liberties as common lore would suggest.

II. France’s Role in the Williamite War:

Another main area of misconceptions surrounding the Williamite history seemed to centre around France’s role in the Williamite War. As I conducted my research, time and again it seemed that Ulster Protestants, when discussing the history with me, stressed the French involvement in the Jacobite campaign in Ireland, and sought to villainize the French regime of Louis XIV. There is no doubt that Louis XIV of France was an aggressive and somewhat eccentric figure, whose revocation of the Edict of Nantes and subsequent persecution of French Huguenots stands as a testament to religious intolerance, but to claim that he was “bent on the

¹³ Richard Hamilton’s Terms of Surrender, as quoted in “Talk of Surrender at Londonderry” From Derry and Enniskillen in the Year 1689 by Thomas Witherow. Found on <http://www.libraryireland.com>.

¹⁴ Ellis, Peter Beresford. The Boyne Water: The Battle of the Boyne 1690. (Blackstaff Press: Belfast, 1989). 151.

utter extirpation of the Protestant religion”¹⁵ as later Protestants have tried to claim, is a stretch. When describing Louis XIV to me during a tour of the Apprentice Boys of Derry Siege Museum, the tour guide and club historian compared him explicitly to Hitler, “out to completely conquer Europe.”¹⁶ This seemed over the line to me, and the belief that France was out to conquer Europe belays historical evidence. As the historian Padraig Lenihan contests, the reason for Louis’s conquests to the northeast lay more in his own paranoia than in any expansionist aggression.¹⁷

Continued emphasis on France’s participation in the Jacobite campaign Ireland was also part of this misconception of France’s role in the Williamite War. France sent troops and provided many of the supplies for the Jacobite forces, but it was not the main force opposing Williamites in Ireland, as inferred by Ulster Protestant lore. The Apprentice Boys historian that I was given the tour by referred to the army besieging Derry as a French Army in his narration of the siege history. He explained that “James landed in Ireland supplied with a French army,”¹⁸ and later, when describing the relief of Derry, stated that “On August 1st, after the boom had been broken, the French generals realize it’s useless,” and the “French army pulls out of siege.”¹⁹ I believe the overplaying of the French involvement in the Jacobite cause to be a common attitude in the Protestant Ulster sense of the history. For example, in the popular ballad *The Protestant Boys*, the lyrics again mention the French when referring to the Jacobite campaign in Ireland: “With masses and Frenchmen the land would enslave”²⁰ In another example, two French battle flags at the front of the sanctuary of St Columb’s Cathedral, replicas of those captured

¹⁵ Parker, Robert . Memoirs of the Most Memorable Military Transactions. (Dublin, 1746), as quoted on page 29 of Padraig Lenihan’s 1690 Battle of the Boyne. (Tempus Publishing, Gloucestershire: 2003).

¹⁶ Tour of Apprentice Boy’s Museum, 13 October 2011, As recorded in personal field notes.

¹⁷ Lenihan, Padraig. 1690 Battle of the Boyne. (Tempus Publishing, Gloucestershire: 2003). 29.

¹⁸ Tour of Apprentice Boy’s Museum, 13 October 2011, As recorded in personal field notes.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ “The Protestant Boys.” lyrics as found online at:

outside the walls of Derry during the siege, serve as a constant reminder of the French contingent in the Jacobite army.²¹

To clarify this notion with the historical record, it must be noted that yes, when James arrived in Ireland he was accompanied by a contingent of French allies and advisors,²² but the bulk of Jacobite forces throughout the Irish Campaign were native Irish troops, recruited and trained under the leadership of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, prior to the Glorious Revolution.²³ In the largest showing of French force during the Williamite War in Ireland, at the Battle of the Boyne, their numbers only made up somewhere between a fourth and a third of the entire Jacobite force.²⁴ Also, the notion that it was a French army besieging Derry is amiss. There were contingents of Scottish, Irish, French and Catholic English on the Jacobite side. The ‘French generals that realized it was useless’ were not in command at the lifting of the siege. Both commanding French advisors had been killed in action as early as April, and the commander of the Jacobite army in July was Richard Hamilton, an Anglo-Irish general.²⁵

I believe that the overemphasis of France’s role in the Williamite War of Ireland by the Ulster Protestants of today and years past is brought on by a need to distinguish the Jacobite enemy as the foreign invaders and the Ulster Protestant settlers as the native defenders of their homeland. By associating the Jacobite army with the French, they are, in their own cultural tradition, then able to do this.

²¹ Interestingly enough, the replicas are a bright yellow colour, rather than the cream colour that the originals would have been. Apparently, according to the Cathedral’s curator, when the replicas were made, the church curator who ordered them did not realize that the flags were originally a cream colour, as they had been yellowed over time. The Cathedral plans on correcting this mistake next time new replicas need to be ordered.

²² Simms, J.G. *Jacobite Ireland*. (Dublin: 2000).

²³ Petrie, Sir Charles, *The Great Tyrconnel*. (Dublin: 1972).

²⁴ Lenihan, Padraig. *1690 Battle of the Boyne*. (Tempus Publishing, Gloucestershire: 2003). 9.

²⁵ McNally, Michael. *Battle of the Boyne 1690*. (Osprey Publishing, Oxford: 2005). 21.

III. The Make-Up of the Opposing Sides

It is important not to overstate the participation and villainy of the French in regards to the Williamite War. In congruence with that, it is also important not to misinterpret or misconstrue the makeup of both sides during the Irish campaign. Above, I discussed the tendency of Ulster Protestants to stress French involvement, but I would also like to open that up to a broader misconception of the demographic makeup of the two sides.

It was not a war between Irish and English, as might be assumed by the most uninformed. Rather, the forces of both sides came from a variety of backgrounds, nationalities, religious affiliations and demographics. My interview subject, the Presbyterian from Derry, did not seem to have a ready grasp on this complexity, admitting to me that “it had always jumbled with all the other wars between the British and the Irish,” of which side he felt more inclined to the protestant “British.”²⁶ The Williamite side, while being supported by the majority of the English people, was not an English force. William himself was a Dutch prince of French Huguenot background. His army in Ireland was made up of Dutch, Danish, English, Scottish, French Huguenot, and Ulster Scot contingents. Meanwhile, the Jacobite army was not simply Irish, but contained French, Scottish and even English elements as well (it was, after all, led by the deposed English King).

The forces of each side, then, must be acknowledged as international and diverse in nature. As Pdraig Lenihan points out in his book, more than a third of the troops who fought at the Battle of the Boyne were from the European continent.²⁷ The Battle of the Boyne Visitors’ Centre placed a good emphasis on this in its exhibits, where it highlighted various contingents of

²⁶ Interview with Derry Presbyterian, conducted by author, 19 November, 2011.

²⁷ Lenihan, Pdraig. 1690 Battle of the Boyne. (Tempus Publishing, Gloucestershire: 2003). 9.

both armies as Danish, Dutch, English, Irish, etc. in what seemed a concerted effort to distinguish the Williamite War from other, Irish-English conflicts.²⁸

Influence and Legacy on the Culture Today:

Once the reader has a clear understanding of the history and perceived history of the Williamite War, and recognizes the ever changing and ever present legacy in the Ulster Protestant culture of the last 300 years, the second and most vital half of the study of that legacy lies with the contemporary influence of that historical heritage on the cultural identity of the Ulster Protestant community. The historical legacy of the Williamite War remains an important defining aspect of the culture group and should not be dismissed as simply “something in the past.”²⁹ On the contrary, it is not just something in the past, but rather, an interwoven thread of identity that links Ulster Protestants of today with their forefathers, real and perceived. The presence of the past in regards to the Williamite history in contemporary Ulster Protestant culture can be seen in many ways including the organizations based on the history, the cultural events celebrating that history, and the physical reminders of that history in the everyday life of Ulster Protestants. More significant even than that, though, is the findings I came across during my independent research in regards to the importance of this historical tradition to those in the Ulster Protestant community, and this topic must also be explored.

I. The Presence of the Past in Contemporary Ulster Protestant Culture

As mentioned above, throughout my research I came across example after example of the presence of the past in modern Ulster protestant culture and society, in the many different forms. One form that is particularly fascinating as well as fairly unique is the prevalence of fraternal

²⁸ As noted in author’s own notes, Battle of the Boyne Visitors’ Centre, 1 November 2011.

²⁹The Drogheda Bus Driver’s concept of the Williamite history, as recorded on 10 November, 2011.

organizations in the Ulster Protestant community which link their origins and founding principles in the history of the Williamite period. The two most prominent of these fraternities are the Apprentice Boys Club of Derry and the Loyal Orange Order. I will mostly fixate on the first of these two, as I spent a great deal of my field work research with members of that group, whereas the majority of my study of the Orange Order comes from secondary sources.

The Apprentice Boys Club of Derry is a global organization based around Derry and the events of the Siege of 1689³⁰, when Protestant- Williamite defenders withstood the Jacobite army in a siege of 105 days and cost somewhere around 8-9,000 lives on the Williamite side.³¹ The Apprentice Boys can trace their fraternal roots back to 1714, when several clubs came together to form the official club honouring the bravery of the Apprentice Boys who shut the gates on the Jacobite forces and the values of “liberty, bravery, protestant morals, and fortitude” evident in the Williamite defenders of Derry during the siege.³² The organization has remained relatively the same since its formation, as it has a very specific focus and well defined sense of being; this has not been as difficult for it as for other organizations over time.

When talking with director of the Apprentice Boys Club, Billy Moore, I asked him how a fraternal organization of almost 300 years old can still remain relevant and popular in the modern world, and he answered that the statistics speak for themselves. In the present year 10 new club chapters are starting and the Apprentice Boys have drawn new interest from some 70 new countries from around the world.³³ Mr. Moore attributed this maintained relevance and growing popularity to the relevance of the values that the Apprentice Boys promote. Billy Stewart, a member and historian of the Apprentice Boys also attributes this relevance to the Ulster

³⁰ Interview with Billy Moore, conducted by the author, 18 November, 2011.

³¹ Interview with Billy Stewart conducted by the author, 18 November, 2011.

³² Interview with Billy Moore.

³³ *ibid.*

Protestant community's continued interest in their history, and said that the Apprentice Boys Club provided a positive avenue for young men, including his own son, to pay homage to their culture's past.³⁴

Another way in which contemporary Ulster Protestants find a way to honour the deeds and events of the past is through celebratory proceedings throughout the year, that serve to commemorate the history of the Williamite events of the late Seventeenth Century. These occur at various times throughout the year, and include many parades, bonfires and rituals. One such celebration takes place in Derry in early December, at which time the Protestant population of the city celebrate the Apprentice Boys who barred the gates against the Jacobites and burn an effigy of Robert Lundy.³⁵ Another is the Thanksgiving ceremony held each year in St Columb's Cathedral on August 1st, commemorating the lifting of the siege and the deliverance of the city.³⁶ Perhaps the biggest celebrations of all dealing with the Williamite history though is the marching on the Twelfth of July to commemorate the victories at the Boyne and Aughrim as well as the Act of Settlement (1701).³⁷

This "high holiday" of the Williamite legacy is celebrated through marching, flute and drum bands, and merriment by many in the Protestant community of Northern Ireland, but is also seen by many as triumphalist, bigoted and even aggressive. Through reading different perspectives that I came across in my research, I found there to be a wide range of what the twelfth's significance is to members of the Ulster Protestant community. Some simply responded with lists of images and sounds, such as bowler hats and lambeg drums. Others responded with the historical rhetoric of what they were celebrating. Others offered ideals that they saw

³⁴ Interview with Billy Stewart.

³⁵ Tour of Apprentice Boy's Museum, 13 October 2011,

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ Interview with Billy Stewart.

championed by William of Orange. Still others, many others, saw it as a patriotic celebration of their “Britishness.” However I found that the majority simply saw it as a cultural holiday—their culture’s holiday, their culture’s tradition. They referenced images of family picnics, annual marches and parades, and the nostalgic feeling of when they were younger.³⁸ These celebrations, whether on the Twelfth or Guy Fawkes day or during the commemoration of the shutting of the gates of Derry, serve as celebrations of a people’s culture and heritage.

Finally, another aspect that thrusts the past into the present for Ulster Protestants today are the constant physical reminders of that historical legacy all around them. I was struck by this every time I went to Northern Ireland and especially in the city of Derry, a city so rich in history. No matter where I turned, I could not help but find some reminder of Williamite history, let alone the greater legacy of history. As I walked through the Fountain district, I saw a mural depicting the “Relief of Derry” as the relief convoy broke the boom. Another wall in the same neighbourhood cried out “LONDONDERRY West Bank Loyalists Still Under Siege. No SURRENDER!” again referencing the history of the Williamite War and in this case linking it with the modern struggles. In the Waterside, I came across a portrait of the infamous Apprentice Boys as they locked the gates before the Redshanks Jacobites, and near the town centre, St Columb’s spire and the height of the Apprentice Boys Hall rise up as constant reminders of the legacy of the siege. The Walls themselves serve as the greatest reminder, towering around the city centre and still bristling with cannons. Such a sight brought images of the Williamite War even to my mind, as an outsider, every time I walked past. I cannot imagine what vivid images these physical memorials must stir up within the cultural descendants of those defenders.

³⁸ *The Twelfth, What it means to Me*. Editors: Gordon Lucy and Elaine McClure. (Ulster Society, County Armagh: 1997).

Surrounded as they are with so many reminders of the Williamite history, it is no wonder that the Ulster Protestant culture group of Northern Ireland, and specifically that culture's community of Derry, comes off as being "obsessed with history." It surrounds them in their celebrations, clubs, art, and architecture, and is impossible to ignore. With that being said, why would they want to ignore it? Why should it not be celebrated and recognized as a part of the wider culture? As Billy Moore said to me, "the Apprentice Boys are now being recognized as part of the vital fabric of the city's [Derry's] culture"³⁹ The Apprentice Boys and the Ulster Protestant story is indeed a vital part of the cultural fabric of the city of Derry and of Northern Ireland as a whole. It is a complex and exhilarating history, and a rich cultural legacy that the Ulster Protestants hold, as I came to appreciate during my research.

II. The Importance of History to Cultural Identity

It can be seen then, from how devoted and proud of their history the Ulster Protestant community is, and what a vital part it plays in the cultural makeup and identity of that group in Northern Ireland. The events of the Williamite Wars in Ireland laid much of the foundation for the cultural distinction of the Ulster Protestants as a unique and separate group in Ireland, while at the same time its legacy helped shape them into the modern culture they are today. The traditions of fraternal protestant clubs, celebrations of Williamite events and physical memorials depicting and honouring scenes from that tumultuous time period in Ulster, Ireland, the British Isles and Europe as a whole, are all part of the cultural identity of a people. As the Presbyterian said to me, "I don't know a lot about the detail of my history, I just know I'm a Protestant Unionist Ulster Scot, I know we have a rich and proud heritage. I'm proud of the story of the Siege of Derry and of King William crossing the Boyne, simply from a cultural standpoint. Those are the events my culture holds up as their victories, so I'm proud of them myself, because

³⁹ Interview with Billy Moore.

even if I don't fully understand them, I know they represent who I am and what my background is."⁴⁰ The Williamite legacy is the cultural identity that Ulster Protestants see as their own. They are proud of it because it represents who they are, who their families are, and what their culture is, if for no other reasons than that. In light of that, how can any outsider to come in and discredit the historical traditions and lore of the Ulster Protestants, even if it is flawed, misconstrued or misrepresented? It raises the question as to whether it is ethical to debunk and critique the misinterpreted and deviated history of others, if their very culture's identity depends on it.

Conclusion and Closing Remarks

At this point in my research and critical thinking, I had come to a dilemma. I was stymied in my analysis and study of the legacy of history in regards to the Ulster Protestants—on one hand, through careful and critical research, I had come to realize the flaws, misinterpretations, and misuses of that historical legacy by some members of the Ulster Protestant group over the past 300 years following the events of the Williamite War. On the other hand, I had come to appreciate and in many ways admire that same historical pride and legacy that served as a defining component in the Ulster Protestants' cultural identity. I was at a theoretical impasse, but not for long. There had to be some way in which I could reconcile these two opposing impulses, some way I could maintain the admiration while at the same time appreciate and acknowledge the shortcomings and misrepresentations in the historical legacy.

I found it in my interviews with Billy Moore, Billy Stewart, and the Battle of the Boyne Visitors' Centre's exhibition on shared history. Firstly, Billy Moore and Billy Stewart both shared with me their views on the future of Ulster Protestant historical legacy in their discussions of the Apprentice Boys Club, whether they realized it or not. They both expressed, in slightly different ways, how their organization must become more open to the public arena, must open up

⁴⁰ Interview with Presbyterian man, conducted by author, 19 November, 2011.

to those outside the Ulster Protestant community, in order to grow in stature and credibility. Billy Moore noted that the Apprentice Boys are beginning to take a more active role in the public, participating as an avid member group in the work towards the “Derry, City of Culture” Project.⁴¹ Billy Stewart also made references along this same line, pointing out that in the last twelve years especially, “efforts have been made to promote more education among Apprentice Boy membership, so we’ll be better informed on our own history and able to have open dialogue about it.”⁴² He also pointed to the opening of the Apprentice Boys Club Hall to the public as a step in increasing cross-cultural and wider-spread dialogue, acknowledgement, and celebration of the historical legacy.

To augment these insights from Mr. Moore and Mr. Stewart, I had my experience at the Boyne with the Visitors’ Centre’s emphasis on the shared history. In a statement on the wall of the final room of the museum, the exhibition sought to make clear the purpose and intentions of the creation of the Visitors’ Centre and Battle of the Boyne Site: “The development of the site of the Battle of the Boyne is part of a programme by the Irish government to demonstrate its respect for different traditions on the island of Ireland.”⁴³ The entirety of the museum was in this way laid out, giving honour and credit to both sides based on the accurate historical record. This was the way in which I have then been able to reconcile my own conflicting thoughts. It is possible, with education and an objective view of the history to understand and appreciate both traditions and the legacy of history on any culture group. Historical legacy in Northern Ireland has been a source of sectarianism, bigotry, hatred and violence for far too long. Perhaps as we move towards the future, however, this can be reversed through education, a shared celebration of history, and open dialogue about that history’s legacy in contemporary society, and the historical

⁴¹ Interview with Billy Moore.

⁴² Interview with Billy Stewart.

⁴³ As quoted in the Exhibit in the Battle of the Boyne Visitors’ Center

legacy, which for so long has been a detriment to peace and cooperation, could become a lynchpin in the long term peace process and a binding commonality between culture groups. I'd like to end by sharing a quote by the Reverend Ian Paisley, given at the 11 May 2007 Shared History Ceremony of the Boyne, displayed at the Battle of the Boyne Visitors' Centre:

“I welcome that at last we can embrace this battlesite as part of our shared history. Understanding our past is the only sure way to understand the present.”

May that resonate beyond just one battlesite outside the town of Drogheda and stretch to the corners of Northern Ireland, applying to not just one battle, but the entire legacy of history, that it might be celebrated and appreciated as a collective, shared heritage.

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Interview with Billy Stewart, conducted by author at Apprentice Boys' Hall, Londonderry, NI, on 18 November 2011.

Interview with Boyne Visitors' Centre Attendant, conducted by author at the Battle of the Boyne Visitors' Centre, Republic of Ireland, on 10 November 2011.

Interview with Derry Presbyterian, conducted by author in Waterside District, Londonderry, NI, on 19 November 2011.

Interview with Ulster Musician, conducted by author in Fountain District, Londonderry, NI, on 17 November 2011.

Guided Tour of Apprentice Boys Museum by Unnamed Tour Guide, documented by author at Apprentice Boys' Hall, Londonderry, NI, on 13 October 2011.

Appendix A: Methodological Time Table of ISP Research
-Including Main Observational Themes from Field Journal

Tuesday, November 1- 1st Visit to Drogheda and the Boyne Battlefield Site

- Impressions of Drogheda
- A tourist's view of the Visitors' Centre and Battle Site
- The Exhibit's emphasis on a shared history
- Bus Driver's Insights on Battle Site versus Newgrange

Wednesday, November 2- Day Spent Researching in the Dun Laoghaire and Dalkey Public Libraries

- Print Source Material on History of the Williamite War

Thursday, November 3- Day Spent Researching in the National Archives and online

- Penny Ballad Collection—Songs Dealing with the Williamite War
- Accounts of the Battle of the Boyne
- Out-dated Print Sources' Interpretations of History
- Online Research of Protestant/Loyalist/Unionist Songs dealing with the Williamite War

Friday, November 4- Day Spent Researching in the National Library

- Out-dated Print Sources' Interpretations of History
- Print Source Material on the Legacy of the Williamite War (ie Orange Order, Apprentice Boys, etc.)
- Print Source Material on History of Williamite War
- Departed for Derry in the Evening

Saturday, November 5- Morning in Derry, The Apprentice Boys of Derry Initiation Day Parade (Guy Fawkes Day and William's Landing at Torbay)

- Impressions of the Apprentice Boys of Derry Initiation Day Parade to the Apprentice Boys' Hall
- {Unexpected Departure from Derry- Family Emergency at Home}

Sunday, November 6 thru Wednesday, November 9- No Research or ISP Work Done Due to a Family Emergency at Home; sister, Mary, in a serious car accident and in critical condition, stayed in Dublin.

Thursday, November 10- 2nd Visit to the Boyne

- Comparisons between the two visits to the site
- Comparisons between academic interpretations of the battle and the presentation of the facts by the on-site exhibit.
- Questions for and Responses from Battlefield Staff, Visitors, and Local Residents on the Bus to and from.

Friday, November 11- Day Spent Researching and Preparing for Derry, in home, Glenageary

- Finalizing last of secondary research
- Correspondence with contacts in Derry and Belfast via email
- Departed for Derry in late afternoon

Saturday, November 12- Remembrance Day Services in Derry

- The Importance of Various Histories in Derry (World War One and Two)

Sunday, November 13- Preparation for meetings the coming week: Background Research on Interviewees and Organizations

Monday, November 14- Walking the Walls

- Getting a Feel for Derry again- Reorienting myself
- Exploring the Walls with a much more extensive historical knowledge of the Siege than my prior tour

Tuesday, November 15- Tower Museum, Craft Village, The Fountain District

- Impressions of the Museum
- Discussion with Museum Attendant
- History Behind Tower Museum and Craft Village
- Impressions of the Fountain and Murals

Wednesday, November 16- University of Ulster, Magee College

- Meeting with Dr. Elizabeth Crooke, my advisor
- Peruse of new sources
- Research in University Library
- Research in City Library- The Twelfth: What It Means to Me (an Oral History of different people's views of the 12th of July)

Thursday, November 17- Day with the Musician, "an Insider"
(interviewee asked not to be named directly)

- Interview and Impressions
- An Insider with a broader perspective
- Meeting others from Protestant/Unionist background

Friday, November 18- The Apprentice Boys' Hall- Meetings with Billy Stewart and Billy Moore

- Morning Interview with Billy Moore (General Secretary)
- Impressions of Apprentice Boys' Hall
- Impressions of Exhibit
- Afternoon and Evening Interview with Billy Stewart (historian and member)

Saturday, November 19- Meeting with "A Presbyterian" from the Waterside and Exploration of the Waterside and visit to the Apprentice Boys' Hall Drinking Club

- Interview
- Impressions of the Waterside and Murals
- My own thoughts on the Peace Bridge and City of Culture
- Visit to the Apprentice Boys' Social Club, where a football match was being watched

Sunday, November 20- Begin Initial Writing: Typing of Notes, Transcribing Interviews, Outlining Paper

Monday, November 21- No Research, Personal Trip to Cavan

Tuesday, November 22- Saint Columb's Cathedral

- Impressions
- Discussion with Curator
- Discussion with Attendant
- French Flags in the front of the Church
- Informational Video

Wednesday, November 23- Departure from Derry, Return to Dublin

- Last walk around Derry- Bogside, Fountain, Waterside and Walls

Thursday, November 24- Begin Concerted Writing Period

Appendix B: Reflections of Select Interviews Conducted During the ISP Period

*Interview with Ulster Scot Musician

Londonderry

Café Del Monde

2:00pm November 17, 2011

I met the musician in the Derry Craft Village café, but we couldn't stay because he was parked illegally and couldn't find a spot. We jumped in his car and he drove me through the center of Derry, around the roundabout and out into the Fountain District, an enclave of Protestant working-class in the middle of the Catholic-Nationalist dominated part of the city. As we drove down the street, past the Fountain Youth Club and the murals of "The Relief of Derry" and of "Londonderry Protestants: Still Under Siege" I began my interview with him:

The musician grew up in the Fountain District, just down the street from where we eventually ended up parking his car. It was raining out so we just stayed in it for our talk, but it was a quiet and secluded setting so it worked. The car was full up with a bass guitar, stacks of sheet music, several other indistinguishable instrument cases and one very large lambeg drum—of the type that the Unionist groups would play in their bands during Marching Season. He joked that the car He grew up in the Fountain, but has since moved to another part of the city and followed a career in music. He has traveled all over the Western world, playing at Irish and Scottish music festivals from London, England to Dublin, Ohio. He is the leader of a folk band and spends much of his time writing music and promoting Irish and Ulster style music at home and abroad.

He shared with me that his first memories of music and his first involvement with any musical instruments was when his mother sent him down to join the “No Surrender Pipe Band,” which met on Tuesday nights in the Fountain. He would have only been eight or nine at the time, but as he said, “it was the thing to do as a young Protestant, working-class boy.” That was their youth club. Around the same time that he joined the pipe band, he enrolled in the Jr. Royal Orange Lodge of the area, and was a Jr. Orangemen until he was maybe 11 or 12. He explains that at that point, it wasn’t seen as contentious because it was before the start of the “Troubles” and there was virtually no violence between the Catholics and Protestants. “You could come and go where you liked, and as a boy, I remember no tensions between us and the Irish Catholics, only that we never really mixed,” he recalls. According to him, at that stage, the Orange Order, the Apprentice Boys of Derry, and the Protestant bands were just social activities—clubs that you joined to have something to do. Especially as a youth, it was like a youth group that your mom sent you to, to keep you out of trouble. As we discussed this, he explained that it was only after the recent Troubles that these kinds of fraternities took on the connotation of “us versus them” again. This is precisely what is becoming clear to me during this investigation: that the history and significance of the Orange Order and similar groups can change depending on the events of the time. People interpret and re-interpret the significance of these groups based on their own situation more than on anything to do with historical facts or actual legacy. His account of how the significance of the Orange Order changed as the Troubles began is in sync with the background research I have been doing as well, in that through various times in history, that organization has been reinvented to address the issues of the day; whether it be Catholic Emancipation in the early 19th Century, the Land Wars of the 1870s, the Home Rule “Crisis” of

the early twentieth century, or the more recent Troubles, the Orange Order has morphed and adapted in response to the cultural and political situation.

He continued to share about his childhood and upbringing. He explained that in Northern Ireland, really, you could almost choose which culture group you were going to affiliate with, because it was that hard to distinguish an “Ulster Scot” from a “Gaelic Irish.” “I figure that we’re all intertwined really,” he explained, “I’m sure you’d find many in the Nationalist community whose ancestors were as Scottish as mine, and I’m sure there’s a good bit of Irish blood running through veins in the Fountain. The only thing that really distinguished one from the other was religion, so that’s where the line was drawn.” He explained his thoughts as a boy going to the Protestant state school in that, they learned British history in a triumphalist sense—how great the British Empire was, and he thought “well then, why not side with the winning side.” He said that really, that’s what it came down to; the Catholic Nationalist Republicans sided with the historical Irish, while the Protestant Ulster Scots loyalists sided with the British Empire, and adopted a sense of pride for that empire that they were members of. He told me about “Empire Day” that they would have every year in school, to celebrate *Britishness*. They would sing Rule Britannia and salute the Union flag. In a sense, the protestant loyalist community of Northern Ireland found its own identity in the broader cultural and historic identity of being British.

As He and I continued our discussion, he explained how he personally has somewhat distanced himself from the Loyalist/Protestant/Unionist culture group as he has become more traveled and gained a broader perspective. He made sure to highlight that he “still identifies with the group, because they are my people and that is my culture, and my heart lies there,” but he has also come to view different perspectives and see “the flaws of some aspects of the culture, as there are flaws in any culture.” He has made a career of music, and in that way found his own

reconciliation with matters in Northern Ireland—he explained how music is a way of breaking down barriers: “If you need a bass player in your band, you don’t care whether he’s called Liam or Billy, whether he’s Catholic or Protestant, you care whether he’s a good bass player.” He also said that as he has traveled outside of Northern Ireland with his music, he has come to realize that to the outside world, he’s seen simply as *Irish*, with no regard to whether he has loyalist or nationalist background. As we sat talking in his car, with the rain pouring down outside, I came to understand where The Musician was coming from. He had grown up in a traditional protestant loyalist setting, and identified with that culture, but at the same time, he had traveled, seen the world from a wider perspective, and so struggled with some of the less tolerant aspects of his culture group.

Slowly, I turned the conversation towards my focused topic of the Williamite Wars and how they still maintained a legacy in the culture of the loyalist community. As I started in with this question, He half-smiled and pointed out the window, towards the apartment complex we were parked next to. Following his finger, I saw the origin of his amusement and understood his unspoken answer. In the window sill of the nearest flat, there was a small, circular stained glass decoration, depicting William of Orange crossing the Boyne on his white horse. “That’s how important it still is” he said, smiling. “If you were in the Bogside, looking into windows, you’d see small statues of the Virgin Mary or a Crucifix. Up here in the Fountain, you see King Billy—the champion of our faith.” He also explained that the marching and drums and all were anchored in the celebrations of the Williamite Wars, so in a way, even if the rank and file didn’t know the factual history, they were linked to the legacy of William just by marching, or being in a protestant band, or witnessing the parades.

We also talked about the Siege of Derry specifically, and how Protestants today still relate to their forefathers who held of a siege for 105 days. He pointed out that “especially in the Fountain, there is a sense of solidarity with the defenders of the siege. They see themselves and their way of life under threat today, and so of course they relate to the defenders of the past.” He explained that this can be reflected with statistics. The Apprentice Boys’ Club of Derry has become more and more working class over the past twenty years, as the poorer Protestants have become more and more of a minority in the city. He said that it is the working class who feels especially under threat, like they’re losing their way of life. “Now they’re losing their way of life because of a changing world and a different economy, but they don’t understand that, so it’s easier to affiliate it with the past, with the traditional besieged mentality of Catholics encroaching on the Protestants.” A lot of what He was explaining ties directly in to what I want my paper to focus on, how the past is a source of cultural identity, for better or for worse, and how the story is utilized differently based on individual’s personal struggles and situations. The protestant working class of Derry feels threatened, and so looks to its culture and the past for succor. The members of the working class of loyalist are able to draw comparisons to themselves and the besieged ancestors, though the actual situation and politics are, in reality, much different. It raises many interesting questions in a broader context. How can we as culture groups deal with the past? Is there a right or wrong way to interpret the past? Why do culture groups find the need to look into history to relate to their present situations and struggles? All these questions were raised today as I talked with him.

*Interview with Billy Moore

November 18th 2011

10:30 a.m.

Apprentice Boys' of Derry Hall

In the late morning, I walked up to the large stone building at the corner of Society Street to meet the Apprentice Boys' General Secretary, Billy Moore. Approaching the building, I could find no way to enter. All the doors were large, heavy and imposing, with padlocks and bars across them. The building already gives off the impression of a castle, and this only served to augment it.

I finally worked up the courage to press the buzz button next to one of these imposing iron doors, and after a few minutes of waiting, I heard the lock give way and I pushed in the door. I walked into a dimly lit entrance, went up the steps and turned to the left, going down the hall until I heard the sounds of people. I found along the corridor the entrance to the "Society Social Club"—the Apprentice Boys' Club Bar. Three of the heads of the Apprentice Boys were sitting in one of the booths having tea and scones, with one woman behind the counter. As soon as I came in, they began to break up, having just finished their tea. One of them offered me a seat and Billy Moore introduced himself and his friends to me, but then they were all off to have a smoke outside to finish off their breakfast, and I was left in the room with the woman, who brought me some tea. She also stepped out for a smoke then and I was left to myself. I looked around the room at the bar, the pictures, the coat of arms on the wall and the windows with the iron mesh across them, to protect them from rocks and petrol bombs.

Soon Billy Moore was back in, ready for our interview. He led me into the adjoining room, a large room with tables, chairs and a small stage. I would imagine it was one of the Club's meeting rooms. Billy took a seat at one of the small tables and we began to talk. He was tall, dressed in a sweater and jacket, and very receptive to talking, once we got started. (There were a few interruptions by other people coming to look for him before our interview got underway in earnest.)

I began by asking him for just a little description of the Apprentice Boys of Derry Club, from that organization's own leadership. He expressed in his own words, that the Club was created, "very specifically, to honor those heroes of the siege, who shut the gates." He expanded on this by saying that the club today "celebrates the values and principles of the brave apprentice boys and the defenders of the city—things like liberty, bravery, protestant morals, and fortitude." The Club was formed in 1714 officially, but dating back to directly after the siege, there were various organizations, fraternities and societies that honoured and celebrated the courage of the apprentice boys and defenders of Derry. Today, the Apprentice Boys Club remains a very clear cut organization, in that it has a specific function of honouring a specific group of people during a very specific event, according to Mr. Moore. He explained that in regards to the Club, "it has been relatively simple to stay true to our core goals and traditions, because they are so specific in their foundation." Unlike other protestant loyalist groups, or for that matter, republican nationalist groups, which have shifted directions, changed positions and altered goals, the Apprentice Boys Club has remained relatively similar in its objectives and values.

We then discussed in what ways the Apprentice Boys Club was adjusting to fit the times and remain relevant. At first, Billy seemed dead set on the fact that it wasn't changing at all, and that those values were all that it needed for the Club to maintain its relevancy. However, after

some careful prodding, he began to explain the Club's move towards more openness and public involvement in the outside community. He cited this as the way forward for the Apprentice Boys Club, and explained that unless the Apprentice Boys could go out and engage with the outer community about their values, goals and reason for existence, they would never be understood.

The interview went smoothly enough and I got some great answers that will play into my thoughts on this need for open dialogue, shared history and a collective celebration of traditions. It's funny how universal some of these issues dealing with historical legacy are—it could have been an interview dealing with Southern heritage or Native American traditions in the States or a long standing culture clash in Africa, the Balkans or the Middle East. They all contain components of the same complexities with historical misunderstandings.

