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COVER PAGE

## **FRAMING THE PROTESTANT PENUMBRA**

Regional newspaper framing of Protestant  
identity in County Sligo 1914-1918.

Daragh Moller

MAJ Griffith College

August 2024

**(word count: 20000)**

## DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of the MA in Journalism and Media is my own and is based on my personal study and research, and that I have acknowledged all material and sources used in its preparation.

I also certify that I have not copied in part or whole or otherwise plagiarised the work of anyone else, including other students.

Signed: *Daragh Owen Barton Moller*

Dated: **8 August 2024**.

“Because I am an officer and a gentleman they have given me my notebooks, pen, ink and paper. So I write and wait. I am committed to no cause, I love no living person. The fact that I have no future except what you can count in hours doesn’t seem to disturb me unduly. After all, the future whether here or there is equally unknown. So for the waiting days, I have only the past to play about with.”

- from *How Many Miles to Babylon* by Jennifer Johnston, 1974.

“Imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow members, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”

- from *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson, 1991.

## ABSTRACT

Newspaper framing by the *Sligo Independent* during the period 1914-1918 provides evidence of a community in its final days “class-washing” the Protestant community in Sligo.

By using the British Army’s reasserting of English upper-class values used to recruit Irish soldiers for the war effort, the *Sligo Independent* newspaper reasserted British-Irish nobility as a credible identity of the Protestant Sligo community.

## NOMENCLATURE

These are the terms that need greater clarification.

### **Class-washing**

Class-washing is a term I created to help explain and reflect on how class values can be applied to social communication processes.

When evidence of class is disputed, either positively or negatively, individual or social processes can take place to reign in and determine the limits of one class over another. This I call “class-washing”. The presence of one class among other classes may initiate a class-washing response.

That is, in newspaper framing, class-washing occurs when a newspaper applies a set of class values to the whole community in its representation of that community in order to overlay or wash-clean values seen as undesirable. The term implies that class-washing takes place on behalf of rather than on the orders of the elite.

Class-washing is a tendency more than a fixed or determined process, with glimpses here and there that lead to an impression of class-washing having taken place more than hard and fast rules of engagement, as might be expected of the social process of framing.

This term combines the traditional terms of the lower, middle and upper class with the word washing, more in keeping with the artist’s use of “to apply a wash” than “to make something clean” although both can apply. In the former, a wash applied to an existing artwork will easily be absorbed producing the effect of changing the original. In the latter, the term can also be used to mean “to wash something clean of something”.

### **Gentry**

The “landed gentry” is a term that describes land-owning families, particularly those who were landlords, in an Irish context sometimes referred to as “county”. Rising to gentry depended on wealth not necessarily nobility. Owning land was a pre-requisite to having a title in the British

class system of the 1800s and 1900s. Although aristocrats, the landed gentry were not automatically part of the system of titles of the “peerage” and would be referred to as squires, baronets (Barts.), and gentlemen. The gentry could be derived from the younger sons of the nobility. They could possess a coat of arms but usually without a crown on it. In the rest of Europe, the gentry are all considered nobility. Also, children of titled women belong to the gentry. However, the majority of the British aristocracy come from the landed gentry and are descendants of the mediaeval feudal class.

### **Ascendancy**

The “Protestant Ascendancy” was first introduced as an eighteenth-century term that described the socio-political system of domination of Ireland by the Protestant hierarchy and its Protestant government from the 1700s until the 1900s. It is not a term that refers to a class of people, but rather to a system of government. There were however members as agents of the Ascendancy who were landowners, politicians, officers, clergymen and those from higher-up professions.

The Ascendancy was the result of British rule over Ireland and involved land confiscated from the formerly wealthy Irish Catholic aristocracy and awarded by the British Crown to Protestants who settled in Ireland from Britain.

### **Anglo-Irish**

The Anglo-Irish are an ethnic class and socio-religious group who may or may not be the descendants of the English Protestant Ascendancy, as above. They were sometimes Roman Catholics.

### **Nobility**

The British-Irish nobility refers to a social class, usually holding a rank under British Royalty. The nobility in general possesses higher social status than any other group in society, apart from Royalty. Membership of the nobility is hereditary. However, being from the nobility does not automatically mean having political power. The nobility

possesses titles, from Baron, Viscount, Earl, Marquess up to Duke. The nobility also have a hereditary title and a coat of arms.

### **First-Born Sons of the Nobility**

The large estates of County Sligo belonged to gentry landlords, some with titles. Irrespective of their noble rank, “First-Born Sons of the nobility” refers to the eldest and one designated to inherit the land and estate. Academics of the British-Irish nobility (Martin et al) refer to this cohort after World War I being absent from inheriting their land, their title and or satisfying their family’s debts.

### **Petty Sessions, Quarters, and Assizes in Sligo Town**

Petty Sessions were courts that heard minor civil and criminal offences like drunkenness, theft and public disorder, where a magistrate or Justice of the Peace presided. Petty Sessions had no jury. More serious cases were sent to Quarter Sessions or Assizes.

After 1852, the system was modernized and The Petty Sessions Ireland Act of 1851 introduced the payment of professional magistrates. The system operated until 1924.

### **Quarter Sessions and Assizes**

Quarter Sessions heard serious criminal cases such as theft, assault and rioting. They were held every quarter. The Sessions were presided over by trained judges and jury. Assizes, also known as the Commission Court, heard serious criminal and civil cases of treason and murder that could warrant the death penalty. Assizes were held twice a year. After 1924, and the Courts of Justice Act of 1924, district courts took control of Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions.

The jury courts used a commission system and were made up of two juries, the Grand Jury which considered the strength of the prosecution and trial jury, which would hear the case if the Grand Jury decided it could forward to trial.

### **Grand Jury**

For most of the seventeenth and eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Grand Jury was arguably the most important local body in rural Ireland.

The Grand Jury consisted of local wealthy landlords and sat twice a year in spring and summer. Over the period, the Grand Jury was given the functions of building roads and bridges, schools, hospitals, public buildings and the county gaol, as well as tax (county cess) collection.

Events that were to change the grand-jury era include the 1801 Act of Union, the Land War and modernization of local democracy in 1898–9. Administrative duties of the Grand Jury ended in 1899, when the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act was implemented and County Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils were established.

### **Gaelic nobility of Ireland (Ri)**

These were descendants along the male line of at least one historical grade of king. The history of Gaelic Royalty is catastrophic. Only by the late nineteenth century can it be said to have been set somewhat on a path of correction.

### **Old English (Hiberno-Norman)**

These were descendants of invaders from Wales, France and England after the Norman invasions of England and Ireland in 1066 and 1170. They were largely Catholic.

### **Peerage of Ireland**

These are titles created by the English and later British monarchs of Ireland in their capacity as Lord or King of Ireland.

### **New English (Protestant)**

This refers to the Protestant English in Ireland and their descendants. The term Anglo-Irish finds its way into this category.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## (i) Background

This research is the culmination of a personal journey towards an understanding of Protestant national identity. It is concerned with social and cultural explanations for the rupture to Irish Protestant identity that occurred during World War I and afterwards.

I left Ireland on 9 January 2002 to live and work in China. I went to research the story of my father's family. They had emigrated from Sweden to Shanghai in 1849. My father's great-grandfather established a shipping business transporting coal and seaweed across the South China Sea from China to Japan. Their story kept me there for over twenty years.

My mother's family in Ireland are what I was told to call "Anglo-Irish". That is, so I was told, although they lived in Ireland all their lives, and for many generations, "we" were not recognized as Irish, nor considered ever truly to be so. For the few weeks each summer that I returned to Ireland from China on holiday, I would be reminded of this. I would be asked: "Where is that accent from?" And then "No, really, where are you from, originally?" Or hearing the phrase being used to my sister by a friend: "If you were truly Irish you would understand." Another, hearing I was writing a thesis on the subject, jokingly remarked: "The best of British to you!"

We were Anglo-Irish *and* Protestant. The question mark over "our" identity hadn't always been the case but you would have to go back to the seventeenth century not to find it so. By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the Anglo-Irish were long abolished as upper-class Protestant "overlords" and no longer welcome in Ireland.

Until I completed this research I did not know the full extent of Protestant history in Ireland. In what I call Protestant "class-washing" - the ways a community in need of protecting itself will apply broad narrative brush strokes that obscure its history and make claim to religious or titled origin for class purposes – I also discovered my heritage.

This research uses the term British-Irish nobility rather than Anglo-Irish as Anglo-Irish fails to accurately signify the meaning of the term. Instead, the term Anglo-Irish, further explained in Nomenclature, is retired in my writing.

When I returned “Home” from China for good in October 2023 I read and reread Erich Maria Remarque’s *All Quiet on the Western Front*, drawn to the poetic language of the homosocial world of the Front, also present in Pat Barker’s *The Eye in the Door*, Jennifer Johnston’s *How Many Miles to Babylon* and Sebastian Barry’s *A Long Long Way*. In Sligo County Library I found *Sligo Men in the Great War, 1914-1918* by James McGuinn and *Soldiers of Sligo* by Cian Harte.

Then, once back, and reminded of the questions that surrounded my Irish identity, it was by accident I was drawn into World War I and how Ireland would be involved. Drawn into the extraordinary subject of Irish identity in Ireland, World War I appeared as a specific and exciting moment relevant to the subject and a possible research topic. I chose to research newspaper framing of national identity in County Sligo, 1914-1918.

Being sure I had found my answer in the period of World War 1, I did so believing I would locate social and cultural explanations for the questions of what had happened to Irish Protestant identity both in the War and in the fight for peace by those left at home.

My mother’s grandfather Erskine Childers was the central protagonist in the Howth Gun-running affair, offering an area of research interest personal access. My Grandfather Erskine Childers, an English-born Irish Protestant, became the Fourth President of Ireland.

## **(ii) Summary of Ideas**

An introductory explanation is needed to provide a background to how World War I, national identity and social class intersect in this research on newspaper framing in County Sligo.

First, this research attempts to consider evidence from the newspaper framing of Protestant identity by a conservative Protestant newspaper in Sligo, 1914 - 1918.

Second, framing is a term that describes the ways a society communicates its intentions and practices especially as it relates to power. Newspapers were the primary method for framing social processes before digital media arrived in the twenty-first century. Newspapers framed issues of national identity by creating common knowledge and making it legitimate.

Third, this research also presents evidence of the framing strategy of a conservative Protestant newspaper that “class-washed” its own community in order to promote and justify class values seen as more relevant to the majority of its own.

This framing was based on a belief system that positioned ordinary Irish Protestants as so different from (and superior to) Irish Catholics that they were not even allowed to mingle socially. Protestants who never saw themselves represented in the public sphere with Catholics and would be ostracized for marrying them if they did so, had more in common with the British-Irish nobility than with their “Irish” neighbours.

The Protestant portrayed in the *Sligo Independent* was a credible modelling of this identity, closely if not directly connected with the British-Irish nobility that experienced a resurgence during the outbreak and years of World War I. This also pointed to strategies colonial communities used elsewhere to assert and justify their existence in their final days. In this research, the rupture to national identity between and within the communities is referred to as “the split”.

Theories of newspaper framing of national identity provide a theoretical framework to consider these claims.

### (iii) The Split

As a preview of the ideas contained in a review of the literature on Ireland and World War I, I want first to explain a central theme of the research reading and my response to it. I noticed what I shall call here a discourse of division. This discourse, with an “Us” versus “Them” structure, reads across the historical texts I read on Irish history including Ireland and nationalism as well as Irish national identity. The “Us” versus “Them” split structure has implications for research. Each time I wished to reference and use the term “Protestant” I was aware I was bringing with it in the Irish context, a complex set of binary attachments that represented the split.

Identity	With/Against	Identity	Discourse
Irish	Versus (Vs)	English	1,2
Catholic	Versus (Vs)	Protestant	1,2
Ireland	Versus (Vs)	England	1,2,5,6
Rural	Versus (Vs)	Urban	1,2,3,4
County	Versus (Vs)	County	1,2,3,4
Nationalist	Versus (Vs)	Unionist	1,2,5,6
Country	Versus (Vs)	Country	1,2
South	Versus (Vs)	North	1,2,3,4,5,6
Native	Versus (Vs)	Settler	1,2,3,4

*Figure 1. Table 1. A binary index (taxonomy) for an “othering” structure (discourse in Table 2.)*

I created a simple binary index (see **Table 1., Figure 1., p.19**) to explain the specific binary combination of national identity that I saw paired with specific conversations or discourse (see **Table 2, Figure 2., p.19**), such as Irish versus English, Catholic versus Protestant, paired with “fighting for Irish independence” or “fighting for the crown” discourse etc., that binary combinations carry with it.

Number	Discourse
1	Fighting for Irish Independence
2	Fighting for the Crown
3	Nationalist literacy discourse of deficiency
4	Nationalist literacy discourse of superior intellect (Pearse 1916)
5	War as a moral crusade
6	When the rights of small nations are a stake

*Figure 2. Table 2. A Discourse Structure 1914-1918*

The split seemed also to be the result of the social process of “othering”, the theory where a settler colonial “ethnocracy” defines a native culture as “an inferior race in need of cultivation” (Peled, 2023) and also evident in my reading.

In national identity discourse a “We-group” is positioned in opposition to “Others” and a boundary is drawn that defines the fundamental identity of the dominant group versus all others (Humblebæk 2018, p.7-8).

### **(a) Othering**

The concept of othering is often applied to colonial situations where people are objectified. Benedict Andersson uses the concept as a process of racism affecting first-generation Europeans. Gayatri Spivak, who defined the term, says othering is “a process by which the empire can define itself against those it colonizes as [a] business of creating the enemy...in order that the empire might define itself by its geographical and racial others” (in Ashcroft 2013, p.171). Central to the concept is that othering relies on the imperial self being constituted by the subjugation of the other. This is an important feature of how Irish identity (and different from British-Irish identity) is constituted and is required by Empire to sustain its self-image.

To form a theoretical understanding of Irish identity and its representation, I investigated the concepts of national identity and narrative framing. These comprise two main bodies of work by Benedict Anderson and Jurgen Habermas. Although this reading helped form the direction the research ideas went in, it is not included here in any depth because it did not form the thematic analysis framework the data produced.

### **(b) Benedict Anderson**

National identities are thought of by academics as social and political phenomena. These are constituted through narratives of the collective, using boundaries between “we” and “other” and that transmit foundational identities of the “we” group (Humblebæk, 2018, p.7-8).

To be able to think about Irish identity in the context of the Great War and the rupture between England and Ireland that followed, the concept of Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities" is helpful. Anderson identified that a nation is not so much a physical entity as it is an imagined one, alive in the minds of people, through nationalism.

He says "imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow members, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991, p.6).

### **(c) Jurgen Habermas**

The work of Jurgen Habermas connects ideas of nation with public opinion and the public sphere. The need for capital taxation and a wider basis of risk brought about what Heckscher calls "the nation" (Habermas 1989, p.17). With the demise of the authority of estate nobility by the rise of territorial authority, space became available for "the sphere of public authority" (Habermas 1989, p.18).

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This research uses ideas that are drawn from media, culture and journalism studies. Its theoretical framework also uses theories on national identity and media representation from scholarly work on the history of World War I and Ireland, Protestant history in Ireland and Protestant nationalism in the context of a changing political landscape. It also considers ideas of what constitutes media framing.

The literature review is divided into three parts.

The first examines the role and position the *Sligo Independent (S.I.)* newspaper held in representing its community in the history and politics of Sligo Town and County, with reference to the War years, 1914 to 1918.

The second discusses media framing theory and the purpose of these ideas to this research, from cultural studies, organisation management theory and media theory.

The third and last considers World War I and Ireland and how an already difficult situation for Catholics and Protestant communities became a great deal worse.

### **(i) *The Sligo Independent* (1855-1962)**

The history of the County of Sligo and its major towns is also the history of its Protestant population that included an old moneyed elite and a Protestant working class that was in its service. So ingrained was the social deference this elite expected, that changes to their circumstances, including the loss of nearly all their land, didn't deter them from making claims to be better Protestants than others.

The well-cut unmistakable slate grey limestone of Sligo Town provides a permanent reminder of times past. It is an evocative and textured link to a history that features military life and Protestant occupation in the West of Ireland.

Known formerly as "Little Belfast", the *S.I.* said of it in 1864: "The beautiful City of Sligo in which no one would suppose by looking at it that anything like agitation could ever happen in it or that persons could be rude enough to disturb the solitude and repose by

opposition to its improvement!" (*S.I.* 13 August 1864). Protestant families who had been in Ireland for generations lived nearby those in the county who had come to Ireland just before the revolutionary period with no real ties to the country often in the Crown services.

A border county to the northwest of the island famous as the birthplace of W.B. Yeats, County Sligo had always been identified with its Protestant population.

Central to the life of the community in Sligo, the *S.I.* (1855 -1962) was a prominent provincial Protestant title intertwined with the social and political life of the Town and County. The "*Independent*" was known to cover the local events and activities of the Protestant community, and to pay particular attention to local parish and church affairs. This it did with special emphasis on the social activities and "good works" of the nobility from the region. In most ways, the paper would not have looked out of place in a similar-sized town in the south of England.

Although the paper's main focus catered to the interests of a British-Irish frequently titled nobility, also described as "a prosperous unionist readership" and for which the newspaper had originally been created, the Sligo Protestant community also encompassed a lower middle and working-class population.

The Church of Ireland scholar Miriam Moffett writes that from 1870 to 1940, Protestants in Ireland faced a succession of humiliations, beginning with the disestablishment of their Church in 1870. It was newspapers like the *S.I.* that were said to help to represent their cause.

Founded in 1855 by Alexander and William Gilmor, Protestants of Scottish descent, the newspaper survived until 1962 under different ownership.

The late 1800s that followed the Famine in the region brought financial hard times to many landed families and the Encumbered and Landed Estates Court of 1849 and 1859, saw over 70 estates change ownership.

Between 1869 and 1884, new wealthy merchant landowners became the familiar names and powerful of County Sligo, names like Campbell, Lyons, Middleton and Sim.

According to prolific local historian, John C. McTernan, in 1876 parliamentary returns record that there were 147 estates over 500 acres, 98 over 1,000 acres, 18 over 5,000 acres and 8 over 10,000 acres in County Sligo. The principal landlord families in the county included Cooper (with 34,120 acres), Gore-Booth (31,774 acres), O'Hara (21,070 acres), Ormsby-Gore (21,019 acres), and Wynne (12,982 acres). However, the Land Acts of 1880-1908 transformed land ownership in the County, along with the 'no rent' Land Acts of 1891-1903 (McTernan 2009, pp.1-10).

This caused the landowning class to be all but ruined (they were never to be poor). Most tenanted land was sold (but not all), but enough was retained to allow for small-hold farming. If this was less than ideal for the class, what followed removed any remaining power held by the landed community. The Local Authority Act of 1898 created a bias against Protestant involvement in the County Council.

Of course, changes didn't arise out of nowhere. Moffitt cites that in 17th Century Connaught, 90 per cent of County Mayo was Protestant owned. Although today they have disappeared, their land ownership for such an extended period of Irish history means there is much evidence of their existence. This is in contrast to the Catholic landowning class who were excluded from landownership and holding public office during the 1600s and 1700s following the 1641 Rebellion. This was to change in the 19th century following the repeal of the Penal Code.

By the 1890s, the picture for Protestants had radically altered. They experienced widespread intimidation and pressure from land agitators made sure their land didn't pass down to their next generation (Moffitt 1999, p.61/N18)

In 1859, the *Sligo Chronicle* referred to the *S.I.* as the "organ of Thomas Mostyn, Attorney". Thomas Mostyn (1806-1868) of Thornhill House, Sligo was identified by John C. McTernan as an influential figure in local politics and "Clerk of the Crown for Connaught". He was also the election agent for both Sir Robert Gore-Booth of Lissadell

House and John Wynne of Hazelwood House, Lough Gill, Sligo (McTernan 2009, p.191). The paper was (in name at least) owned by the Gilmors. When Alexander Gilmor died in 1881, followed by his son, Alexander Junior, five years later, the paper, still in their possession, passed to his 26-year-old daughter Jane Gilmor.

From 1882, the Irish National League made sure the national question was a central focus of Irish politics and discussion in regional titles. Before this, regional newspapers were preoccupied with less newsworthy matters of the local community. After this, papers published the activities of organisations like the Irish National League and were unafraid to call into question behaviour contradicting the Land League.

Mark Wehrly (2018) has researched how advertising contracts in Sligo regional newspapers illustrate the play for control over national politics by regional newspapers in the period (p.27). Thirteen newspaper titles were produced in Sligo Town between 1885 and 1927 but only the nationalist *Sligo Champion* (S.C.) and the unionist *S.I.* survived the period.

Between 1891 and 1901, the small number of journalists in the Sligo region went from 4 to 15, with Catholic journalists increasing from 2 to 10 and Protestants, including Presbyterians, growing from 1 to 5, not an enormous number to begin with (Wehrly 2018, p.18)

Wehrly argues that because of rising literacy levels in both Catholic and Protestant communities, political agitation and the views of the largely nationalist public boards became more easily disseminated (p.17), which gave rise to general favouritism for Catholic businesses, such as printing shops winning contracts over Protestants in Sligo Town.

In 1901, Jane Gilmor, was aged 40 and living at 17 Grattan Street North, Sligo Town with Mary Elizabeth Johnston, her assistant. The census reports them both Church of Ireland Protestants and Bridget Mulrooney, a servant, a Roman Catholic, also living in the house. (census 1901). For the next twenty-one years, the paper remained under her guardianship, possibly the only woman newspaper proprietor in the country, until 1921

when she died. Jane who was an “ardent Tory” and said to be unafraid to speak her mind, employed as the paper’s editors Thomas Boyd, Thomas Mullen, Joel Whittaker and Arthur W. Malley, who later worked at the “*Champion*” and died in 1904.

Mark Wehly argues the discussion of printing contracts in the newspapers in the period was also evidence of the self-consciousness of the regional press industry of the time (pp.26-27). Robert “Bob” Smyllie, editor of the *S.I.* and member of the County Council was surprisingly vocal about changes to the Protestant near-monopoly of printing contracts between 1885 and 1898. Until 1893, Alexander Gilmor and then his sister employed Bob Smyllie as editor of the paper from 1899 to 1908.

In Fiona Gallagher’s exhaustive account of continuous habitation in Sligo Town, *The Streets of Sligo – Urban Evolution over the course of Seven Centuries*, the Gilmors are also listed at No. 4 Radcliff Street (the name changing to Grattan Street in 1889) first in 1856, as “Brothers - Book Seller and Stationer” then in 1870, as “Stationer and Bookbinder” and “Printers-Letter-press” then in 1881, as “Prop. Newspaper (“*Sligo Independent*” – Saturday). The brothers' previous activities were also recorded for the same address until 1894 (Gallagher, 2008, pp.281-288).

Bob Smyllie was vocal at the S.C. winning printing contracts when the *S.I.* was known to have offered cheaper printing rates (Wehly, p.21). The S.C. was printed out of No. 7, Radcliff Street, revealing the general location of printing services in the town at that time, until 1901 when it moved to Wine Street.

Smyllie had been elected to Sligo Corporation in 1911 as the only non-nationalist on the body and frequently courted controversy at meetings. It was having to survive this period of frustration that developed the “middle-ground” ethos of the *S.I.* under Smyllie and the Gilmors. Smyllie went on to found the *Sligo Times* and aimed to reach nationalist and unionist readership and advertising clients until 1914, when the paper collapsed and he left Sligo for good.

Of the little additional primary source material that survives about the *S.I.* it is known that William David Peebles of Cookstown County Tyrone began working as a reporter for the paper in 1914, having worked for the Ulster *Mid-Ulster Mail*. He also appears in the newspaper's "Local News" columns attending Protestant social activities as "W. D Peebles".

Unionist papers had been established to portray the social and commercial needs of the Protestant elite and were expected to decline along with its community. However, continued British rule in Ireland and the rise and political impact of constitutional nationalism (Home Rule) continued to be reflected in the number of unionist newspapers, albeit small, often by also being "unashamedly Protestant" (Horgan 2018. pp.10-11), as the *S.I.* had always shown itself to be.

The historian D. H. Akenson in *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815–1922: An International Perspective (1988)*, claimed that southern Irish Protestants were not all that different from southern Irish Catholics. Akenson argued that the two groups were more alike than they were different, and provided impressive statistical data to make the case. "Either [the data] indicate no significant differences (and thus, should be taken as *positive* indications of fundamental *similarities* [italics in text] between the two religious groups," he stated (Richardson 2019, p.131).

Statistics from 1901 reveal, in a sample of seventy-two Church of Ireland farm holdings in counties Sligo and Mayo, that forty-three Protestant farmers held farms of forty acres or less valued at less than 20 pounds. Of the total 187 farms in the sample, Roman Catholics owned 108 (Moffitt 1999, pp.24-25).

It is well understood that Protestant occupation of Ireland did not go ahead unopposed, and this in County Sligo as elsewhere. The background to the enmity for Protestants in County Sligo finds context in the long and spiralling history of Protestant land ownership

captured in the exhaustive scholarship of McTernan's two-volume work *Sixty Families Past & Present* (2009).

McTernan notes that in 1722, the Wynne family bought the 14,500-acre Hazelwood Estate, land that originally had been in the hands of the Gaelic O'Conors. By the early nineteenth century Leet's "Directory of Ireland" (1814) records that 112 "handsome seats" in Sligo had increased from 33 in 1778. By the 1830s, it had risen again, to 230. The doubling in landed gentry in the region is attributed to the historic fragmentation of estates and families that had taken place all over Ireland in the 1600s.

After the upheaval of the Norman invasion of Connaught, the hereditary lands of old Irish tribal families were once again back in their hands. The Gaelic Lordships, O'Connor and O'Hara, survived the medieval period and attempts by the English to take back control. In the Composition of Connaught of 1585, the English crown forced Gaelic chiefs to surrender their land and accept it back but as tenured to the English.

In the Strafford Survey of 1635 these lands were recorded principally in the hands of these original families, including O'Connor-Sligo in Carbury and O'Hara in Leyny. Other names were recorded in the Survey of new land owners, names that are common to the County history and names that in time came to be known as "Old English" and who were Catholic.

However, in the Cromwellian settlement that followed the 1641 Rebellion, Gaelic chiefs forfeited their land once again but this time by grant to disbanded English officers who had remained unpaid. The names of these English officers are the names of Sligo's well-known landed families and include Cooper, Crofton, Gore, Hillas, Ormsby, Parke, and Wood, to be known later as the "New English".

In a townland survey of land forfeited under the Act for Settling Ireland (1652), Sligo, Mayo and Leitrim records around eighty landlords, including the names Coote of Collooney and Taaffe of Ballymote with estates over 10,000 acres. The O'Haras, Gores, and Jones each held over 4,000 acres. The Taaffes were the only pre-Rebellion Catholic

landlords to survive into the 17th century. The O'Haras were the only original Gaelic family to survive into the 17th century in the County.

Padraig Deignan (2010) uses the term “ethnically different” of the two types of Protestants that made up the nineteenth and twentieth-century community in Sligo: “This would have been something the people would have been aware of down through the centuries and this distinction would have been used by the settlers to give them the basis for the sense of superiority over a defeated Gaelic Irish people and was common to Protestants in the nineteenth and twentieth century” (Deignan, 2024, Interview). The second type were those who had come to Ireland, usually from Britain, just before the revolutionary period and were mostly in the army or civil service. They had no real ties to Ireland and returned to Britain, where they were born when the Free State began. Despite having landed elites among their number, Protestants had always been in the minority.

The 1911 census for Sligo Town listed 9,408 Catholics and 1,755 Protestants out of a total population of 11,158.

The Borough of Sligo was essentially the property of the Wynne Family until the reforms of the 1840s. Lord Palmerston of the Temple Family also owned 250 acres in and around Sligo Town.

Wynne owned the tolls and customs and all burgesses of the town were related or family. The town corporation in an 1833 commission found that the control of the town was exclusively Protestant. The Reform Act of 1841 brought Catholics into fuller representation and an elected corporation was brought into existence, the first mayor of the town a Catholic and the first since 1613 (Gallagher and Legg, RIA, 2012, p.5).

Alexander Gilmor (the double “ll” in Gilmor appears in the 1901 census) was elected Mayor of Sligo in 1869 and 1879.

Lissadell House was founded early in the seventeenth century by the English Elizabethan soldier Sir Paul Gore. Their estate at one time comprised 32,000 acres on the south shores of Maugherow Peninsula in northern County Sligo.

The Gore-Booth family of Lissadell House were typical of British-Irish Protestant nobility in Ireland. In Connaught, the “Big Houses” peppered the landscape with small villages sprouting up around them, and train and road links being built to service them.

Remarkably, Lissadell House remained in the Gore-Booth family until 2003, most of the land long passed to other owners.

J. G. Simms remarks that in the eighteenth century, County Sligo had no resident nobility, “not even a Bishop’s Palace”, even though Protestants had defeated the Catholics and enjoyed a monopoly of power and all their land. As Sligo had been earmarked for Cromwell’s soldiers, not reserved for the Irish under transplantation, apart from Lord Taaffe who had his land returned under Charles II, the former Catholic landowners fared poorly. Less than 10 per cent was owned by Catholics by the end of Charles II’s reign in 1685 (Simms 1961, p.153).



*Figure 3. Brass Plaque for Protestant staff of the Wynne Family at Hazelwood House Estate in St John's Cathedral, Sligo Town*

St. John’s Cathedral, a Church of Ireland castellated building dating from the 1700s on John’s Street sits on the east side of the centre of Sligo Town. Inside the building, which has room for seven hundred souls and to the right-hand side of the altar on the ground floor and next to a

World War I memorial brass plaque are rows of mahogany-coloured pews. Two pews that carry the “Hazelwood” name (see Figure 3, p.30) were earmarked for use only by the Protestant staff of the Wynne estate. To the left of the altar, upstairs in the gallery

specially designated seats (with specially shaped designs) were for use of only the Wynnes.

The presence of the Wynne family in the Gallery would have signalled (as perfectly normal) to the wider Protestant community in the pews below the social pre-eminence (David Fitzpatrick's term) of the elite they were said to be. Although the Wynne family were not as old in County Sligo's history as the "New English" of the seventeenth century, their wealth and connections (to British royalty) eclipsed many less-wealthy titled families there.

Scholars of Protestant history David Fitzpatrick, Martin Maguire, Miriam Moffitt, Ian D'Alton and Ida Milne point to the penumbra of Protestant identity in Ireland. A penumbra refers to the peripheral or indeterminate outer area of the shadow cast by a solid object.

Martin Maguire's *'Our People' the Church of Ireland and the culture of community in Dublin since Disestablishment*, Miriam Moffitt's *The Church of Ireland of Community of Killala & Achonry, 1870 – 1940*, Ian D'Alton and Ida Milne's *Protestant and Irish*, and David Fitzpatrick's, *Politics and Irish Life 1913-1921* offer much food for thought on Protestant identity and its penumbra.

Roy Foster, author of the definitive 2-volume Protestant biography of W. B. Yeats suggests that current Protestant scholarship augments a better perspective for viewing Protestant history in Ireland. He says rather than thinking of the feted and decaying world of the "Big House" grandees" and the "uneasy feeling of ill-gotten historical privilege" this scholarship embraces a greater empathy and nuance for the plight of Protestant history up to the present day. Foster suggests that by 1937, "the identity of southern Irish Protestants was more or less uncomplicatedly Irish" (Foster, 2019. p.xxiii, in D'Alton & Milne, 2019).

In the biography of W.B. Yeats (1997), Foster writes of how the nuance of Sligo's social classes was often being openly picked over in the *S.I.*

In an example from April 1864, Mostyn's paper appeared to take the nobility to task over its handling of class matters. Responding to invitations for the Annual Royal Agricultural Society (RSA) Ball having not been received by some Sligo families "who were in business", the newspaper berated members of the nobility for excluding them.

Foster writes that Sligo's social class differences were picked over and "mordantly explored" regularly by the paper, illustrating the way the classes behaved. This case debated whether the mercantile class should meet the social expectations of their betters (Foster, 1997, pp.19-24). The problem, Foster writes, centred on families that had "connections to 'squireen' Ireland. That although they (the mercantile class) subscribed to local Protestant charities, and attended meetings of the County Sligo Protestant Orphan Society neither they nor their husbands had seats on the committees nor sat on the Grand Jury nor on the Board of Guardians, power positions that reflected their social pre-eminence although by 1914, no longer the power of their previous generations. According to their social etiquette, the Gore-Booths, the Coopers, the Wynnes, were the only names the titled elite wanted these seats to hold at the RSA ball of 1864. Foster writes: "In a word, they (the mercantile class) were not "county" in a society where such things were closely noted" (p.19).

An explanation of how the newspaper held its nerve to publicly criticize the elite it was created to represent is found with Mostyn. Thomas Mostyn, in addition to being the paper's founder, was an esteemed member of the Freemason Lodge No. 20 Sligo. He was also Treasurer to the Grand Lodge of Ireland from 1858 to his death in 1868. The names listed as members of the Mason's Sligo chapters in 1912 are those of its Protestant mercantile class (see Figure 34 for 1912), but not the old titled families. However, the Freemasons of Great Britain counted royalty at their head.

The *S.I.* was rare as a former unionist provincial conservative title to have survived by 1914. Under Jane Gilmor's control, the newspaper took a straight line between issues that brought them to the attention of the nationalist opposition in the council and on the street.

Padraig Deignan writes about the shared understanding between Catholic and Protestant businessmen in the years during the War and up to the Civil War in Sligo. He says “Many of the middle-class and lower-class Protestants that lived in Sligo town worked on a day-to-day basis with Catholics and the well-established Protestant merchants were dependent on Catholics for a large majority of their business,” (Deignan, 2024, Interview).

This he says is important to dispel the illusion in many people’s minds that Protestants were almost exclusively a wealthy upper-class landowning and large business-owning class. Michael Farry is the leading historian of revolutionary Sligo and an important reference for primary and secondary material covering the period. He is also the author of *Sligo: Revolution, 1912-1923* (2012).

Both Farry and Deignan note that by then the *S.I.* never rose to respond to the goading they received from the *S.C.* and the *Nationalist* about the Protestant community’s protectionism of its business interests. Before 1914, the *S.I.* reported on events in Sligo supporting unionist opposition to Home Rule. However, the paper rarely waded in with editorial comments on unionist or nationalist subjects by 1914.

The *S.C.* was founded in 1836 and ended up in the hands of P.A. McHugh, an ardent nationalist politician. Under McHugh, the paper became a prominent nationalist organ. It supported John Redmond, the Irish Parliamentary Party leader and Home Rule.

The *Nationalist* established in 1910 by Bernard McTernan, held similar views to the *S.C.* In 1920, the paper was taken over by Sinn Fein and renamed *The Connachtman*.

“A newspaper like the *S.C.* had to consider how to react to the changing public mood post-1916. The *S.I.* had to adapt to what appeared to be the reality of Home Rule without Ulster and then to what they saw as the chaos of the war of independence and civil war,” Farry said in an interview for this research in December 2023.

Instead, the *S.I.*’s editorials and articles concentrated on the commercial successes of the towns in County Sligo during the period, with the notable exception between March and

July 1917 of the appearance in the newspaper of the editorial commentary of the “Easy Chair” column that stepped far from the middle ground with outspoken open criticism of their detractors. This is critically discussed in the Findings section of the research that follows. The *S.I.* remained vocal in supporting improvements to Sligo's business in the face of nationalist antagonism.

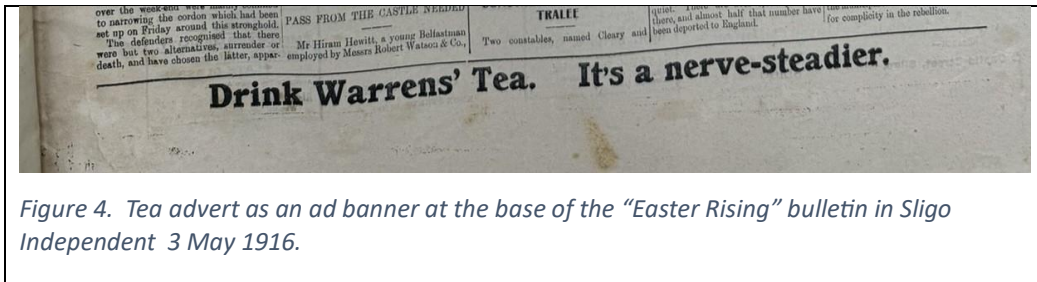
The history of County Sligo intertwines with Protestant occupation in the region. While regional newspapers were established to represent the business interests of its mostly Protestant elite, these interests waned considerably across Ireland by the 1890s. The *Sligo Independent* was a conservative organ in the service of the Protestant community and especially those of its elite. Thomas Mostyn remained its powerful backer until his death in 1868, although not much else is known after that date. Despite the connection between the paper and the Protestant elite being strong, the *S.I.* before 1914 was also known to challenge the old families in public on matters of social class distinctions they held against the mercantile class in the region for not being their social equals.

## **(ii) Framing Theory and Purpose of Ideas**

Theories of newspaper framing offer an understanding of how a society and its actors accomplish the complex task of communicating its social intentions and practices. Media framing theory and the purpose of those ideas in this research derive from cultural studies, organisation management and media theory.

Media organisations are central to the framing of national issues of identity and this research considers that the First World War provided media organisations with a convenient opportunity to reframe historically problematic issues related to national identity 1914-1918 and help resolve stalled issues related to the “Irish Question” for which communities were heavily invested.

The *Sligo Independent* (1855-1963), as a prominent West of Ireland unionist organ and Protestant newspaper, during the period 1914-1918, was a key social and soft political force in the region. The *S.I.* would have been read by the entire middle-class Protestant community, the local mercantile class, the social elites, and the local nobility when they were in town. The social pages of the paper, represented on page 4 and then later, mostly on page 5, under headings “Local News” and “Local News and Other Items”, painstakingly mentioned every contribution a person made to a war fund, every member of a family mourning at a socially prominent funeral or the gift each person had given at a socially desirable wedding. There is evidence from British Army recruitment advertising, detailed later in the research Findings that the *S.I.* would also have been read by non-Protestants and among the Catholic community, who wanted to keep abreast of how the Protestant families were being publicly represented by the paper. The newspaper gives little sense of a dwindling community rounding the corner of its last lap.



An advert placed at the bottom of a pullout bulletin (see **Figure 4, p.36**) on 3 May 1916 in response to the “Easter Rising”, is indicative of the framing mood the paper expressed and here the sense, as seen elsewhere in the paper, that the war was to serve as a welcome distraction. It is identified in the research that the behaviour of the paper participating in framing consolidation was indicative of colonial societies in their end-of-days.

Media framing is discussed here in terms of organizational theory and cultural communication theory.

### **(a) Framing Theory**

According to Clemente & Roulet (2015) media organisations are central to the framing of issues of national identity. This they do by creating common knowledge and providing that knowledge with legitimacy. Issues of national identity are not concrete objective facts but rely on subjective meaning being attached by socially mediated processes. These processes use framing strategies and are achieved by media organisations, among others.

On the one hand, media create “common knowledge” by forging connections among what is otherwise a fragmented audience; and on the other, they provide legitimacy by creating confidence in an audience that what is presented “is worthy of being told” (Clemente & Roulet 2015, p.15).

According to Goffman (1974, p.21), frames are “schemata of interpretation” that are continually in use and allow users “to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of occurrences defined in its terms” (in Klein and Amis 2021, p.1327).

This definition of frames was further developed by Entman (1993, p.52) who noted that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient,” (in Klein and Amis 2021, p.1325).

In this way, as Snow & Benford (1988, p.198) argue, frames can simplify and condense aspects of the world in ways that can mobilize potential supporters and “demobilize antagonists” (Klein and Amis 2021, p.1325).

Media sociologists have also analyzed how ideologies have influenced the way particular issues and groups appear in the media. Stuart Hall’s work on crime and deviance (1992, 1997) shows the influence power has on the actions and thoughts of individuals.

A Marxist view of society argues that media content supports a status quo by reproducing the ideas or “ideology” of the dominant class. Ralph Miliband argues that media content reproduces nationalist ideology, ideas of normative family and the successes of free market individualism (Miliband 1973, p.453).

Media sociologist David Barret says that media organisations are ‘subject to the same sort of influences as other capitalist enterprises’: ownership and control, culture and the state, sources of revenue and the struggle for audience (Barret 1986, p.61).

Ciaran McCullagh argues that the primary influence on media products in news and entertainment comes from sources, the social values of its staff, and ownership and control of the organization itself (McCullagh 2002, pp.66-67). Organisations that make up “the media” include television, newspapers, radio stations and online media. These organisations are usually part of large commercial ventures, associated with innovation, social and political power and access to an elite. Primarily among all types of media organisations, the need for commercial operations to make a profit drives decision-making (Barret 1986, p.60).

Media sociology is concerned with the ownership and control of these institutions and the commercial and political implications to the society in how they operate. Sociologist James Curran argues that the funding relationships between these organisations and the elite far exceed the parameters of state control (Curran 2005, pp.122-149). The introduction of media advertising to Britain in the 1800s freed newspapers from control by political parties. However, Curran and Seaton argue that advertising in private companies is the substitution of “one form of control over another” (Barret 1986, p.62).

For cultural theorist John Fiske, as for socio-linguists Ferdinand de Saussure, Charles Pierce, Roland Barthes, Stuart Hall and others, semiotics is useful to understand how meaning is generated in a given society (Fiske 1985, pp.176-183).

Roland Barthes’ early pioneering work on text and meaning production indicates the importance of sign systems variability within a society. He argues that reality, representation and ideology all play a role in how a message may be received. Fiske argues in *Reading the Popular* that what passes for reality in a culture, is the representation of its values or codes. Fiske claims reality is always encoded with the values of a given society (Fiske & Hartley 2004 pp.22-40). Thus, the cultural codes packaged as media products always contain the producer’s and their society’s ideology. Therefore, cultural content always represents the ideology of both its producers and the society from which they emerge and for whom they are made. Thus, all media products represent and transmit the encoded reality, representation and ideology from which they are produced.

Stuart Hall brings our full attention to the fact that meaning in a society is dependent on the context of when and how a text is read. Hall argues that “messages have a “complex structure of dominance” because at each stage they are “imprinted” by institutional power relations. This means that power relations at the point of production, for example, will loosely fit those at the point of consumption. In this way, the communication circuit is also a circuit which reproduces a pattern of domination” (Hall in During 1993, p.506).

While media framing is an inevitable and recognizable packaging of social and culturally loaded content, in the case of the *S.I.*, framing of a Pro-war agenda, helped to also promote a Protestant agenda.

### **(b) Framing and the Regional Press**

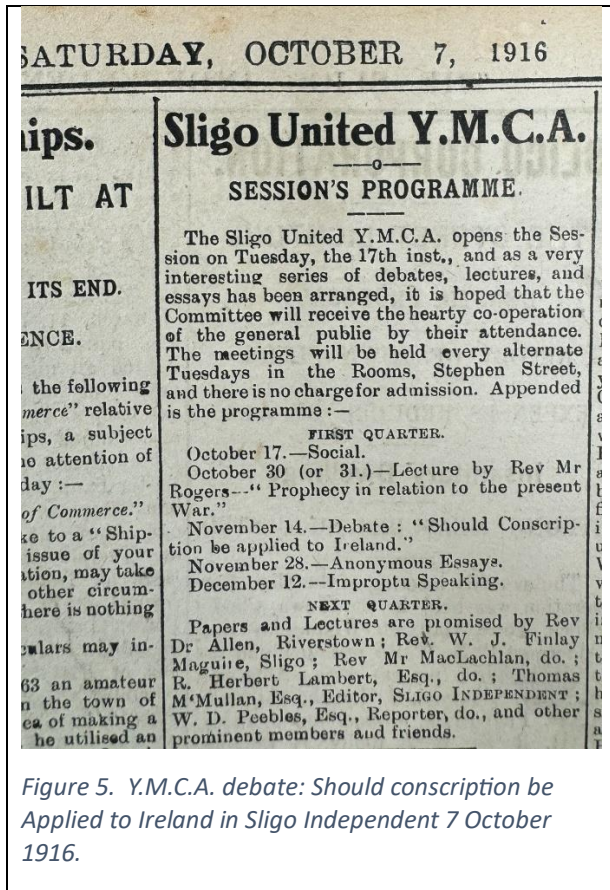
In *Journalism and the local newspaper industry in Sligo, 1899-1922* (2018) Mark Wehrly offers insight into how political behaviour determined nationalist business interests during the period. Wehrly writes that regional newspapers in Ireland benefitted greatly in 1855 from the repeal of the newspaper stamp tax and the subsequent rise of the penny newspaper and the halfpenny paper both bringing mass consumption of newspapers by 1900 (Wehrly 2018, p.18). To coincide, Wehrly points out, the Local Government (Ireland) Act of 1898 reinforced the extent to which social economics and the political climate were to be interconnected.

Marie-Louise Legg's *Newspapers and Nationalism; the Irish Provincial Press, 1850-1892* (1998) and Chris Doughan's *The Voice of the Provinces* (2019) dominate the lacuna of scholarship on the provincial press in Ireland. Doughan's comprehensive works (2015, 2019) detail how provincial newspaper offices were frequently open to attack, editors and proprietors imprisoned and titles suppressed or shut down in the course of their history. Nationalist or anti-British rhetoric in newspapers in a period before the new Irish State brought harsh punishment from the Dublin Castle administration.

Ian Kenneally's and James O'Donnell's *The Irish Regional Press 1892-2018 – Revival, Revolution and Republic* collects further important scholarship on the subject by John Horgan, Mark O'Brien and Chris Doughan and others.

O'Brien also provides considerable additions to the scholarship in *The Fourth Estate – Journalism in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (2017). He writes that between the early 1840s to the 1880s, literacy levels in Ireland improved from 44 per cent of the population to 75 per cent. The social and cultural implications of these developments meant that the demand for easily read news content increased newspaper circulation. By the 1880s weekly newspapers were reaching over 43,000 sales (O'Brien 2017, p.4).

In “With the Irish in France’: The National Press and Recruitment in Ireland 1914-1916” (2016) Irish journalists visited the Front in January 1916. O’Brien exposed how national titles went about trying to set the agenda for the British Army conscription in Ireland and how the country refused to engage with it (O’Brien, 2016, p.159-173).



In 1916, the *S.I.* publicized a debate to be held in the Protestant Hall in Stephen Street in Sligo Town on 14 November. The debate between members of the Y.M.C.A. was to argue the motion “Should conscription be applied to Ireland” (see Figure 5, p.40). Following the event in November the *S.I.* reported that the winner of the competition supported the motion. While champion debaters don’t always support popularly-held motions and that is part of the appeal of debating, conscription in 1916 was such a critical subject in Ireland among the general population who rallied against it, the

*S.I.*, in showing itself out of step with a majority national opinion on the subject and was not shy of publicizing the fact, promoted a role the British-Irish nobility in Ireland were famed for: brandishing opinion against their detractors.

Other debates by the Y.M.C.A. promoted by the *S.I.* included “Why I am a Protestant” in February 1918. Mention of anti-conscription in the *S.I.* appeared timely in April 1918 reporting when the Catholic Church in Sligo Town said an intercessional mass in opposition to conscription and offered a pledge against it, to be signed by the people of the town on the steps of the Town Hall. The incident offered the *S.I.* the opportunity to

frame its opposition to local Catholic Church politics by reporting on it without having to say so directly.

Michael Farry says during the pre-Revolutionary period which corresponds roughly to the War period in Ireland, the feeling at the time was newspapers were trying to keep up with the popular mood and changing political climate. Before 1914, the *S.I.* reported on events in Sligo supporting unionist opposition to Home Rule. However, the paper rarely waded in with editorial comments on unionist or nationalist subjects, he says.

Of three local newspapers from 1914, the *S.C.*, the *S.I.* and the *Nationalist*, the outbreak of the 1914 War and the nationalist reaction to it was an obvious example of how the local press fed and courted their readership. This was also true of the granting of, and postponement of Home Rule, the offer of devolved government that derailed due to War.

Both Farry and Deignan note that the Protestant community's obvious protectionism of its business interests involved editorials and articles that concentrated on the commercial successes of the towns in County Sligo, with the notable exception between March and July 1917 of the appearance in the newspaper of the editorial commentary of the "Easy Chair" column that is critically discussed in the Findings section of this research.

### **(iii) Military Tradition in Ireland**

World War I was to divide further an already divided country that was split by divisions of religion and history and continually antagonized by the British State's military presence in Ireland.

Ireland had always been a convenient recruiting pool for the British Army and the country was not hostile to it (Hughes, 2015, p.7) but Keith Jeffery and Thomas Bartlett maintain that although the Irish had defined themselves "militarily" and a military

career was normal, Irish recruiting had been declining since the Irish Famine of 1840s and 1850s (Bowman et al, 2020, p.2).

However, it was not until World War I that the true meaning of belonging to the Army became apparent. Although Army life was a means of escape for young men born into poverty and starvation, particularly in urban centres, prominent writing on Irish regiments in the First War points to the (apparent) failures of the Irish to enlist and for our purposes here, for the Protestants of the South to fully contribute to the War at the Front.

Historians of Ireland and the First World War, such as Timothy Bowman et al, focus on British Army Irish recruitment, the number of First World War dead and the disparity of sacrifice for the period 1914 -1918.

It is not a straightforward subject and the research provides many twists and turns.

For example, while there was a martial tradition in Ireland, recruitment for the war, mismanaged with posters and short films in cinemas, was more likely to create terror at the prospect of war (Hart 1998, p.71).

In any event, the outbreak of World War I changed everything in Ireland and specially affected were relationships between the nationalist and unionist communities.

Nationalist politician and leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party John Redmond believed the Irish had to enlist “if there was any hope of unity later” (Bowman et al 2020, p.3).

Jeffery argues: “There is evidence that concepts of national duty and high moral motivation had real meaning among those crowds of volunteers pressing to get into the recruiting offices” (Jeffery 2000, p.10). Jeffery declares: the cause of “England's battle being Ireland’s liberty” (Jeffery 2000, p.12).

Of the 210,000 Irish men who had served during the War, 152,000 enlisted as volunteers during the War (Bowman et al 2020, p.2). As Lord Kitchener’s New Army “10th” (Irish) Division failed to recruit an all-Irish complement of soldiers from the Irish National Volunteer Force, the “36th” (Ulster) Division filled easily with Ulster Volunteer Force

Protestant recruits, with unionist leader Sir Edward Carson a driving force for enlisting. This further alienated the communities from each other and accelerated the debate. The 10th (Irish) Division only had 5,000 recruits by the first weeks of September 1914, less than a third of the average of new divisions in the UK with not one of the 10th battalions reaching the quota in time.

The *S.I.* published in April 1918 the following figures for recruitment to the Army between 1914 and 1917: 123, 438 recruits from Ireland: 58,438 from Ulster, 65,147 the rest of Ireland.

Although Irish Protestants made up 45 per cent of Irish army recruits, they only made up 26 per cent of the pre-war population (Bowman et al 2020, p.4) and (see **Table 3, Figure 6, p.43**) there was a disparity between recruiting north and south of Ireland.

Province	% of Catholic population of the region	% of Catholic recruitment of the region	% of Protestant population of the region	% of Protestant recruitment of the region
Ulster	44	27	56	73
Leinster	85	89	15	11
Connaught	96	92	4	8
Munster	94	93	6	7
Ireland	74	55	26	45

*Figure 6. Table 3. Percent of Protestants in Ireland in the British Army August 1914 to January 1918 published in Irish Times 12 October 1916, to the editor.*

In Connaught, the province in which County Sligo belongs, Protestants who made up only 4 per cent of the population contributed only 8 per cent of recruitment (Jeffery, 2000, pp.5-8). These figures also reflect the fact that Protestants from County Sligo could be recruited in Ulster or in England where the nationality of Irish soldiers was not recorded.

Ulster provided 52 per cent of all army recruits in the Forces, from just over a third of eligible males.

Bowman writes “The commitment of Catholic, nationalist Irishmen to the war effort [in Ulster] appeared half-hearted relative to that of their Protestant, unionist fellow countrymen” (Bowman et al 2020, p.4). This was the opposite in the rest of Ireland, where Catholics exceeded 90 per cent of recruitment for the region.

The relevance of these statistics to the research data relates to the social conditions of the majority of Irish Volunteers, differences that were more apparent in the Catholic community than Protestant, and the resentment these conditions reinforced across the island during the period.

In the West of Ireland, formal recruiting was limited in the first two months of the war. Although it appeared the whole country was behind the “push”, not everyone was sympathetic with the cause, neutralists and anti-war political opinions among outspoken nationalists, heard above the din: “Ireland is not at war with Germany” (Bowman et al 2020, p.46).

Peter Martin, in *Dulce et Decorum: Irish Nobles and the Great War, 1914-1919*, writes the complex cultural links the British-Irish nobility had to the British Army were both a “tragedy and an opportunity” (Martin, 2002, pg. 28).

Those in the Irish aristocracy such as Captain the Honourable Arthur O’Neill, MP for mid-Antrim who served with the lifeguards, seem to have chosen command posts with the elite guards or cavalry regiments instead of their local county units. Irish peers chose the Irish or Coldstream Guards while less ranked chose to command companies and battalions throughout the British regimental system (Hughes, 2015, p.9). Existing scholarship leaves much room to research the real contribution of the British-Irish nobility in World War I.

Statistics for World War I recruitment reveal the extent of the tensions that already existed, particularly for the perception of Protestant sacrifice in the War. This offers a background to the context of division revealed in regional newspapers like the *S.I.*

### **3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The following questions are asked in this study.

#### **Questions**

*Does the portrait by a provincial Protestant newspaper of a society in its final days provide evidence of a “class-washing” framing strategy during the period 1914-1918?*

*This study asks therefore, were issues of Protestant identity noticeably “class-washed” to reflect the long-abolished British-Irish nobility in the Sligo Independent during the years of World War I 1914-1918, rather than to reflect the lived experience of the ordinary Protestant community majority?*

#### **Hypothesis**

Newspaper framing by a provincial Protestant newspaper of a community in its final days offers evidence of “class-washing” during the period 1914-1918.

Using the British Army’s reasserting of English upper-class values used to recruit Irish soldiers for the war effort, the *Sligo Independent* newspaper reasserted British-Irish nobility as a credible identity of the Protestant Sligo community.

## 4. METHODOLOGY

The approach to this research subject is sociological. As language is socially contingent and places great influence on a society to shape itself according to its social preoccupations, what a society says matters. Therefore, the questions asked in this research are social questions.

### (i) Research Suitability Types

A	Review the literature: Theoretical and historical	
B	Finding the gap: Protestant history 1914-1918 – Specific site: Sligo	
C	Defining the hypothesis: My research question	
D	Doing your research: 52 editions each year over five years: 260 newspapers	
E	Reporting your findings: this is what I found	
F	Interpreting and making sense of data in discussion	
G	Framing the study	

*Figure 7. Table 4. Suggested set of steps for minor thesis research.*

The research data suitable for this type of inquiry is qualitative (qual).

Approaches to qual research can be inductive or deductive, among others.

This approach looks like **Table 4 (see Figure 7, p.46)**.

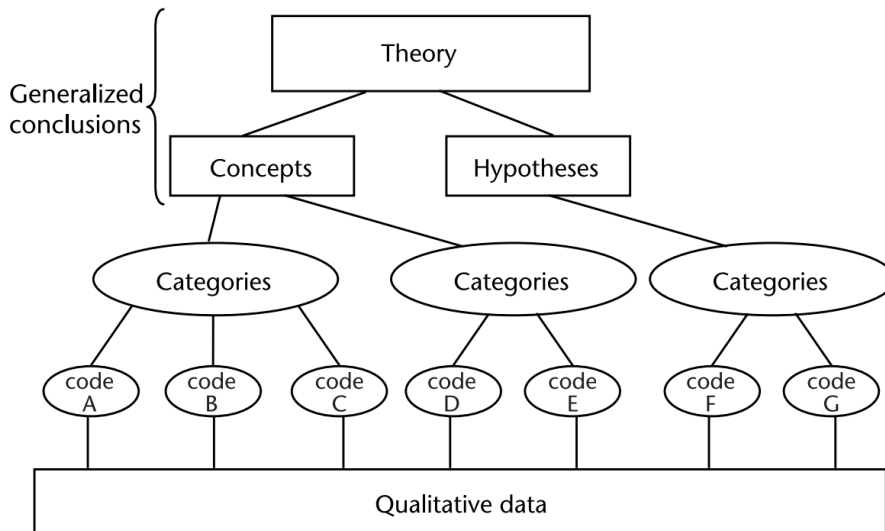
This research uses inductive enquiry and a case study approach to the collection, analysis and discussion of the data collected.

As **Table 5 (see Figure 8. p.47)** shows, this enquiry and approach leads to a deductive hypothesis.

### (ii) Case Study Approach: Denscombe, Yin

This research uses and defines case study research according to a common definition. This definition begins with the scope of a case study as: “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin 2003, p.13). According to Gilgun (1994), Ghauri and Gronhaug (2002), “the case study has been a common research strategy in psychology, sociology, political science, social work, business and community planning” (Yin 2003, p.1).

## Qualitative Thematic Frame Analysis



### Step 1: Choose a medium / topic

Select the media form of choice for the study.

Newspapers – The Sligo Independent

### Step 2: Determine a time-frame

The Sligo Independent from July 1914 to November 1918

### Step 3: Draw a sample

Editions each week, for the period specified.

### Step 4: Identify a unit of analysis

Page 5 of the weekly newspapers holds “Local News” as well as the “Opinion”, “Letters to the Editor”, “Obituaries” and general community news.

### Step 5: Selection of a frame typology

Frames are selected randomly. This selection occurred inductively where the frames emerged over time attracting specific attention when organisations and names began to be repeated across the timeline. In a second and third close reading, annotating the inductive approach, the research looked for specific frames, becoming therefore deductive in its final approach.

(Scheufele 1999: 106; Neuman, Just & Crigler 1992: 64, Semetko & Valkenburg 2000, in De Vreese 2005: 56). This is referred to as the deductive approach.

### Step 6: Operational definitions

The researcher has to provide operational definitions of selected news frames.

According to Wood (2004: 65), “operational definitions are precise descriptions that specify the phenomena of interest”. Capella and Jamieson (1997:89, in De Vreese 2005: 54) are among those who support this approach.

- ◆ a frame must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics;
- ◆ it should be commonly observed in journalistic practice;
- ◆ it must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames; and
- ◆ syntactical structures which refer to patterns in the arrangements of words or phrases;

Figure 8. Table 5. Format for Qualitative Thematic Frame Analysis (TA) Report by Braun & Clarke, 2019, Yin and Denscombe.

As Yin defines it: “The distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena” (Yin 2003, p.2). Therefore, the case study is concerned with contextual social conditions. This distinguishes case studies from other forms of research strategies used elsewhere. In this regard, how context and phenomenon may be studied together requires further definition.

As follows: “A case study encompasses the logic of design, data collection techniques and specific approaches to data analysis” (Yin, p.14). Therefore, a case study is defined as a comprehensive research strategy.

### **(iii) Single-case, Case Study Approach**

Case study research uses single instances of the thing to be investigated. It is the opposite of a mass study (Denscombe 2010, p.53) and should be self-contained and bounded.

This research will choose a single-case study approach. The reason for choosing a non-comparative research strategy are set out as follows: Single or multiple case studies are two variants of case study design. According to Yin, although case study research is not a qualitative research approach, as defined by Denzin & Lincon (1994) - ethnography does not always produce case studies and case studies also do not usually use methods that produce ethnography such as detailed observation of the natural world and the “prior commitment to a theoretical model”, Yin also argues there is “strong common ground between both approaches” (Yin 2003, p.14).

For our purpose, a case study has been chosen over other methods of research such as experiments and surveys. The choice of which research strategy to choose depends on the type of research question being asked, the extent of control of the subject being studied and the degree of focus on contemporary rather than historical events.

### **(iv) Appropriate Case Study Research Questions**

Research usually focuses on “who” “what” “where” “how” and “why” questions. Of these, “how” and “why” questions are more likely to lead to better use in case study research (Yin 2003, p.14).

This is because to answer “how” and “why” questions, research is to be tracked over time rather than as incidents. Bradshaw (Bradshaw 1999, pp.193-206) offers an example of how a community overcame a problem (over time) with a major employer in an area and the research considered data over the timeline of the problem and its resolution. A “why” question usually requires a greater need for wider documentary information and evidence. This as “what” questions are usually exploratory in nature or concerned with the prevalence of something, “how” and “why” questions favour a case study approach.

#### **(v) Sources of Evidence**

Within the “how” and “why” questions of a case study, sources of evidence need to be appropriate. These can be chosen from the following: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts. These can also include photography, installations, and monuments. Documents play an explicit role in data collection for case studies (Yin 2003, p.87).

#### **(vi) Evidence Types**

This research chose documentary evidence and archival records as its main sources of evidence type. This also includes original newspapers, letters, notes, diaries, official and unofficial war diaries, hospital records, army soldier records, heritage site documentation, and census form returns among the archival documentary evidence.

As a relatively stable form of evidence, this material has the advantage of being able to be reviewed repeatedly. Usually containing names, dates and related details contained within, it can confer on other sources authentic corroboration. It also has a wider time span than other sources and can cover many events and or settings, such as in this research of World War I.

The weakness of this form is that the evidence is frequently held within archives or museums for which researchers have little or no control over access, as occurred with Sligo County Library Archive over six months of not being able to gain access.

Although exploration of contemporary sites relevant to the research occurred through the six months of the research span, alongside information interviews that informed the depth and progress of the research, these have not been filed as structured or formal evidence. This will be discussed further in the findings. Interviews of historical subjects of the data – family members of soldiers mentioned in the S.I. – were found to be reflexive and biased towards the interview process and subject. Interviews with historians as experts on Sligo and the War were included.

#### **(vii) Primary Documents**

The largest documentary evidence used in this research was the *Sligo Independent* (1914-1918) which was accessed in hard copy and online PDF formats. The first was made possible by access to the Sligo County Library Archive and gaining permission and access to its newspaper collection for the duration of the research in Sligo. These newspapers were bound in hard covers and collated by year, each weekly edition of between 4 and 6 pages in length. The material was in reasonably good condition and provided a much more vivid source than other formats. The archive had a complete collection to cover the War, from 1914 to 1918.

The *S.I.* newspaper was also available online at the British Newspaper Archive but with more limited copies for the years of the research.

As a side note, the research for this study was largely made possible by the original newspaper collection in Sligo Library Local Studies Archive.

#### **(viii) Methods of Analysis Choice**

Analyzing data from case study research presents a rich opportunity for researchers as the strategies and techniques are not usually well defined in the first place. This usually takes the form of description, exploration and comparison.

Usually, pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models, and cross-case analysis are suggested ways to analyze the data. In principle, the research propositions used to begin the research will guide the strategy used to analyze it (Yin 2003, p.112).

This case study research considered a pattern-matching strategy but found explanation building more useful to provide a general understanding that fits the hypothesis.

For explanation, media framing is a relatively complex method for identifying the phenomenon of social processes related to national identity. This is primarily because of the amount of material a single newspaper page contains and the variety of ways it can be interpreted. Nevertheless, it still offers researchers rich material with which to build an explanation of the social processes involved.

This research decided to use a thematic grounded theory to organize the thematic categorization of its data. As Denscombe argues, the reason to use grounded theory is to provide substantial evidence supporting the claims of top-down more abstract concepts, as the term grounded suggests (Denscombe 2010, p.107). That said, as an inductive enquiry, the research is akin to a voyage of discovery with the purpose, of one approach among many, “to illuminate the general by looking at the particular” (Denscombe 2010, p.53).

#### **(ix) Strengths and Weaknesses of the Chosen Approach**

According to Denscombe, the strength of the case study approach is that it allows the researcher to use a variety of sources and types of data and a variety of research methods as part of the investigation (2010, p.54). The individual case can have wider implications, (2010, p.53). The main purpose of documentary evidence in case studies, according to Yin et al (1987) is to corroborate and augment evidence from elsewhere. This evidence can offer useful inferences to what is already known (Yin 2003, p.87).

Owing to its general approach and use of a variety of sources and methods, it is open to criticism. Also, a single-case study approach such as this is somewhat time-consuming.

### **(x) Thematic Frame Analysis: Braun and Clarke**

Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke promote a popular qual research method, useful for a thematic analysis (TA) of a data set. In suggesting a format for the report, Braun and Clarke are critical of the need for research reports to follow an outmoded format (Clarke 2023, pp.1-6). Clarke suggests simplifying the format and renaming it “The Four-act Play of Research Reporting” after Tracy (2012).

Braun and Clarke describe TA as a thoroughly flexible approach but their criticisms include the lack of available literature on its use, and that it lacks coherence for first-time users (Braun and Clarke 2006, pp.77-101).

This research combines the methods of Braun and Clarke with those of Yin and Denscombe. Analysis of the single-case case study will be termed: Qualitative Thematic Analysis Structure.

## 5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMING STRUCTURE

(i) Irish Identity 1914-1918 equated with...	(ii) Irish Identity 1914-1918 Expression of found in <i>Sligo Independent</i> equated with	(iii) British-Irish Identity 1914-1918 equated with...	(iv) British-Irish Identity 1914-1918 Expression of found in <i>Sligo Independent</i> equated with
.. with the Catholic majority		.. with non-Irish Irish Protestants esp. Anglo-Irish	... with British Protestants on British land.
.. with political freedom		..with political suppression of nationalism in Unionism	.. with the political correctness of Empire.
... with Gaelic authenticity		... with <i>Shoneeness</i> (pejorative term)	.. with Anglo-Irish nobility.
.. with self-actualising Celtic myths		... with the historical shame of British colonialism in Ireland	... with valor in the face of defeat
.. with marginal identity matrix		.. with excesses of Empire	.. above all King, Country and Duty.
.. with powerful positive historical events		.. with powerful negative historical events	... with the "correct" side of British colonial history (historical age makes it correct)
.. with political power and powerful ethnic memories		.. with political mistakes	... with Britain and British history but on "our" side not "theirs".

Figure 9. Table 6. Identity Framing Structure for use in data analysis of *The Sligo Independent* 1914 – 1918

The research questions and hypothesis this data tries to prove used the concept structure laid out in Table 6, *Identity Framing Structure* (see Figure 9, p.53) that was devised for this purpose. In Table 6 an index (taxonomy) shows how an Irish/British-Irish “national identity” can be reframed. For example, although the perception of British-Irish identity in (iii) is supported in literature on its history and especially in

the history of the “Anglo-Irish” in Ireland, for example, their political suppression of the Catholic Irish and known to anyone being called “Anglo-Irish”, the *S.I.* represented this throughout the War as (iv) embodying Empire thinking. In other words, the frame the paper used to write about subjects related to Protestant identity frequently are framed to belong to Empire rather than wider understandings in an Irish context, such as the drive for independence that would include the Catholic community and support of Home Rule.

Almost nowhere in the five years of the *Sligo Independent* editions, is the Catholic community ever constructed as either (i) a religious majority with political freedom and Gaelic authenticity (which would not have been the prevailing belief among Protestant elites in the community) or an opposite (ii), left blank as it is unhelpful to construct a pejorative definition if not visible in the data but some references have been made in the research Findings. An identity (iii) and its opposite (iv) appear as a negative (iii) and

positive (iv). This refers to the fact that national identity is assigned both by others, as a projected form and by the self, as a set of beliefs held.

**(i) Notes on the term Anglo-Irish being retired from the text**

I have reworked the term Anglo-Irish as “British-Irish Identity”. The idea behind this is that the people (the Anglo-Irish) themselves and their culture are more closely connected to English class culture than primarily with Irish culture, which if it is, is of secondary importance. Landscape familiarity is greater than recognition of the Irish language or Gaelic culture references among the group, for example. I did consider using a capital “B” and a small “i” for Irish but felt it further implied a pejorative definition which was not helpful. The term British-Irish identity is relatively flexible and can incorporate the spectrum of definitions associated with British nobility found in Ireland.

**(ii) “How” Findings Explained**

The data was first coded by Code Dates and then by Code Keys seen here in Coding Practice 1 (see Table 7, Figure 10, p.54) as follows:

CODING PRACTICES 1	
1.	KEY FIGURES OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KF
2.	KEY SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS OF LOCAL SLIGO PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KSO
3.	KEY INSTITUTIONS OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KI
4.	KEY EVENTS OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KE
5.	KEY NARRATIVES OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KN

*Figure 10. Table 7. Coding Practice 1 for use in Thematic Analysis of The Sligo Independent 1914 – 1918*

Coding Practice 1. revealed a complex interconnectedness between Keys 1-5 in the portrait of the

community in the newspaper. That is, key figures in Sligo Town and County belonged to key organisations that took part in key events and were central figures in key narratives of Protestant networks there. As I built up an understanding of the connection between them and saw it to be complex, the role that the newspaper played in Protestant identity became more of a concrete idea. The key figures stood out, as did the organisations, as did the impressions of the role they played in the community and the stories the newspaper attached to them.






When I approached reading the newspaper for the first time, I did not know any of the key players or the mechanisms of the social processes at work. I was new to County Sligo and new to historical research of this kind.

It was only through reading the paper somewhat religiously over the course of the three months of the research that I began to more easily identify the characters.

I became aware that readers of the paper from 1914 to 1918 would have known intimately the people the newspaper portrayed. Their social position in the town and county would have been known to all, as would have who they were married to, how much money and land their marriage had brought to the union, and presumably what their indiscretions were. In Irish rural life, not least the machinations of a town the size of Sligo Town, at the time, as now, nothing would have remained secret from the community for long.

With this in mind, I was somehow surprised to observe the detached tone of class in the *S.I.* I did not have any preconceived idea of what I might find in a period newspaper. I barely understood the War period when I began my research over a year ago and had little real understanding of what the Edwardian Period (1901-1922) in Ireland (or England) properly looked like. Perhaps it is only with such a fresh eye can you see what is in front of you rather than what you already know to be there. What I saw was not just that the newspaper reflected a different time and different set of class values (that I wasn't unfamiliar with) but that there was something off about the representation and I set about finding out what. In this regard, investigating the media framing of the Protestant community was not straightforward.

**(iii) “How”**

Deductive defined hypothesis	HYPOTHESIS								
Statement of “how” Findings	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	Evidence Defined
	RESEARCH QUESTION 1				RESEARCH QUESTION 2				
Categories Defined	i (i) Irish Identity 1914-1918 equated with... ii (ii) Irish Identity 1914-1918 Expression of, found in Sligo Independent, equated with... iii (iii) British-Irish Identity 1914-1918 equated with... iv (iv) British-Irish Identity 1914-1918 Expression of found in Sligo Independent equated with								Naming Defined
Category Defined and Generated	    								Identity frame work
Code Key	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	K	
Code Date	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1918	1918	1918	S.I. Archive
Inductive data-led	QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION								

*Figure 11. Table 8. A “Qual Data Collection to Hypothesis Step by Step Approach” uses a grounded theory approach to the analysis of qualitative data for a Combined Single-case Case Study and Thematic Analysis of The Sligo Independent 1914 - 1918*

In this research “How” findings are a series of statements that attempt to answer the question “how” the newspaper framed these particular issues of Protestant identity. This is formulated as steps in “Qual Data Collection to Hypothesis Step by Step Approach” (see Table 8, Figure 11, page 56). This graphic illustrates the process I used to collect the data, and then organise it in terms of key dates (1914-1918) and keys (see K1-

K5, see Figure 11, p.56). These were then to be attributed to the four categories (i-iv) of national identity, including a category that remained unfilled.

These categories arose from the literature review: the discussion of class in the context of World War I, the “Irish Question” and the division in identity between (and within) Protestants and Catholics and the binary split found across the reading. These were then identified in the data and are discussed in the Findings. The research questions pose the challenge of “how” the newspaper in the period performed class-washing, noted earlier as a tendency more than a fixed state, with glimpses here and there.

As I began to understand who the Key characters were in the newspaper, the class values began to stand out. The question of what exactly was taking place within the reporting of events and how that was being achieved hung over the research.

The results are ten “how” statements that can be read in detail in **Chapter 6. Findings.** How Findings 1-10 on pages 58 to 76 to follow.

## 6. FINDINGS

These research findings came from data developed through a variety of sources already discussed in detail in the methodology. The research that led up to these findings did not have a linear trajectory. The reading coincided with library archive research that coincided with site visits in Sligo town, interviews with local historians as well as coincidental encounters and many spontaneous moments of uncovering historical connections. The piecing together of bits of information about the lives of the main characters in research is called prosopography.

The existence and composition of the British-Irish nobility and its history have been discussed with the family names and places of the estates belonging to them that existed in Sligo Town and County up to and including the period 1914 -1918. A side note worth mentioning the meaning of the term “aristocracy” is not equal to that of “landed gentry” nor is it the same as “Ascendancy” and reference to this can be clarified in the nomenclature at the start of the research.

Here are the main findings of the research of the *Sligo Independent* 1914-1918.

## Statement of “How” Findings

This research asks: how were issues of Protestant identity deliberately “class-washed” to reflect the long-abolished British-Irish nobility in the *Sligo Independent* during the years of World War I 1914-1918, rather than to reflect the lived experience of the majority and ordinary Protestant community?

(i) By only referring to the Irish (Gaelic Irishness) when the majority stake is held by Protestants or the meaning is pejorative

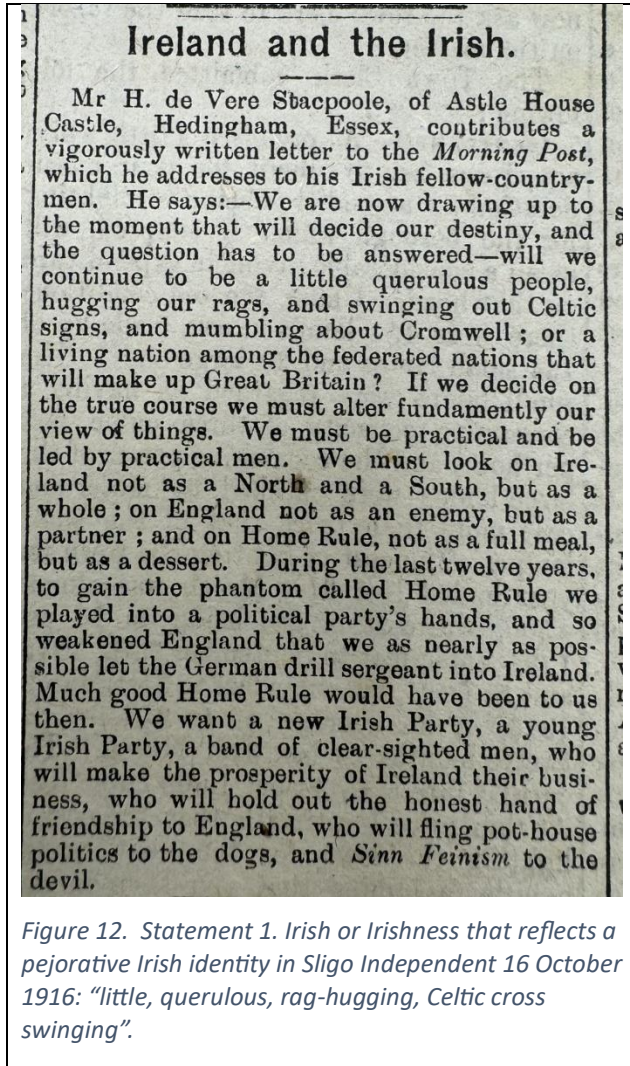


Figure 12 on p.58 shows a letter printed in the *S.I.* on October 1916, that portrays the Irish pejoratively.

When the *S.I.* made reference to “the Irish” and “Irishness”, which seemed only occasionally or sometimes when it used the Irish language name as a place name to do so, it was in the case, here cited, only when Protestants had some controlling stake. The Sligo Feis Ceoil (*S.I.* 3,10, 15 April 1915, Appendix II, Table A.1, pp.91-92), the “Irish” arts and dance association for traditional Irish vocal and instrumental music and dance in Sligo County using public performance competition events that awarded large trophies is an example.

I wondered about the significance of the Sligo Feis Ceoil appearing in the paper (the Irish language is almost never seen in the *S.I.*). It received plenty of mentions throughout the five years. I discovered why. During this period “Protestants unionists dominated the Feis Ceoil committee” contrary to perceptions the name offers (Deignan 2010, pp. 306-307).

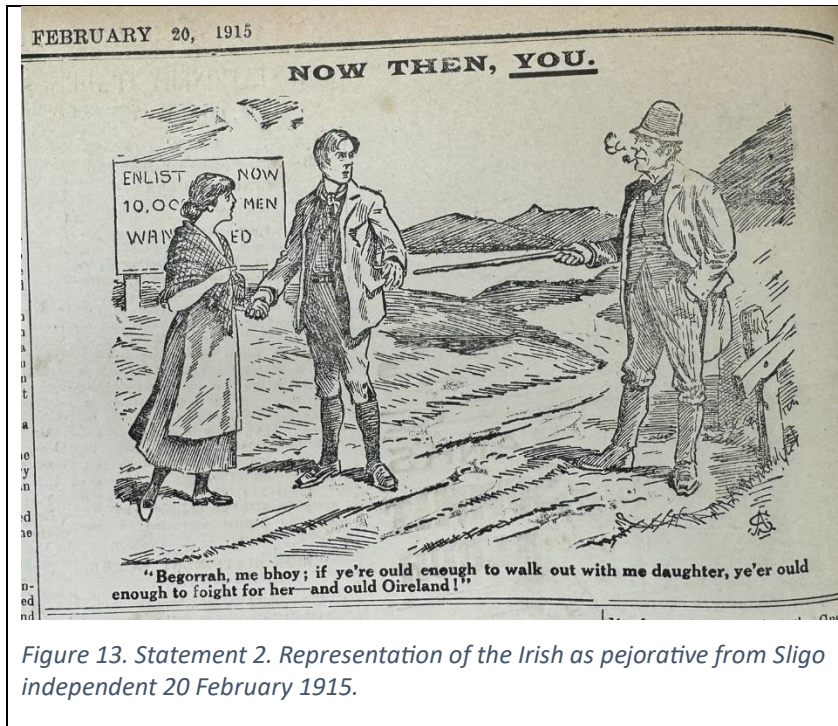


Figure 13. Statement 2. Representation of the Irish as pejorative from Sligo independent 20 February 1915.

The newspaper gives the impression that the community is wholly involved and dominating the competitions. The need to make public the success of Protestant involvement in this particular performative cultural stands out in the

paper as framing identity issues where if the Protestants are to be associated with Irishness they must dominate the competition and be in control of the organisations that run them. As a distinctive Irish cultural form that belonged to the Catholic community it was not only not treasured by the Protestant community, it would have represented a class product of a kind wholly different to the “quadrille parties” that received mention during the period and that reflected class difference within the community.

By 1924, thirteen Protestants and only three Catholics held seats on the Executive Board of the Ceoil. Although Protestants had been associated with the Irish language revival movement, after 1900, the increasingly politicized Catholic Church was more strongly associated with traditional Irish cultural nationalism. This meant Protestants increasingly had no role to play. (see Appendix II, Table A.1, pp.90-91)

**(ii) Army recruitment advertising and reference to Irishness**

Figure 13 on page 59 shows a graphic used for recruitment in February 1915 that positioned the Irish within a pejorative stereotype.

Army recruitment advertising in the *S.I.* during the period made reference to Irishness but used language that underlined class differences the Protestant readers of the newspaper would have understood, that separated issues of being Irish (Gaelic Irish) from being British-Irish (nobility). Even though it would have been obvious to both communities that much between working-class or lower middle-class Protestants would not have differed with their Catholic counterparts, the difference between the Catholic community and the British-Irish nobility would have been much more noticeable to both. It is this that gives a glimpse of how class-washing the community would have taken place in the newspaper. That on the issue of Protestant and Catholic identity, there was the “Oirish” as depicted in **Figure 13 (p.59): “Oireland” and “Begorrah”** and there was the “God Save the King” nobility. Also, British Army recruitment advertising in the *S.I.* uses language that appears out of step with the language framing their Protestant readers would have identified with and draws it therefore into relief.



Figure 14. Statement 2. *Sligo Independent* 6 March 1915: “Is Ireland to Share Belgium’s Fate?”

The Protestant readers would have easily discerned the depiction of Irishness didn’t apply to them.

In **Figure 14, p.60, S.I. 6 March 1915 “Is Ireland to Share Belgium’s Fate?”** the reference to Germany and what they have done to Belgium churches makes the mistake that the readers of the paper are Catholic; at the time of World War I Germans were predominantly Protestant, which everyone knew. The Ireland being referred therefore is a Catholic Ireland. Why would it have been printed in a Protestant paper, especially of the kind the *S.I.* was?

If it is the case that the advertising came from the Military Command in Dublin Castle, as is assumed it did but harder to confirm (offering a site for further research exploration), and that the ads were

published by the editors of *S.I.* on their orders, the Command did not pay attention to differentiating the (Catholic from Protestant) readership of recruitment advertising or that all recruitment advertising was in the first place directed at only the Catholic community. In the scholarship, Fitzpatrick et al claim that the British-Irish nobility (in Military Command in Ireland and the War Office) did not concern themselves with the specifics of Irish community politics, despite the need for them to do so. Might these ads have accounted for the poorer turnout by Protestants than Catholics in the region? Official statements regarding disappointing Irish recruiting began to appear in the Irish press from the War Office (WO) as early as September 1914, with notice that the 10th (Irish) would have to be established with recruits from other parts of Britain, with the “spectacle of three so-called Irish Brigades composed largely of Englishmen” (*Freeman’s Journal*, 10 September 1914). But about the matter other local press were less accommodating: “We hold emphatically that this is not the time for recruiting propaganda to receive any countenance from Nationalist quarters” (*S.C.* 12 September 1914). On 18 September the Home Rule Act received royal assent and on 20 September John Redmond spoke in support of nationalist recruitment support of the War effort. He told the nation to go and fight “in defence of right, of freedom, and religion in this war” (*Wicklow People*, 26 September 1914).

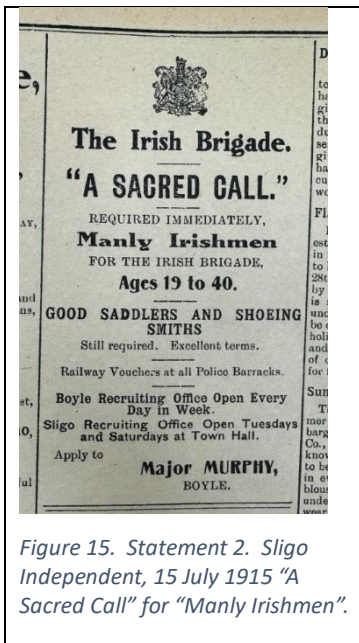
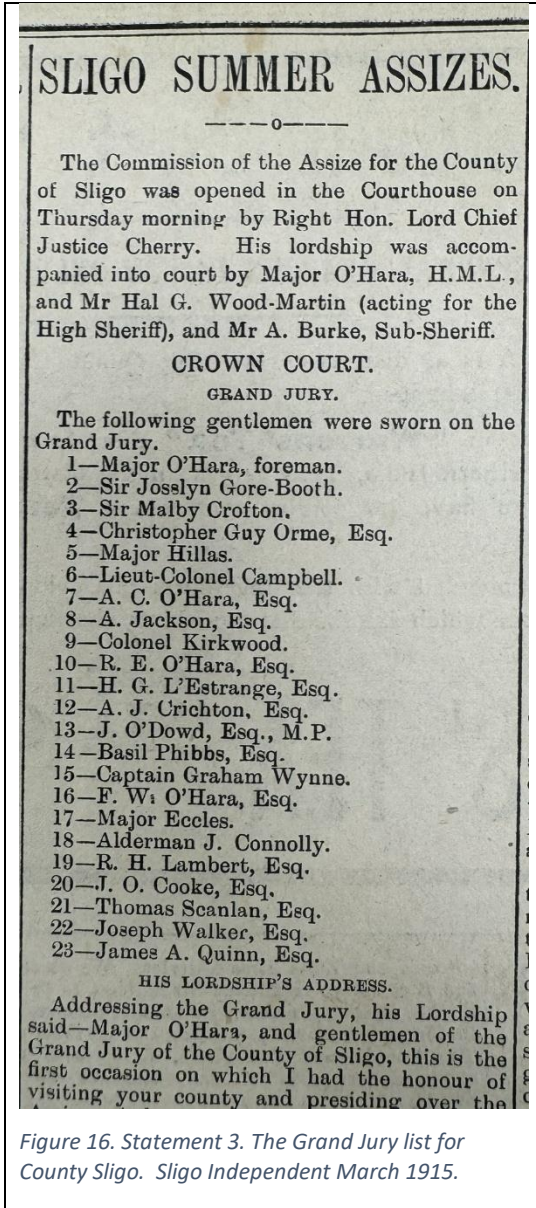


Figure 15. Statement 2. Sligo Independent, 15 July 1915 “A Sacred Call” for “Manly Irishmen”.

In **Figure 15 on page 61**, the use of the word Irish in the paper’s advertising therefore confirms it was to be directed to Catholics; the term British also doesn’t appear. The language that reflects the cultural capital of the British-Irish nobility use of “Big Words” (*Noble, Valor, Sacrifice*) and crosses-over where Big Words of the Church of Ireland (“A Sacred Call”) could also fit with the language of the Catholic church. This blurs who the ad was aimed at, but the use of Irish and Irishman and the Manly adjective suggests not to the Protestants, almost pointedly so. (see Appendix II, Table B.2, pp.92-94)

**(iii) Publication of Petty Sessions, Quarters, and Assizes in Sligo Town despite no Protestant power**

*The land doesn't want us here but here we still are. And we are going to ignore it.*



The newspaper's publication of the minutes and general statements of Petty Sessions, Quarters, and Assizes in Sligo Town are done so with the full awareness that Protestants no longer have the power or control over grand juries or their outcomes, and hold only ceremonial roles. They have had no power since reforms to the rural judicial system changed with the introduction of the 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act. Reference here is to the members of the Grand Jury that sit as the panel of the Assizes. At this time, Protestants do have a continued role as Justices of the Peace. The publication of the list shows the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland in attendance. From the top of the list descending reveals the order of social importance in the community, the original and oldest landowners among them.

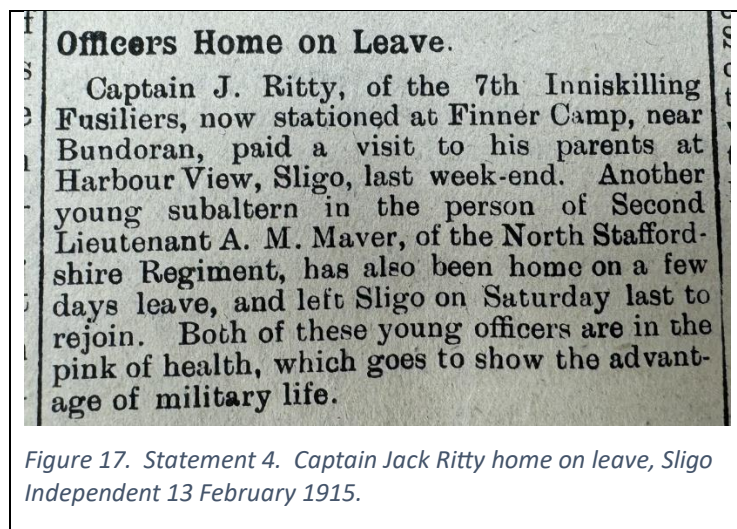
Protestant control over the local courts (and the fact that at one time local land owners

could appoint members of their family onto the Grand Jury) dates back to the gradual shift of landownership from Catholic to Protestant during the Protestant Ascendancy that saw Catholic holdings drop from 59 per cent in 1641 to 14 per cent in 1703. Thus by the 18th century, Protestants who were 10 per cent of the population owned the majority of the land.

The mention of the court trials and meetings in the paper was perfectly in line with a framing policy but one more fitting to a hundred years before. While not all names on the list lists Protestants, the titled honorific and reference to *His Lordship* makes it clear what is expected to be understood from the listing (*see Figure 16, p.62*). (see Appendix II, Table C.3, p.95)

**(iv) Sacrificing the “First-Born Sons” of the nobility, a class obligation**

The *S.I.* portrayal of the whole Protestant community's involvement in World War I is important. In particular, with the reference to their part in upholding ideals of noble sacrifice. These ideals, common to the speeches of War Command, were published in conservative British newspapers and reflected the chivalric language normal to the British-Irish nobility, who depended to a great extent on the success of the War to maintain its well-being (Martin, 2002, p.28) and was evidence of the constructed, War narrative the paper used during the period.



Referring to the sacrifice of “its” noble and often “First-born Sons”, the newspaper framed the Protestant community as a legitimate extension of the British military tradition the nobility and gentry belonged to, helped build in the British

Isles. Except that the majority of Protestants in the County did not belong to it. Peter Martin (2002, pp.29-31) attempts to identify to what extent the British-Irish nobility was in agreement with the ideals of the Empire. He argues that there is little way of knowing except as a general impression of them as a “duty-bound class” many by 1914 with huge debts the land-owning estates left them with. The War offered an opportunity as a way out of the social isolation that came from no longer being in

control of a 20-30,000 acre estate. Land ownership was “the chief determinant of social standing for Protestants” of their class (Fitzpatrick, 1977, p.41-45). For what the War offered them, they had more to lose. The death of the First-born Sons (officers in the War were between 20-24 years old) meant the inherited title died with them. It was to be the final blow.

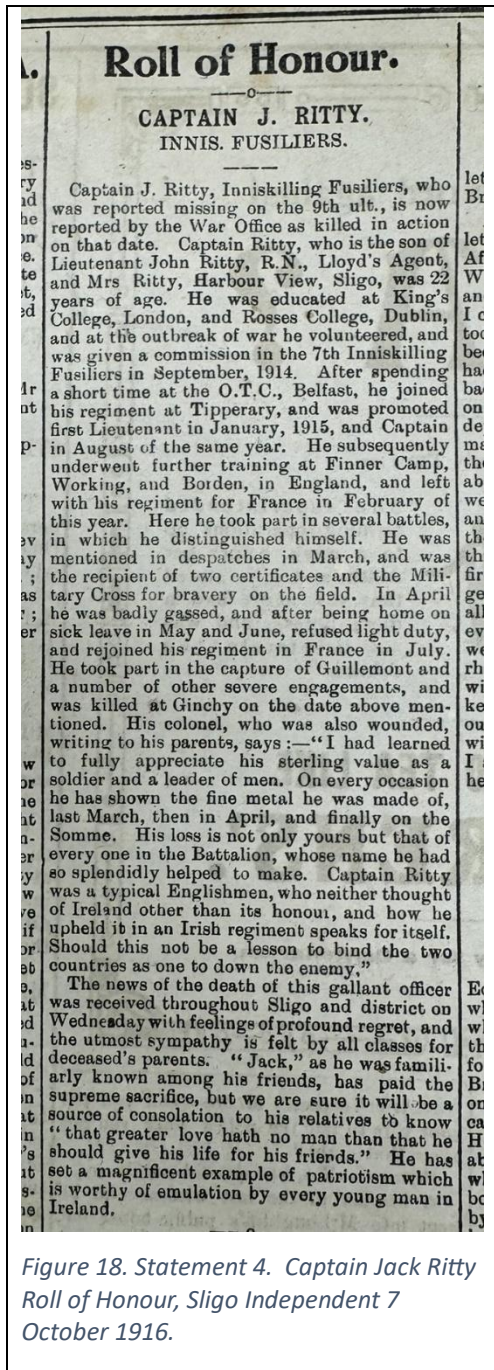


Figure 18. Statement 4. Captain Jack Ritty Roll of Honour, Sligo Independent 7 October 1916.

The *S.I.* records with tenacious detail (see Figures 17, 18, pp. 63-64) the tragic trajectory of these “gentlemen” soldiers. From “gentlemen commissions” to being home on leave. To recording them “wounded”, then “missing” and in most cases “killed in action”. Thereafter, the mention of their name referred to military decoration for a heroic deed and military bravery. In the *S.I.*, War memorials in their name were published as a “Roll of Honour”, often to the right-hand side of the social columns of page 5, adjacent to the social listing “Local News” where class details of the community were laid in stone.

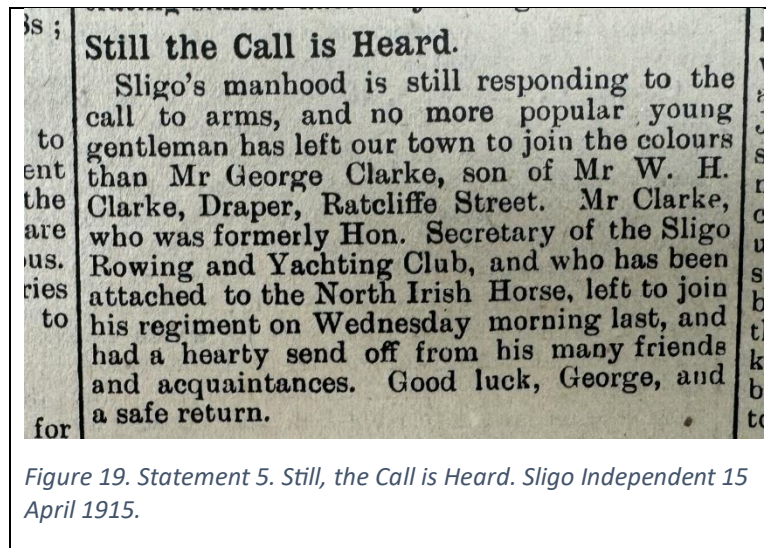
Commissioned officers had pride of place and always more column inches, non-commissioned army privates or sergeants only treated similarly if their deeds had been heroic and had gathered public attention elsewhere.

Nothing is more evident of class-washing than these columns. Although officers in the British Army in Ireland were not always British-Irish

nobility, the language the newspaper surrounded their war record with project it on to them.

This implied that all that was left for the British-Irish nobility was the social deference they could accrue from column inches in a roll of honour for their First-born, posthumously fulfilling his social duty. (Appendix II. Table D.4, p.96-104)

**(v) “Answer the call” + Local News (LN)**



The *S.I.* also referenced the process by which Protestant sons “*join up*”, “*answer the call*” (see **Figure 19, p.65**) and “*prepare for the Front*”. It used quasi-religious language characteristic of the War as a “Sacred Crusade” by the

conservative British press.

On page 5 and “Local News” and later as “Local News and Other Items” during this period there is a strong sense of a close prosperous community living connected to or on the large estates of County Sligo. Seldom is any explicit reference made to the fact these Protestants could also be the servants to the prosperous families or in their service or as workers in the service of Protestant or Catholic businesses in Sligo Town. If a Sligo man “answers the call” and becomes an officer, he is referred to as a “Sligo Gentleman” otherwise they are just named; a “Sligo man” in the columns frequently refers to someone outside the Protestant enclave.

It is acknowledged by Deignan and others that Protestant businesses depended on the Catholic community for a good part of their business in Sligo and they were not in a position to abuse this in order to flex their need for social deference. Class-washing in

the paper would have shored up their class identity and communicated these ideals to the wider community. Although the *S.I.* had not been created for them, it had always communicated to the Catholic community as well.

(Appendix II, Table E.5, p.105-108)

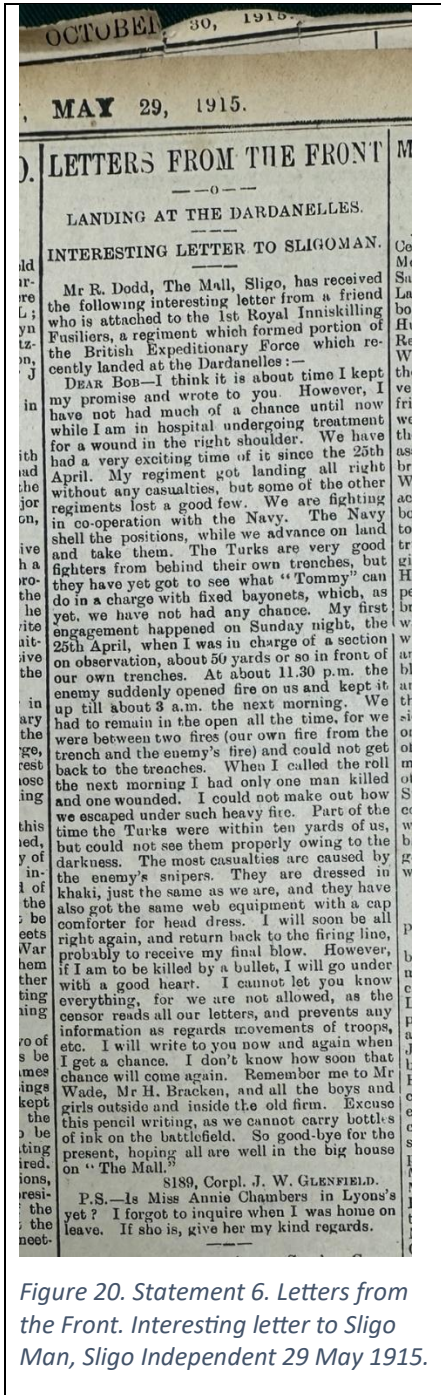


Figure 20. Statement 6. Letters from the Front. Interesting letter to Sligo Man, Sligo Independent 29 May 1915.

**(vi) By positioning all classes of Protestants Males within the Sligo United Y.M.C.A.**

The Young Men’s Christian Association, the “Y.M.C.A.,” featured prominently in all the pages of the *S.I.* for the period, especially in “Local News”. A networking Christian organisation, the “Sligo United Y.M.C.A.” operated out of a plain limestone building on Stephen Street (a space to the right of the Sligo Library through the arched gate facing the street marks the spot today) known as the Protestant Hall. This was opposite to the “Constitutional Club”, nicknamed named “The House of Commons” at Constitutional Buildings, Stephen Street, another networking location favoured by Protestant businessmen, the building still in evidence today. The Sligo United Y.M.C.A. was a men-only Christian association that gave talks and held debates and during the War fundraised. In 1915, the Sligo United Y.M.C.A. had 70 of 100 YMCA members at the Front. The minutes of membership meetings were listed in the paper as were columns devoted to its social activities and fundraising. Mention of the Y.M.C.A often accompanied a list of attendees that usually included during the period, Mr. Robert Dodd and

Mr. Young Warren, both model Y.M.C.A. attendees and custodians of the association,

received special notice. Robert Dodd was a vibrant visible character in the pages of the *S.I.* social pages (see **Figure 20, p.66, letter to Robert Dodd from the Front**). Young Warren was also featured, first as a young Protestant businessperson in the community and gradually over the course of the War, in control of many aspects of the social life of young Protestants in the town. As their names appeared over and over on page 5, I wondered, without knowing what made them especially significant, if they were not part of the Protestant nobility and were not prosperous business persons in the town. I later discovered that Robert Dodd was custodian of the Lord Harlech-funded Freemason Hall on The Mall and lived there with his family by 1914. His name appeared on Freemason literature in the town for the period. Robert Dodd also appeared as a fashion buyer for Henry Lyons & Co, a drapery warehouse with tailoring and dressmaking,



*Figure 21. Statement 6. Staff outside Henry Lyons & Co at Knox Street, circa 1910. The building is still in use today.*

founded in 1835 and with 100 employees at the time of the 1914 War.

Dodd did not enlist in the War, being 39 in 1914, according to the 1901 census (see **Figure 22, p.68**). The census returns for 1901 also show he was living at 1/2 Lower Knox Street with twelve others, all but one of whom were Protestant. Many of these

names featured in the pages of the *S.I.* as casualties who “answered the call”.

**Residents of a house 1.2 in Lower Knox Street (Sligo North Urban, Sligo)**  Show all information

Surname	Forename	Age	Sex	Relation to head	Religion
Noble	Robert	22	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Dodd	Hugh	22	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Maley	Francis	25	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Noble	Frederick	18	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Noble	Herbert	15	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Dodd	Robert	26	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Roycroft	James	23	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Cuffe	Henry	17	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Henry	Andrew	23	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Bracken	Hugh	17	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Glenfield	William	17	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Bracken	Hugh	22	Male	Drapers Assistant	Church of Ireland
Mooney	Patrick	16	Male	Servant	Roman Catholic

Figure 22. Statement 6. Census 1901 returns for 1/2 Knox Street, accommodation for Henry Lyons & Co.

According to staff at Henry Lyons today, the sleeping area these young men occupied is the upper floor of the haberdashery in use today appropriately as household bedding. Further up a small staircase in the office of Richard Lyons, a descendant of Henry

Lyons who ran Lyons' during the War, is "Lyons Roll of Honour" a record of staff fighting in the War (see Figure 23, p.68). Many of these names were also mentioned in S.I.'s Y.M.C.A. listings.

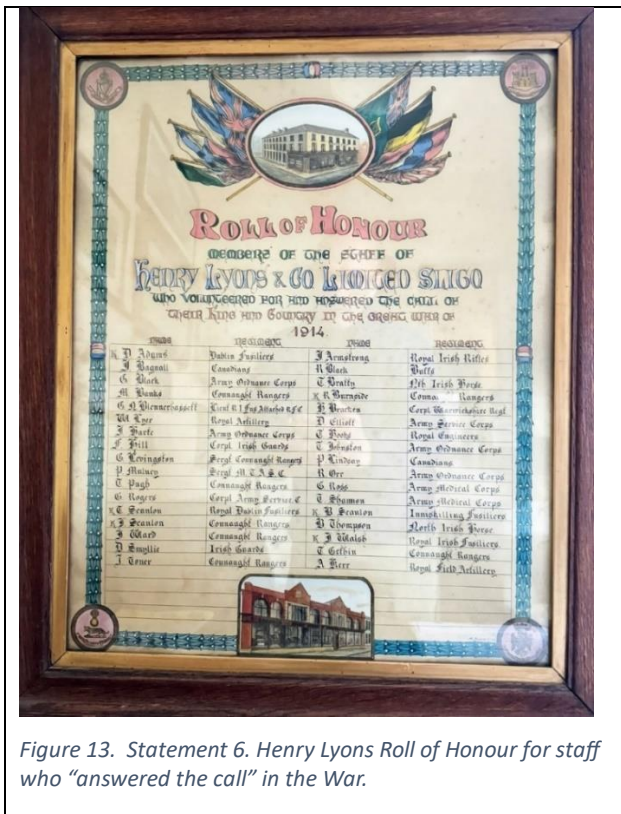
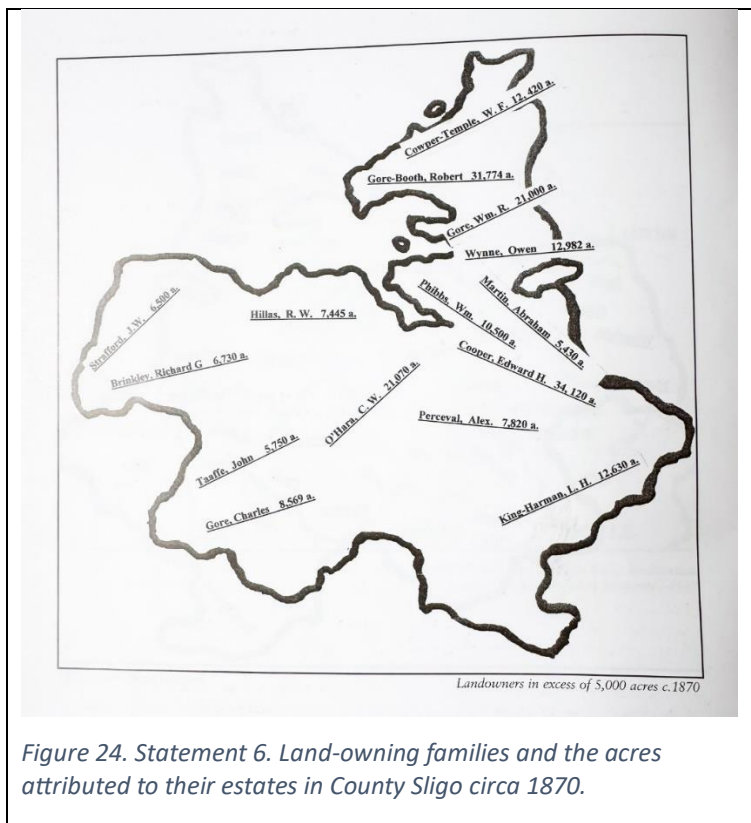


Figure 13. Statement 6. Henry Lyons Roll of Honour for staff who "answered the call" in the War.

Deignan argues that the Sligo Y.M.C.A. was "crucial in preserving a sense of common Protestant culture and social activity" (Deignan 2010, p.418). If this applies to 1914, it is possible there was no other outlet in Sligo Town for young men from Protestant families at that time. By 1914 unionism had lost all of its political and social influence and was hardly a single motivating factor before, during or after the War for Protestant identity.

The Sligo Y.M.C.A. was led by landowner Philip Perceval as president from 1915 to 1916. In the 1870s, the Perceval family-owned Temple House, a 7, 820-acre estate at Ballymote, County Sligo (see Figure 24, p.69). Although said to be a popular landowning family in the region, the Perceval family were slow to fully implement land purchase agreements with their tenants and managed to hold on to 1200 acres (Deignan 2010, p.214).

The Sligo Y.M.C.A comes across in the *S.I.* as a more desirable Protestant social association for young Protestant men than the Freemasons who received few mentions in the paper until after the War and who had none of the old titled gentry of County Sligo in their leadership ranks. In this respect, this association acted as the perfect cover for class-washing its community during the period in Sligo Town.



Mention of the Y.M.C.A. included sporting activities, participants taking part and the prizes they won. Sligo United Y.M.C.A. gets increased attention in the paper over the War, despite numbers dropping year by year with more and more members leaving for the Front.

A point of interest, the *S.I.* publishes Y.M.C.A. membership numbers

consistently lower than other sources (Deignan, p.313). During the War years, the Y.M.C.A. debated War issues at the Protestant Hall and raised money. Members who

enlisted (see **Figure 26, p.70**) were mentioned and when they fell, which they did, their names were linked with sombre gravitas to the association.

**Sligo United Y.M.C.A.**  
 The annual general meeting of this Association will be held in the Protestant Hall, Stephen Street, on Tuesday night next, at 8 o'clock, when the annual report and financial statement will be presented. The chair will be taken by the President or, in his absence, either of the two vice-presidents, and, as some important changes are expected to be made in the rules, a large attendance of the members is requested.

Figure 25. Statement 6. Sligo United YMCA, Sligo Independent 5 April 1915.

Occasionally, the local Sligo grandees made an appearance in the newspaper's account of their meetings (see **Figure 25, p.69**), Wood-Martin and Perceval, large landowners in the region among them. The Y.M.C.A.

was an aspirational organisation and modelled moral business practices for shop assistants, assistant gamekeepers, buyers and department managers from the local Protestant-owned and run stores Henry Lyons & Co, Warren's and Hanley's.

**SLIGO UNITED Y.M.C.A.**  
**MEMBERS SERVING WITH THE COLOURS.**  
 The following is a list of the members of the Sligo United Y.M.C.A. who have joined the Army and Navy since the outbreak of War :—  
 A F S Caldwell, J Coulter, W Cruickshanks, G Clarke, D Elliott, T Hooks, W Harrison, J Harte, T Johnston, J Loudon, J Mullen, R M Allister, H M Loughry, H Ross, J Reilly, G Ross, G Rogers, R Shaw, T Shannon, C Wood, T. Wood, R T West, R Armstrong, Captain Cooper, G Chambers, T Chambers, A Johnston, H Kerrison, Captain Perceval, G Pitman, J Adams, D Bracken, I Chambers, R E Toye, J Rutledge, T Spearman, T Watson, R Anderson, J Moloney, R O Forde, A Barnett, J Meldrum, A Kerr, J Moore, F W Brown, A Blackwood, Geo. Hewson, J P; D Hill, H Kerr, F Rutledge, D Griffith, W Glenfield, G Adams.

Figure 26. Statement 6. Sligo United YMCA. Sligo Independent 26 June 1915.

The aspirational framing of membership of the association by the newspaper provided Protestants of different classes the opportunity to step up and raise their class status. Indeed, membership of the Y.M.C.A. itself already seemed to have conferred on the young men moral and spiritual improvement. That the right social path was taken by those who belonged to the “fellowship”, the language used by the paper to describe their activities also carried tones of British class ethics (see **Figure 27, p.71** and “**A Noble**

**Institution**”) and was evident throughout the coverage of the War.

In the way that a person takes ownership of someone else's skill set by claiming to know everything about it in the person in order to associate themselves with cleverness they themselves alone do not possess, class-washing wasn't always negatively received. The

illegitimate offspring of British-Irish nobility were still royalty in the eyes of the community. But class had devastated the Catholic community and the church responded by protecting itself.

Both the Catholic Church and the Church of Ireland frowned on mixed marriages. The Ne Temere decree of 1908 stated that children of mixed marriages should be brought up Catholic. Miriam Moffitt says that although mixed marriages had always been taking place, the result (of the Ne Temere decree) was that the Protestant numbers were to decline even further, an illustration of the fact that cultural similarity between people from different religions also leads to mixed partnerships (Moffitt 1999, p.51).

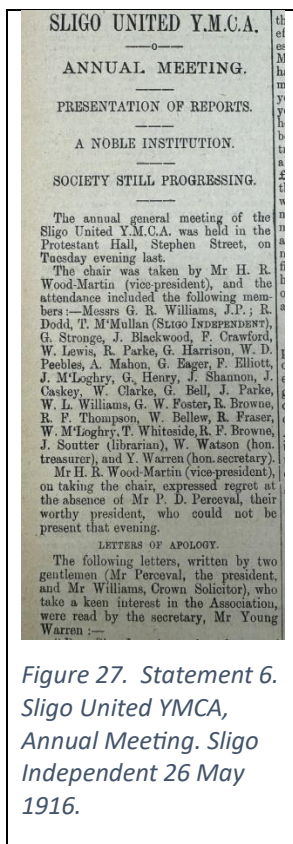


Figure 27. Statement 6. Sligo United YMCA, Annual Meeting. Sligo Independent 26 May 1916.

The response after 1908 was that active social mingling among Protestants in the County was encouraged.

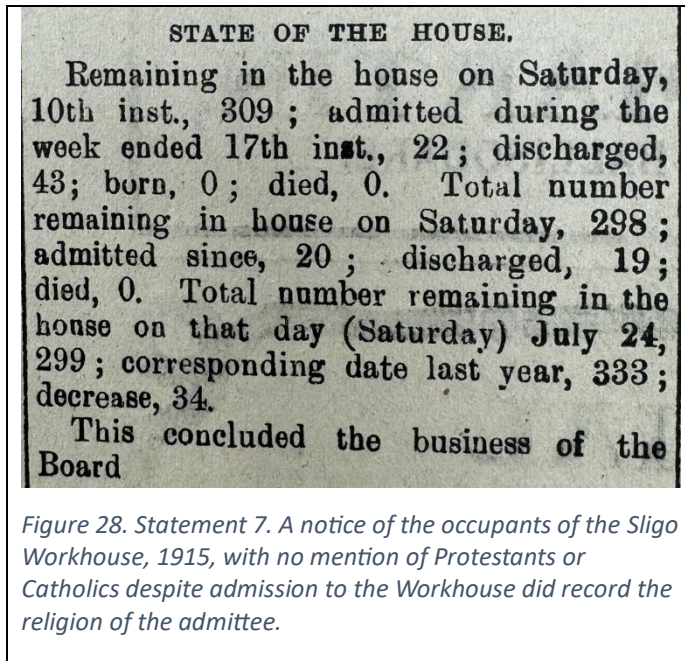
The Y.M.C.A. played a key role in designing events that brought Protestant male members into contact with Protestant females of the town and County. This too was widely reported in the social columns of the paper.

After the War, decorated World War I Irish soldiers courted ignominy if their heroism was highlighted. In Sligo Town today, the heroism of Private Martin Moffat VC, awarded for bravery in 1918, goes largely unnoticed. His VC medal, awarded for the highest acts of bravery, if you search Sligo Museum, you will find buried in a glass cabinet in an almost invisible entrance to a back room on Stephen Street. (Appendix II, Table F.6, p.109-112)

**(vii) By excluding mention of the Protestant poor, the lists**

Miriam Moffitt's research (1999) shows that attitudes of Protestants to the Land League varied, although the League itself did not discriminate between Protestants and Catholics as long as they were agreed with. Her work shows that in 1901, Protestants in Counties Mayo and Sligo enjoyed a higher standard of housing than their Catholic

counterparts with 23.7 per cent of houses occupied by Church of Ireland persons being Class 1 compared with 2.6 per cent of the total population (Moffitt, p.23). In her 1999 study of *Killala and Achonry - 1870-1940*, Moffitt argues that the diocese was made up of mostly poor Protestants, most farmers with around 50 acres. She discusses where Protestants of their ilk hailed from.



The O’Haras of Annaghmore Protestant landlords already discussed in some detail imported Protestants into the county and country to work in their linen producing endeavours. She points out that most of the 39 farms of 200-plus acres in her study of 187 farms probably belonged to landlords (Moffitt, p.64).

Moffitt argues that land ownership, especially determined from seventeenth-century or earlier origins, the disposition of a landlord to support a community of Protestants over hundreds of years by also being a committed Protestant and being resident, and being an existing community at disestablishment (1870) that had been historically Protestant, all were contributory factors to a Parish community of Protestants surviving (Moffitt, p.54-54).

The *S.I.* promoted associations, organisations and individuals who raised funds for the War Effort, and there were many such mentions. Therefore perhaps not surprisingly there were few appearances of the Protestant poor, as Moffitt identified them.

It may be that because Protestants were comparatively better off than Catholics in the region as Moffitt argues and that the newspaper did not regard them as important enough to mention. But, as Moffitt points out, there was a significant percentage of

Protestants in the North West of Ireland who were tenant farmers, merchants or tradesmen: not all Catholics were peasants, and not all Protestants were prosperous.

Even today, the connotation of prosperity is hard to shift from Irish Protestant identity, the effect perhaps of identity class shape-shifting of the kind seen in the framing by the paper during the period.

PRINCE OF WALES NATIONAL RELIEF FUND.	
Major O'Hara begs to acknowledge the further following subscriptions to I.R.H.F. Prince of Wales National Relief Fund.—	
Amount already acknowledged	4492 4 0
Less of further subscriptions—	
Mr and Mrs R. E. O'Hara	5 0 0
A. O'Hara, J.P.	5 0 0
A. J. Cochran, J.P.	5 0 0
Ashbury Protestant Church	1 3 0
Rev. A. Ous	1 1 0
Mrs Ous	1 1 0
Rev. B. Caird, B.D.	1 1 0
De and Mrs Finnsery	1 0 0
De L. Finnsery	0 10 0
James Allan	0 10 0
Mrs Allen (Dublin)	0 5 0
Mrs Watt (Dublin)	0 2 6
Sergt. J. O'Hara	0 2 6
James Finns	0 1 0
John Mattison	0 1 0
For Mrs C. Smith, Ballymote—	
Ballymote Presbyterian Church	1 3 0
William Adams	1 1 0
C. Smith, J.P.	0 5 0
2s 6d each—John Oram, Miss Ducky, V. E. Shaw, C.P.S.; Mrs S. Phillips, Mr Kerr, Healy & Co., S. P. Rogers, 2s each—J. J. McCabe, Miss Williams, Mrs J. Blasson, Mrs J. Farry, Bernard Dyer, Miss Shearman, Frank King, Thomas Hunt, W. J. Lynch, D.C.; Mrs M. Gallagher, Miss Henry, Wm. Kane, Mrs John Bell, Mr James Morrison, 1s each—Mrs Lawson, Mrs Collins, Robert Williams, A. Emond, Miss Martin, Andrew Rogers, Mrs Doherty, Mrs Joberty, Mrs Kilman, Thomas E. O'Brien, James D. O'Brien, Mrs Murray, Bernard Kelly, James Kelly, James Ginnery, Pat Barber, John Keenan, Miss McGowan, Thomas Tighe, Mr McLeary, Miss Hawley, John Clarke, Mrs Davy, Thomas Regan, John Dewey, C.M.S., Miss Sharkey, James H. Reynolds, Mrs Ben Marston, 6d each—Mrs M'Donogh, Mrs Davy, M. Egan, Mr Dally, Thelma Dally, Thomas Gallagher, Mrs Kearney, Mr Benson, Mr McManus, Frank McCreck, M. Fennell, Mrs A. Gallagher, Martin Smith	6 8 0
For Lady Olive Booth—	
10s—John Rodgers, 1s each—J. Keating, C. Harrison, Miss Kavanagh, 2s 6d—J. Armstrong, 2s each—Pat Finnsery, James Deignan, A. Crawford, Tom Herby, 1s each—Michael Mitchell, Hugh Herby, Wm. Carver, B. McEllison, Tom Gilman, Tom Muller, Dan Kilmaher, F. Herby, Pat Carroll, Peter Coffey, John Longman, J. McLean, Pat Donohy, John Herby, E. Waters, Oliver Butler, John Kenna, Miss Larkin, John Gillin, J. McGowan, Miss Larkin, Miss Haran, Oliver Herby, Pat Herby, Pat Wilson, T. McElvanagh, Mrs O'Hara, Miss R. Malachuk, 2s 6d—Mrs J. Waters, T. Herby, Mrs Parnell, Tompleman—2s 2s—Troy and Mrs Gilman, 1s 1s—Mrs Parnell, 2s—Mrs H. Brockan, Mrs W. Boyce, Mrs J. Brody, Mrs Spackham, A. Parnell, 2s each—Mrs F. Hall, Mrs Patrick, Miss Shearman, Mrs J. O'Connell, Miss Doherty, 1s each—Mrs Dwyer, Miss Dowd, Peter Phillips, Mrs Dorman, Mrs Primell, Mrs B. Connolly, Miss King, 6d each—Mrs M'Dermott, James M'Dermott, Mrs Connolly	4 17 0
Mansion, Peter Hunt, Mary Gregg, Margaret Beahy, Catherine Foley, John Higgins	1 1 0
Collected by Mrs H. MacDonnell—	
Miss Cochrane	2 1 0
Mrs H. MacDonnell	1 1 0
2s—Mrs Mary MacDonnell, 1s each—Mrs Gallagher, Mrs Cole, 6d each—Mrs Rowe, Mrs Easther, Mrs Carver, Mrs Curran, 2d—Mrs Leane	4 9 0
Collected by Mrs Gilroy, assisted	
A. T. Gilroy	10 0 0
J. O'Donnell, A.P.	1 0 0
John Higgins	0 10 0
D. O'Connell	0 8 0
2s each—Sergeant Murray, Mrs Under, Mrs John Begory, Mrs Curran, William Conboy, Meli. Barton, 1s 6d—John Scott, 4s—Bernard Kelly, J.P., 2s—Thomas Gilgan, 2s 6d each—P. Mahon, P. Kilmogh, Thomas Hunt, Michael Higgins, Michael Kilmartin, John Benson, 2s each—W. B. Moore, Miss M. Boland, Frank Smith, Denis Finnsery, Mrs Beahy, Archie Scott, Matthew Gilgan, Denis Beahy, Jim May, Mrs Dooney, Jim Hattie, Mrs James Doherty, Pat Herby, Peter Herby, 1s each—Sam Kelly, Francis Diamond, Mrs Hamilton, Sergeant Coffey, James Kilmartin, John Conboy, Robert Herby, Vincent Martin, D. Higgins, Michael Coggins, Mrs Beahy, Jim Gilboil, Maryree Swanny, Tom Clarke, P. Hanrahan, J. O'Connell, A. Gilboil, Robert Martin, M. Doyle, Miss E. O'Hara, Mrs Kilpatrick, Mrs Boyd, Miss M'Murry, Mrs Cahery, Mrs Gilman, M. Scallan, Michael Scallan, Mrs Kearney, Miss Rose, Mrs M'Cherry, Mrs T. Kelly, J. Doherty, Belle Ous, Mrs Larkin, 6d each—Hannah Dooney, Tom Doherty, E. Finnsery, A. Kilpatrick, J. Mulvagh, Ladina O'Donnell, Tom Beahy, Joe Kelly, Charles Beahy, Mrs M'Dermott, Mrs Farry, Col. Dooney, Tom Gilgan, Mrs Doherty, Tom Kelly, Mrs Benson, Mrs O'Connor, Mrs Finnsery, Mrs Benson, Mrs Mallon, Annie Coster, Jordan, Julia Beahy, Mrs Finnsery, Mrs Barrett, Mrs Kilmartin, Mrs S. B. Higgins, Mrs J. Henry, 2d each—P. Flynn, Mary Roman, Thomas Diamond, Rita Hunt, Jim McCook, Bernard Manning, Pat O'Brien, Mrs Beahy, Palf Finnsery, Jim Mahoney, Mick Dooney, A. Fennell, James May, James Doherty, Mrs Nylund, Mrs Walsh, Lily O'Hara, Mrs Finnsery, Volney M'Hann, Michael O'Dowd, Pat May, 6d each—Mrs Finnsery, James Gilgan, Joseph M'Cherry, Mrs Doherty, T. Gilgan, Mrs Benson, M. Gilman, George Chambers, 2d each—J. Gilman, J. Malby, Mary Roman, M. Gilman, J. Doherty, M. Kilmartin, H. Benson, T. Benson, J. Brody, M. H. Benson, M. M'Connell, E. Kilmartin, Collected by Mrs E. Martin—	0 11 0
J. T. O'Connell, 2s	
Hugh Kenna, Tom O'Grady, James Marrow	0 11 0
Total up to Tuesday, 22nd September, 1914	2124 9 0

Figure 29. Statement 7. Prince of Wales National Relief Fund, Sligo Independent 26 September 1914.

Through the War years, the paper continued to reinforce the perception that Protestants were well off enough to be able to give substantial monies to those in need. The paper listed individual subscribers to the various funding drives and the amounts they contributed are published in the paper in list after list.

A closer look at the amounts, (see Figure 29, p. 73) however, shows the amounts are often inconsequentially small, providing even further reason to question their inclusion.

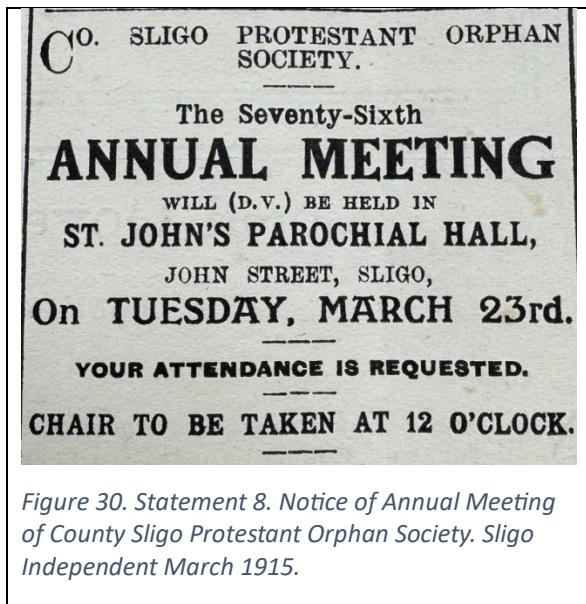
The lists tend to begin with large amount givers, such as the gentry landlord families usually by the wives: Wynne, O'Hara, Cooper, Perceval, which may have been the reason for including them (see Figure 29, p.73). The lists read like a social pecking order and confer on all published names a class association of

the gentry. This conforms to the class-washing of the paper as seen elsewhere in the S.I. during the period. (Appendix II, Table G.7/8, p.113)

**(viii) By Portraying the Protestant nobility as custodians of Protestant Orphan**

In March 1913, the president of the County Sligo Protestant Orphan Society was Sir Malby Crofton of Longford House, a 200-acre demesne in Beltra, County Sligo. The Society was a very well-established support for a Protestant class in desperate need that in County Sligo received recognition for its activities regularly in the S.I. (see Figure 30,

p.74) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1914, 44 children were in the care of the County Sligo Protestant Orphan Society (Cooper, 2015, p. 35, p.53, p.171, p.221) showing a statistically limited if necessary need for an association of its kind. However, it also acted to connect around Ireland a prestigious Protestant social network. In the *Irish Times* on 30 November 1928, a centenary celebration for the society described it: “The Protestant Orphan Society became a social bridge that linked together throughout the Church of Ireland the humble poor and the wealthy and the great”.



The Society only “served respectable Protestant families and imposed rigid application procedures to deter ‘undeserving’ applicants” (Cooper, p.53) with 95 per cent of applications for support coming from widows who would need to depend on the charity for assistance.

While the Society appeared the only evidence of a Protestant class in

desperate need in the paper – orphans could end up in the workhouse but not necessarily – they also served members of the community whose needs might be less severe. The Society attempted to be a bulwark against the persecution of Protestant families involving the support of social classes from the highest levels in the British Isles. (Appendix II, Table 7/8, p.113)

**(ix) By excluding any attempt to address accusations of wrongdoing or criticism from the Catholic and nationalist community and pretending to be deaf to the persistent goading and controversy from other papers**

Protestant businesses and retailers were frequently accused of only hiring Protestant workers, accused of treating Protestants with preference over Catholics. During the War they were also accused of trading with German companies and handling German goods.

Protestants in Ireland have always been accused of acting to protect their own either by employing only Protestants in businesses or by preventing Catholics in some capacity.

As has been said here although the S.I. had not been created to serve the Catholic community, it had always served to communicate to them as well. The Protestant business community did not exist in County Sligo and Town without the help and cooperation of the whole community. In particular, they were not in business to abuse the trust they had built in business relationships. If they needed to assert their class values they would do so within their own community, their reasons justified.

When the United League was founded and Protestants had had their land distributed, they were also victimized. Moffitt shows that this occurred not because they were Protestant but because they owned large farms (p.52). Their treatment was no more severe than Catholics in the same position. That was in 1898 and it had happened to all Protestants, not just Protestant landlords.

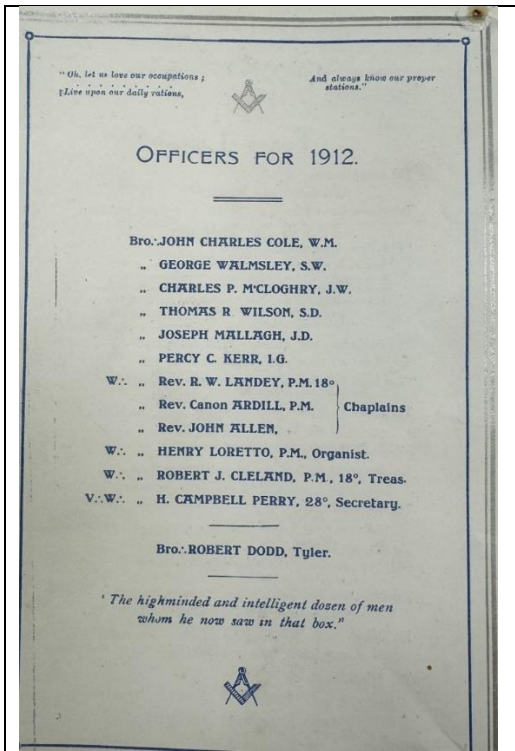


Figure 31. Statement 9. Sligo Freemasons Dinner Menu with a list of officers for the association 1912.

The War years were not so many years after 1898. In 1903, the Wyndham Land Act meant that most of the remaining land belonging to the big four landowners was sold. Protestant businesses continued to prosper however with Arthur Jackson, the Pollexfen family, and Harper Cambell Perry operating harbour, brewing and manufacturing businesses in the town. These families did not belong to the landed families of County Sligo gentry and did not share their history. As a side note, Freemasons' membership was made up of Protestants and had two chapters in Sligo town, one attracting business owners (Harper Cambell Perry was in one) and the other for

clerks and drapers assistants. Robert Dodd and Young Warren are heavily represented among the groups (Farry 2012, p.4).

Nevertheless, although mud-slinging at the Protestant community continued in the *S.C.* and *Nationalist the S.I.* ignored it. (Appendix II, Table H.9, p. 114)

**(x) By a change of editorial stance in “The Easy Chair”, the framing strategy of broad class-washing and detachment appeared pronounced (the introduction of the “Easy Chair” didn’t last)**

The *S.I.* had a change of editor from 6 February 1915. This saw the departure of Thomas Boyd with Thomas McMullan brought on to replace him. There is no notice thereafter of a further change to editorial control. Early in 1917, the newspaper experienced a change in its layout. The paper had already been reduced from six to four pages, due to rising costs and paper shortages. Then in March 1917, the “Local News” column moved to page 2, usually a placeholder for adverts (the front page was all ads) and matters less interesting. In its place on page 4, an opinion piece called “The Easy Chair” appeared by a new editor. There had been no sense of the character of previous editors as the paper maintained a detached neutral tone that would have appeared not out of place in British regional papers of the same cohort.

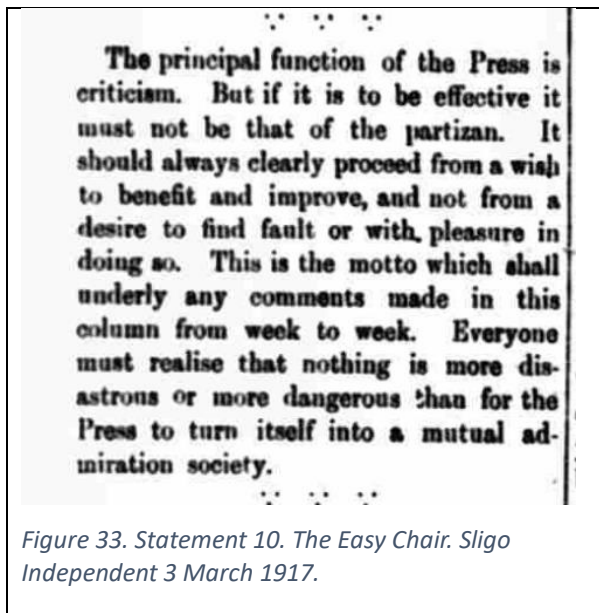


Figure 32. Statement 10. The Easy Chair. Sligo Independent 3 March 1917.

“The Easy Chair. Topics of the Week. By the Editor” appeared from 3 March 1917 from then on until 21 July 1917, when all sign of it, and the outspoken voice it expressed, disappeared.

There was no additional name added to the byline. “The Easy Chair” (see Figure 32, 33, 34, p.76-77) differed from the editorial position of the paper up to that point and was written in the first person and reflected a first-person opinion unlike any other material in the paper during the war years. The Easy Chair took to task topics fraught with disagreement including religion and nationality and

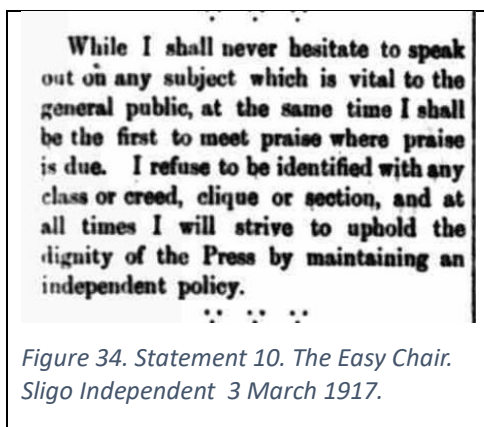
others less disagreeable such as Protestant frugality. The Chair addresses the reader in the maiden article declaring: "The principal function of the Press is criticism. But if it is to be effective it must not be that of the partisan. It should always clearly proceed from a wish to benefit and improve, and not from a desire to find fault or with pleasure in doing so. Everyone must realise that nothing is more disastrous or more dangerous than for the Press to turn itself into a mutual admiration society," the *S.I.* declared in 3 March 1917.



He wrote:

"While I shall never hesitate to speak out on any subject which is vital to the general public...I refuse to be identified with any class or creed, clique or section and at all times will strive to uphold the dignity of the press by maintaining an independent policy.

Although the Easy Chair did not reflect the paper's previous policy, some of the commentary was unashamedly Protestant and unionist and would have appealed to the audience, no matter how divided they were over national politics in a state of War.



The Easy Chair appears the voice of authority and is unlikely to have been the future owner of the paper, William David Peebles, who was only in 26 in 1917 but so far no further details of the editor's identity are known.

(Appendix II, Table I.10, p.115-117)

## **DISCUSSION**

Several general points should be made on the limitations of my research and some recommendations in response.

I am aware that the main function of a minor thesis is to contribute to the data of an area and not necessarily to be a part of its body of literature

Early on, it was suggested that my data findings might be part of existing scholarship on strategies used by colonial communities in their final days. While this was an exciting possibility and opportunity to develop research further, the scope of the research meant this was not pursued here. As such, it is a takeaway of the data and for use in the next phase of research, should there be one.

I do not doubt that my research could be expanded upon to develop in greater detail a more rigorous template for newspaper framing in the context of regional newspapers across Ireland during the period of the War.

Research carried out on five years of weekly editions of a regional paper over three months was a challenge for a minor thesis.

Armed with the knowledge the literature review brought to the research and the lacuna I felt existed there, the research always felt possible. Living in Sligo Town “on the set”, so to speak, of such historical research made it feel especially possible. This and the fact that the scholarship in local town and county history in the North West of Ireland has been extraordinary. The detail is exemplary.

I believe the findings of my thesis are a rich depository of the Edwardian period in the North West of Ireland through the eyes of a Protestant conservative organ and with the provisos the data reflects class-washing.

## CONCLUSION

This research is the culmination of a personal journey. Its initial aim was to position Protestant national identity within the Irish historical context of World War I. The research was conducted in the West of Ireland and Sligo Town and County was chosen as a suitable location to review the Protestant historical context. I chose County Sligo as a suitable location because I had moved there and because Sligo Town had been known as “Little Belfast”, a Protestant enclave in the years preceding World War I.

The initial questions of the research related to my returning to live in Ireland after two decades abroad and re-experiencing my Irish identity. My mother’s family are “Anglo-Irish” (British-Irish nobility) and we have never been taken for being truly Irish.

More reflective of a class than a community, the British-Irish nobility had a long association with England and who experienced a resurgence during World War I with hereditary class values being used to mobilise the crusade to fight.

My move back to Ireland coincided with reading books on Ireland and World War I. The War in Ireland became a time of considerable change, not least for the British-Irish nobility.

I decided to review regional newspapers for the West of Ireland during the period 1914 to 1918 with the general intention to understand Ireland and the War.

In the Sligo Library Local Studies Archive, I discovered a complete hardbound set of the conservative Protestant newspaper the *Sligo Independent (S.I.)* for the period of the war. At the same time, I decided to use newspaper framing as a theoretical basis to interpret the material.

I widened my reading to include the historical background of conditions between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I researched the local history of the landed British-Irish nobility and the changes they experienced at the end of the nineteenth century. I read about World War I recruitment

in Ireland, contributions to the War effort among the communities and the disparity of sacrifice across the British Isles.

I read each weekly edition of the *S.I.* for the five years of the War. I researched the background of the paper but sadly, there was no more than a basic biography available.

I discovered the *S.I.* was deeply connected to the Protestant community and carried an intimate portrait of its social components in its pages.

The paper portrayed the social and mercantile elite, the social behaviour of the titled Protestant nobility, and the social events and the Protestant associations that brought them all together.

There was an obvious absence of nuance in portraits of the Protestant classes of the region.

I found Padraig Deignan's work on the Protestant community in the region 1914 – 1949. I read and reread Miriam Moffitt's history of the Church of Ireland community for the region. In the work, I found that Protestants were a class range similar to the Catholic community over the period, although smaller in number. I was therefore able to confirm their absence from the portrait the *S.I.* portrayed for the period of the War.

I read about the British-Irish nobility for the period in the work of Roy Foster, Ian D'alton and Ida Milne, Keith Jeffery, Timothy Bowman, Peter Martin and David Fitzpatrick.

For an understanding of newspaper framing, appropriate to a period before digital media, I read the work of Clemente and Roulet, Klein and Amis, Goffman and Entman. I also reviewed work by David Barret, Ciaran McCullagh and James Curran, media sociologists who theorised how media organisations frequently struggled to retain power to publish and were primarily motivated by the need to make a profit.

A review of how messages create meaning is amply provided for in the social work of Barthes, Fisk, Hartley and Hall. Stuart Hall argues that media products transmit the ideology and pattern of domination back into society from where it originates.

The work of Marie-Louise Legg, Chris Doughan, Mark O'Brien, Ian Kenneally and James O'Donnell and Mark Wehrly illustrate the complex situation regional newspapers occupied in the period preceding and including World War I in Ireland.

I refer early in the research to a "split" that exists in reading on the subject area. This refers to how it seemed impossible to read about one aspect of Irish identity without bringing into the frame the other element for which the one was defined against.

That is, being Irish and Protestant brought into the frame the various ways being Protestant in Ireland means not being Irish. This early recognition of a split in meaning and definition informed the later conceptual framework for analysing the newspaper data. In addition, the work of Benedict Anderson, Jurgen Habermas and Gayatri Spivak helped to think further about Irish communities and their national identity relevant to the Irish and Protestant context. Noticeable gaps in the scholarship on the split in national identity were identified. Also, to the matter of class-washing, that I created to try and explain the class process I found in the *S.I.*.

Class-washing is how class values can be applied to a social communication process to vet and curtail unwanted social values by one social class over another. In newspaper framing, class-washing occurs when a newspaper applies a set of class values to the whole community in its representation of that community in order to overlay or wash-clean values seen as undesirable. Class-washing is seen as a tendency more than a fixed or determined process and leads to impressions rather than hard and fast examples as might be expected of newspaper framing.

The research asks: Does the portrait by a provincial Protestant newspaper of a society in its final days provide evidence of a "class-washing" framing strategy during the period 1914-1918? Were issues of Protestant identity noticeably "class-washed" to reflect the long-abolished British-Irish nobility in the Sligo Independent (S.I.) during the years of World War I 1914-1918, rather than to reflect the lived experience of the ordinary Protestant community majority?

A hypothesis that tests this research is: Newspaper framing by a provincial Protestant newspaper of a community in its final days offers evidence of “class-washing” during the period 1914-1918. Using the British Army’s reasserting of English upper-class values used to recruit Irish soldiers for the war effort, the Sligo Independent newspaper reasserts British-Irish nobility as a credible identity of the Protestant Sligo community.

From the work of Yin, Denscombe, Bradshaw, Braun and Clarke, this research considered the approaches of case study research as an appropriate method to gather and analyse its data.

Case study research was found to be more suitable than other types because it is a commonly used research strategy for the study of complex social processes and is especially helpful in answering “how” and “why” research questions of the kind that arose from the literature review and reading. Documents play an explicit role in data collection for case studies. Case study research typically involves working with stable primary material documents such as those found in archives.

Braun and Clarke offer a step-by-step guide to developing themes from data useful to addressing and answering these type of research questions. From this, with Yin, I developed a conceptual structure and step guide. First, the data was coded into five key areas. Then using the conceptual frame, data was categorised and an attempt to address the questions. This process is laid out in Table 8, Figure 13 on p.58.

The subsequent research findings were divided into ten sections over twenty pages, each providing evidence of some aspect of class-washing.

These found that it did so when the *S.I.* typically referred to the Irish and Irishness pejoratively or when it emphasized that the Protestant nobility was in charge.

The research also found it did so when during the period of the War, army recruitment advertising in the *S.I.* used Irishness pejoratively and that depictions and terms “Oirish” and “Begorrah” were pitched against English class statements “God Save the King” as

well as the use of quasi-religious language associated with the British-Irish nobility in “Noble”, “Sacrifice”, “Sacred”.

As well as affirming strong “class” differences between the “Irish” and the British-Irish nobility, this construct erased important differences between classes of Protestants.

The research also found how the *S.I.* promoted long-abolished roles of the Protestant elite and used the rise and fall of their legacy sons in the War to underscore Protestant noble heritage, both of which washed clean any notion of social difference among the community.

The *S.I.* also used the key events and prominent members of a social Christian association for young men in the community to effectively class-wash their Protestant identity. This it did by adhering the “noble” activities of the association to the community.

After the *Ne Temere* decree in 1908, Protestants were prohibited from mingling socially with Catholics and the *S.I.* didn’t need to underscore class differences between Protestants and Catholics. Instead, it promoted the Christian association and its effort to present these Protestant men as desired partners for Protestant young women. The *S.I.* also publicized the association members serving at the front as further evidence of their class.

The research also found the *S.I.* rarely responded to goading by the nationalist press. Protestants built businesses with the cooperation of the whole community, including the Catholic community. The *S.I.* dared not antagonize them.

Instead, if it wished to pass class comment, it did so obliquely, as occurred during anti-conscription activities by the Catholic church in Sligo Town in 1916.

The paper was more likely to class-wash its own community than the Catholic community.

This it did by rarely referring to its poor except when it mentioned the Protestant Orphan Society, whose membership was socially desirable and whose patrons were the wives of British-Irish nobility with close links to British royalty.

## POST-SCRIPT

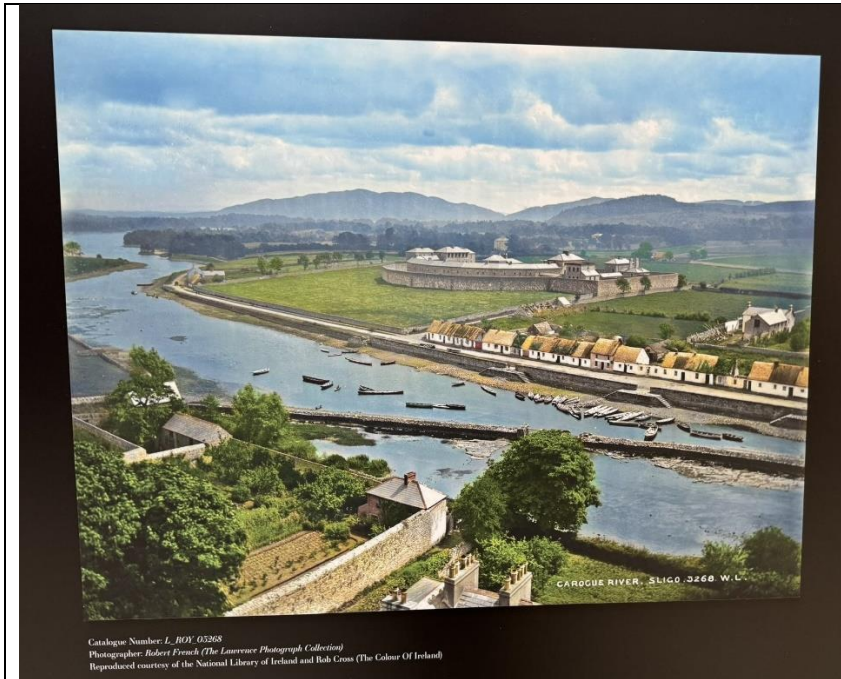


Figure 35. Sligo Gaol or Sligo Prison is a former prison located in Sligo, County Sligo, Ireland, which was open from 1823 to 1959, Photo courtesy of the Lawrence Collection.

To speak of different religions in Ireland is to have a conversation about class. To learn about Protestant history in Ireland is to put Protestant history on trial.

Long ago it was easy enough to talk of Protestants as if they were one thing, which of course they

were not, just as to have called someone Catholic was to mean one thing only, which of course it did not. Today, thankfully, the dependence on religious denominations to derive national identity is no longer bound by duty and has waned. Today a person cannot be so easily trivialized. You would hope. The rigid distinctions of communities and their membership *you would hope* would matter more in the past.

Today Sligo Town boasts Protestant-owned shops where Protestants work and Catholic staff are still not being employed. The well-cut stone of Sligo Town is a permanent reminder of Protestant times past.

In the past, Protestant “class-washing” was at best a protective mechanism to shield the Protestant community from criticism and at worst, a convenient narrative to avert the

shame that poverty would ally working-class Protestants with a much projected “Other”: the very poor, or worst of all, Catholics.

Class distinctions existed between Protestants and Catholics. They also existed within the Protestant community between its elite and its working poor. Protestant unionists in County Sligo as elsewhere in Ireland were critical of the British government's failure to protect them. However, there were differences between the unionist conservative elite in Ireland's Protestant community and the working-class Protestant servant, tradesman or farmer.

The Protestant staff of the Wynne Family Estate at Hazelwood House, Lough Gill, Sligo had a few church pews to themselves on the ground floor of St John's Cathedral, John's Street, Sligo Town. The name “Hazelwood” riveted in bevelled brass signalled to the community who the occupants belonged to. The Wynne Family, if they were in town, would have looked down at their community from the gallery above.

Although “RC Need Not Apply” signs no longer hang outside the Protestant shops of Sligo Town, it is less than twenty years since they did so.

Locals still talk of “Protestant land” that will never end up in the hands of Catholics. And, that of Protestant and Catholic fields. Protestants Keep Better Fields, they say.

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## APPENDIX I

CODING PRACTICES 1	
1.	KEY FIGURES OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KF
2.	KEY SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS OF LOCAL SLIGO PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KSO
3.	KEY INSTITUTIONS OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KI
4.	KEY EVENTS OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KE
5.	KEY NARRATIVES OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS: KN
<i>Coding Practice 1 for use in Thematic Analysis of The Sligo Independent 1914 – 1918</i>	

**Coding Practices (see Table 7 & 8):** I followed coding the data based on the following data collection rubrics, Coding Practice 1 and Coding Practice 2. From the data, I had taken note of Key (K) items for Coding Practices 1 and 2. That is Key (K) figures, K organisations, K institutions of Protestant power and K narratives relating to the community. I then applied Coding Practice 2 to this information, which involved noting how Key (K) figures, organisations, institutions, events and narratives featured in the detail.

CODING PRACTICES 2	
1.	<p><b>KEY FIGURES OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS:</b> Features of which are full names with titles and honorifics, the importance of name usually accompanied by the word “gentleman” if not already identified as Sir, i.e. Sir Jossilyn.            These are identified with KF/            These are identified with an abbreviation of their name</p>
2.	<p><b>KEY SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS OF LOCAL SLIGO PROTESTANT NETWORKS:</b> These are identified as belonging to Church or Church-related organisations and or closed societies, i.e. YMCA as Sligo United YMCA or Chapter 460 Freemasons.            These are identified with KSO/            These are identified with an abbreviation of their name, i.e., YMCA</p>
3.	<p><b>KEY INSTITUTIONS OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS:</b> These are local state civil institutions where Protestants dominated i.e. Sligo Orphans Society, and Petty Sessions.            These are identified with KI/.</p>
4.	<p><b>KEY EVENTS OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS:</b> integral to the framing of the community are the events that make up the social calendar.            These are identified with KE/            These can be divided into 5 codes of which dances, concerts, band parades, ceremonies, births, deaths and marriages are included.: <i>SOCIAL (S) RELIGIOUS (R) MILITARY (M) SYMBOLIC (SM) PERSONAL (P)</i></p>
5.	<p><b>KEY NARRATIVES OF LOCAL PROTESTANT NETWORKS:</b> These are the main ideas behind the articles or short mentions.            These are identified with KN/            These are identified with: At home: Working ethic (WE); At War: Noble Sacrifice (NS). At home, at war: Nobility (N). At home, at war: good Health (moral) GH. At home, at war: Duty (D). In Death; at Peace (INDP). At home, at war: Humble, noble (HN).</p>
<i>Coding Practice 2 for use in Thematic Analysis of The Sligo Independent 1914 - 1918</i>	

## **APPENDIX II**

### **Statement of “How” Findings**

**This research asks:** *how were issues of Protestant identity deliberately “class-washed” to reflect the long-abolished British-Irish nobility in the Sligo Independent during the years of World War I 1914-1918, rather than to reflect the lived experience of the majority and ordinary Protestant community?*

**(i) By only referring to the Irish (Gaelic Irishness) when the majority stake is held by Protestants or the meaning is pejorative**

**(ii) Army recruitment advertising and reference to Irishness**

**(iii) Publication of Petty Sessions, Quarters, and Assizes in Sligo Town despite no Protestant power**

**(iv) Sacrificing the “First-Born Sons” of the nobility, a class obligation**

**(v) “Answer the call” + Local News (LN)**

**(vi) By positioning all classes of Protestants Males within the Sligo United Y.M.C.A.**

**(vii) By excluding mention of the Protestant poor, the lists**

**(viii) By Portraying the Protestant nobility as custodians of Protestant Orphan**

**(ix) By excluding any attempt to address accusations of wrongdoing or criticism from the Catholic and nationalist community and pretending to be deaf to the persistent goading and controversy from other papers**

**(x) By a change of editorial stance in “The Easy Chair”, the framing strategy of broad class-washing and detachment appeared pronounced (the introduction of the “Easy Chair” didn’t last)**

The full data files are online at:

[https://drive.google.com/file/d/1twUGzOY6g6k8lhh8Wz6-Y\\_r89pLYb\\_VA/view?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1twUGzOY6g6k8lhh8Wz6-Y_r89pLYb_VA/view?usp=sharing)

STATEMENT TABLES EXAMPLES APPENDIX LISTING PER EACH HOW STATEMENT

**(i) By only referring to the Irish (Gaelic Irishness) when the majority stake is held by Protestants or the meaning is pejorative**

Each table is divided into 4 columns: day/**date**/year; **Name** of person(s) appearing or featuring in the segment; the type of layout or subheading **section**; the headline (**item**), if there is one in quotations, sometimes followed by an explanation of the content with background all added by me; last the **page number** – the paper varied from 6 pages to 4 pages and can also include supplements.

THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1915 APRIL				
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
3 APRIL 1915	Robert Dodd; Young Warren	COLUMN	"Sligo YMCA Concert"	p.5
3 APRIL 1915		COLUMN	"Sligo Feis <u>Ceoil</u> " notice underneath, Sligo Feis had more Protestant members than Catholic members during this period.	

10 APRIL 1915			"Feis <u>Ceoil</u> " Detailed	p.6
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THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1917 JUNE				
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
23 JUNE 1917		Easy Chair (ED)	"Irish <u>Freemasonry</u> ", Duke of Connaught, Grandmaster, Boating on Lough Gill	p.3

17 JULY 1915		AD	"A sacred call" from The Irish Brigade for "manly Irishmen" men aged 19 - 40	p.5
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THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1918 OCTOBER				
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
5 OCTOBER 1918		BP Full Page <u>editorial</u>	"Irish party's policy versus Sinn Fein given by Thomas Scanlon MP	p.4
7 OCTOBER 1916	<u>Mr. H de Vere Stacpoole</u>		"Ireland and the Irish" ref to De Vere <u>Stacpoole</u> letter to <u>newspaper</u>	p.5

**Table A. 1.**

STATEMENT TABLES EXAMPLES APPENDIX LISTING PER EACH HOW STATEMENT					
<b>(ii) Army recruitment advertising and reference to Irishness</b>					
15 AUGUST 1914	George Regina (including Royal coat of arms)	AD	"Your King and Country Need You"	p.3	
19 September 1914	C.K. O'Hara			"An Appeal to Manhood" – recruiting plea by local landlord: O'Hara of <u>Annaghmore</u> House, reputation as improving landlords (Deignan); by 1930s most lands had passed to former tenant's hands.	
20 FEBRUARY 1915		AD	Ad includes the phrase: "Sanctity of your churches" (with skit above in cartoon)	p.4	
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER	
6 MARCH 1915		AD	"Is Ireland to share Belgium's fate?" with <u>reference to the</u> line: "the sanctity of your churches",	p.3	
27 MARCH 1915	William Redmond	AD		recruiting drive (absent of big words – NOBLE, VALOR, NATION etc)	

	19 MAY 1915	Recruitment	AD	"God Save Ireland with a gun in your hands" – Reference to big words: Honour of our country, preservation of small nations etc	p.4
	17 JULY 1915		AD	"A sacred call" from The Irish Brigade for "manly Irishmen" men aged 19 - 40	p.5
	<i>THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1915 SEPTEMBER</i>				
	4 SEPTEMBER 1915	NONE	AD	"Young man, is anyone proud of you?"	p.4
	18 SEPTEMBER 1915	NONE	AD	"Men of Sligo, the IB want you" – recruitment slogan	p.3
	25 SEPTEMBER 1915	H Lyons,	AD	"Jaegar Fine Pure Wool" Reference to "a British company (founded 1883) under British Control."	p.2
	30 OCTOBER 1915	King George, R. V.	AD	"To my people"	p.4
	6 NOVEMBER 1915		AD FP Full-page	"Irishmen!" Call to enlist	P1
	6 NOVEMBER 1915	Lieu. Mike O'Leary, V.C.	AD	"Irishmen!" + "Sign the enlistment list	p.7

	13 NOVEMBER 1915		AD 1/4 page.	"Irishmen!" + "What will you do? Sign the form?" + "We will get rid of them this way.	p.4	
	22 APRIL 1916		AD	"Harvest" Dramatic Club of the Sligo Catholic Institute – ref	p.5	
	29 APRIL 1916	MANY	SUPPLEMENT (1/4 page)	"Sinn Fein HQ Shelled by warship" ref. to 10k troops arrived in Ireland from England	p.5	
	30 NOVEMBER 1918		AD	"Vote for Neither Party" referring to election between the IPP and the Unionist Party	p.2	

**Table B. 2.**

STATEMENT TABLES EXAMPLES APPENDIX LISTING PER EACH HOW STATEMENT				
<b>(iii) Publication of Petty Sessions, Quarters, and Assizes in Sligo Town despite no Protestant power</b>				
10 JULY 1915	Lord Chief Justice Cherry, Grand Jury present	COLUMN	Sligo Summer Assizes with Grand Jury	p.5
31 JULY 1915			Workhouse numbers: born = 0, dead = 0	p.2
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
2 MARCH 1918		Local and Other Items	Sligo Assizes announced	p.2

**Table C. 3. Publication of Petty Sessions, Quarters, and Assizes in Sligo Town despite no Protestant control.**

STATEMENT TABLES EXAMPLES APPENDIX LISTING PER EACH HOW STATEMENT

**STATEMENT 4. Sacrificing the First-Born Sons of the Nobility**

3 OCTOBER 1914	Mrs. M Perceval	LN	“Irish Guards” + “Call for Comforts.” for the front: <i>Perceval Family intermarried to the Wynnes of Hazelwood House, 900 acres in 1912)</i> (Muriel Wynne married Philip Perceval of Temple house, today still in family hands at 1200 acres)	p.5
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3 OCTOBER 1914	Lord Robert	LN	“Lord Robert’s Birthday” - 82 <sup>nd</sup> Birthday, wishes from the Ring and the King.	p.5
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THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1914 NOVEMBER				
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
7 NOVEMBER 1914	Lieutenant F E Robinson	LN	“The Roll of Honour” – photo + obituary of F E Robinson	p.5

7 NOVEMBER 1914	O’Hara appoints B. R. Cooper	LN	<u>New Deputy</u> Lieutenant appointed	P.5
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	13 FEBRUARY 1915	Captain Jack <u>Ritty</u>	LN	"Sligo Officer Promoted" – Jack <u>Ritty</u> gets promoted to Lieutenant.	p.5
				rent will be excused until the end of the year also applies to anyone who enlists or their sons, BEFORE 30 September 1914.	
	5 SEPTEMBER 1914	Mr. B. R. Cooper		"Tenants and Recruiting" – for those that pay less than \$10,	p.5
	17 OCTOBER 1914	Mr. B. G. MacDowell, The Mall, Sligo.	LN	"Sligo Gentleman Commissioned" -	p.5
	19 September 1914	C.K. O'Hara		"An Appeal to Manhood" – recruiting plea by local landlord: O'Hara of <u>Annaghmore</u> House, reputation as improving landlords (Deignan); by 1930s most lands had passed to former tenant's hands.	

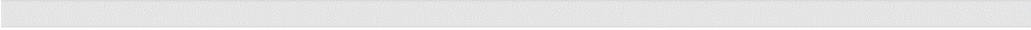
21 NOVEMBER 1914	Captain Guy Robinson	LN	"Captain Guy Robinson wounded" – Robinson is badly wounded at the front. He is a nephew of Sir Edward Carson, Unionist leader, British Irish Unionist Alliance MP for Ulster; Carson was Attorney	p.5
26 September 1914	Mr. Jack Ritty	LN	"Young Sligoman Commissioned" – Jack Ritty commissioned	p.5
26 September 1914	Lieutenant Geoffrey Russel Fenton	LN	"The Roll of Honour" + "The County of Sligo".	p.5
27 FEBRUARY 1915	Capt. James Wood-Martin	LN	"Sligo's Roll of Honour", killed, from Suffolk Regiment.	p.5

	31 OCTOBER 1914	Second Lieutenant A. C. Lyons	LN	" <u>Sligomen</u> in the place of <u>honour</u> " – Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers ("Skins") <u>Alex</u> son of <u>Mrs Lyons</u> <u>Rathellen</u> wounded <u>not</u> serious: hopes shortly to be in the firing line again.	p.5	
	4 SEPTEMBER 1915	Captain Jack <u>Ritty</u>	LN	"Officer home on leave"	p.5	
	10 JULY 1915	Lord Haldane	COLUMN	" <u>Duty of the nation</u> " speech from the Secretary of State for War	p.5	
	14 AUGUST 1915	Lieut. Jack <u>Ritty</u>	LN	" <u>Another Sligoman</u> Promoted", <u>progress of Jack</u> <u>Ritty</u> shows he is promoted to Captain	p.5	
	16 OCTOBER 1915	Private John Mullen, ASC, Sergeant James Somers, <u>Belturbet</u> , County Cavan.	LN	"Cavan VC visits the King"	p.5	
	19 JUNE 1915	Thomas Kettle	BP	Recruitment event notice: Lieutenant Thomas Kettle to speak (poet, writer and nationalist)	p.6	
	20 MARCH 1915	Captain James Wood-Martin		" <u>Sligo's Roll of Honour</u> " for James Wood- Martin, killed	p.5	

23 OCTOBER 1915	Edward Carson	COLUMN (Military News)	"Resignation of Sir Edward Carson"	p.4	
30 JANUARY 1915	Captain H. Bracken, #1152	LN	"Co. <u>Sligoman</u> Commissioned.", godson of the 5 <sup>th</sup> Earl of Shannon, Henry Boyle, <u>Castlemartyr.</u>	p.5	
3 JUNE 1916		LN	"A Proud Record" ref to 66/100 YMCA members now at the front.	p.5	
3 JUNE 1916	Young Warren	LN	"Characteristic of a successful Grower" ref to an essay and lecturer series given in the Protestant Hall by Young Warren on successful vegetable growing in Ireland	p.5	
<i>THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1916 NOVEMBER</i>					
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER	
4 NOVEMBER 1916	Capt. John Jorden	LN	"Reward for gallantry" for Capt. John Jorden	p.5	

5 AUGUST 1916	Lieutenant Ritty, father of Captain Jack Ritty	LN	"New County Magistrate" ref to Lieutenant Ritty, Father of Captain Ritty mentioned in these pages	p.5
<i>THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1916 MAY</i>				
6 MAY 1916	Lieut. Jack Ritty	LN	"Sligo Officer in Casualty List" Lieut. Jack Ritty	p.5
7 OCTOBER 1916	Captain Ritty, Private William Reid, SKINS, Private David Adams	Obituary COLUMN	"Roll of Honour" Ritty, Reid, Adams	p.5
7 OCTOBER 1916	Mr. H de Vere Stacpoole		"Ireland and the Irish" ref to De Vere Stacpoole letter to newspaper	p.5
10 JUNE 1916	Capt. Jack Ritty, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (SKINS)		"Sligo Officer Awarded M.C." ref to Captain Jack Ritty medal award.	p.5
17 JUNE 1916		LN	"Tribute to Sir Josslyn" ref to Sir Josslyn Gore Booth	p.5
19 AUGUST 1916	Captain Henry Bracken	LN	"Sligo Officer invalided" + "A Brilliant Career" ref to Captain Henry Bracken, godson of the Earl of Shannon	p.5

19 AUGUST 1916	Captain Henry Bracken	LN	"Sligo Officer invalided" + "A Brilliant Career" ref to Captain Henry Bracken, godson of the Earl of Shannon	p.5
22 APRIL 1916	Capt. Jack <u>Ritty</u> , Inniskilling Fusiliers (SKINS)	LN	"Gallantry in the field" ref Captain Jack <u>Ritty</u>	p.5
22 APRIL 1916	Lieut. Henry S. Robinson, son of George C.W. Robinson, Woodville, Sligo, <u>Liumville House</u> , Kildare	LN	"Sligoman awarded the DCM"	p.5
22 JANUARY 1916	Mr. William Campbell, Sligo	LN	"A Patriotic Family." The family received <u>letter</u> on behalf of the King, with 6 sons serving at the front.	p.5
23 SEPTEMBER 1916	Capt. Jack <u>Ritty</u> , Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers	LN	"Sligo Officer missing"	p.5
28 OCTOBER 1916	Captain Jack <u>Ritty</u>	LN	"The Late Captain <u>Ritty</u> Sligo"	p.5
<i>THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1917 JANUARY</i>				
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
6 JANUARY 1917	L. Parker, Lance- Corporal Browne, Private Browne	COLUMN	"Roll of Honour" ref to L. Parker, Lance- Corporal Browne, Private Browne	p.5

17 MARCH 1917		COLUMN	"Death of Duchess of	p.5
				
			Connaught, Mourned"	
24 FEBRUARY 1917	Officers A. Lyons and G. <u>Blennerhasset</u>	LN	"Officers on leave" with +" <u>hearty</u> greetings from their many friends".	p.5
2 MARCH 1918		Local and Other Items	Sligo Assizes announced	p.2
7 SEPTEMBER 1918	Lord French, Viceroy of Ireland	Recruitment AD	SLIGO, LEITRIM, ROSCOMMON "Do your duty"	p.2
9 SEPTEMBER 1918	Bomb. Arthur Bracken, Uncle Richard Bracken of Hazelwood	COLUMN	"Bombardier Bracken killed." + "Officers sympathetic letter." ref Gunner Arthur Bracken of the 127 <sup>th</sup> Battalion Royal Field Artillery in Flanders	p.2
11 MAY 1918	Corporal Bracken	Local News and Item	"Corporal Hugh Bracken" <u>ref</u> to a Warwickshire soldier killed, <u>22</u> March 1918, Uncle Richard Bracken Hazelwood	p.2

DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
13 APRIL 1918	Sir Malby Crofton	COLUMN	"Roll of Honour" + "Sir Malby Crofton's Son Killed"	p.2
16 FEBRUARY 1918	Captain Arthur B. Hillas	Local and Other Items	Captain Arthur B. Hillas killed	p.2
19 JANUARY 1918	Corporal Bracken, Warwickshire Regiment	Local and Other Items	Bracken returns to the front, no headline	p.3
24 AUGUST 1918	Shane Leslie		"Speech by Shane Leslie" ref to speech by Glaslough peer: defence of Ireland being Pro-German: "We would rather see America victorious than Ireland free though we believe that one is bound to follow the other." The speaker defining "free" as free from British control which will only happen if Germany has won.	p.4

**Table D. 4.**

STATEMENT TABLES EXAMPLES APPENDIX LISTING PER EACH HOW STATEMENT

(v) "Answer the call" + Local News (LN)

25 JULY 1914	Mr. R. A Mallon	LOCAL NEWS (LN)	coast". "Sligo Gentleman's Success" – Passes Medical exam.	p.5
25 JULY 1914	Mr. J. W. Corbett	LOCAL NEWS	"Convalescent"	p.5

29 AUGUST 1914	Thomas Glenfield, Edward Glenfield (son)	LN	House. "Death Thomas Glenfield, Carrickcoola, Riverstown" – father of Sergeant James William Glenfield. Father works on Ormsby Gore Lord Harlech's Estate (1870, Sligo, 21k acres) at Willowbrook	p.3
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THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1914 SEPTEMBER				
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
5 SEPTEMBER 1914	Robert Gorman	LN	"Mr. Robert Gorman" Recovery from Illness reported	p.5

19 September 1914	Sergeant A. J. Chambers	LN	applications "Death of Sergt. A. J. Chambers" + "19 <sup>th</sup> Royal Hussars" – death of local man, Chambers Sligo name.	p.5
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				<i>gases, ref to typhoid</i>	
3 OCTOBER 1914	Henry Lyons & Co.	LN		"The attitude of this town" – Henry Lyon & Co. large Drapery applauds town for being cool and calm under difficult times, established 1835	p.5
3 OCTOBER 1914	NONE			"War Items" A thousand shells an hour + subscription lists	p.5
30 JANUARY 1915	Mr. T. Scanlon	LETTERS		<u>Castlemartyr.</u> "Housing of workers in Sligo" – local British MP T. Scanlon reports on conditions.	p.6
6 MARCH 1915	Robert Dodd for Henry Lyons	LN		possibly directly "Spring Fashions" – <u>Robert Dodd</u> leaves for London	p.5
15 APRIL 1915	One of the Clarke brothers of Radcliffe Street enlists	LN		Detailed "Still the Call is heard" – local man Clarke joins up	p.5

	29 MAY 1915	#8189: Corporal James William Glenfield, Robert Dodd, Annie Chambers, Mr B., Mr Wade, Mr H Bracken, "the old firm", Big house on The Mall, Sligo	LETTERS FROM THE FRONT COLUMN	"Letter from the front." + "Interesting letter to <u>Sligoman</u> " + "Landing at the Dardanelles." Glenfield reports from 1 <sup>st</sup> Battalion, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers ("Skins"), BEF, Dardanelles (plus Gallipoli landing 25 April 1915) sending letter to Robert Dodd: Wounded but "ready to go under with a good heart, to receive my final blow"	p.6
	26 JUNE 1915	Bracken, Glenfield, <u>McLogrey</u> , Chambers, Coopers,	LN	"SLIGO UNITED YMCA" serving with the <u>colours</u> names listed	p.5
	9 OCTOBER 1915	Robert Burnside, staffer of Henry Lyons	LN	recruitment. "The late Private Burnside"	p.5
	1 JANUARY 1916	NONE	LN	Organisation: "Departure of Sligo Soldiers" + "True soldiers showed" + "Cheerfulness and courage"	p.5
	22 JANUARY 1916	Private Durkin, Private Griffith	LN	"On leave" + "pink condition"	p.5



STATEMENT TABLES EXAMPLES APPENDIX LISTING PER EACH HOW STATEMENT

**(vi) By positioning all classes of Protestants Males within the Sligo United Y.M.C.A.**

DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
3 APRIL 1915	Robert Dodd; Young Warren	COLUMN	"Sligo YMCA Concert"	p.5
15 APRIL 1915		LN	"Sligo United YMCA" gathering in <a href="#">Protestant Hall</a> <a href="#">Stephens street</a> , details of event	p.5
19 JUNE 1915	Bracken, <a href="#">McLoghry</a> , Wood-Martin	LN	"Sligo Rowing and Yachting Club" at Protestant Hall in Stephen Street, Sligo Town	p.5
26 JUNE 1915	Bracken, Glenfield, <a href="#">McLogrey</a> , Chambers, Coopers,	LN	"SLIGO UNITED YMCA" serving with the <a href="#">colours</a> <a href="#">names listed</a>	p.5
1 JANUARY 1916	NONE	LN	Organization: "Departure of Sligo Soldiers" + "True soldiers showed" + "Cheerfulness and courage"	p.5

22 JANUARY 1916	YMCA	LN	"YMCA Patriotism" – reference 73 out of 100 YMCA members serving at the front	p.5
13 MAY 1916		LN	"YMCA and the Military"	p.5
<b>DATE</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>SECTION</b>	<b>ITEM</b>	<b>PAGE NUMBER</b>
3 JUNE 1916	Young Warren Robert Dodd	OP ED	"Sligo United YMCA"	p.5
3 JUNE 1916		LN	"A Proud Record" ref to 66/100 YMCA members now at the front.	p.5
3 JUNE 1916		BP	"YMCA AM ref to annual meeting and reporting of Sligo United YMCA and society's record during the war.	p.6
3 JUNE 1916		BP	"YMCA Roll of Honour", everyone at the front from the YMCA named	p.6
30 SEPTEMBER 1916	Robert Dodd, Young Warren, Perceval	LN	"Sligo United YMCA" ref to social meeting to open the session	p.5
21 OCTOBER 1916		LN	"Sligo United YMCA Social Evening"	p.5

	28 OCTOBER 1916		LN	"Sligo United YMCA" ref to change meeting date	p.5
	11 NOVEMBER 1916		LN	"Sligo United YMCA" notice of meeting	p.5
	25 NOVEMBER 1916	William Warren	LN	Facing LN "YMCA Debate"	p.5
	2 DECEMBER 1916		BP	"Sligo YMCA + Conscription" ref to debate	p.6
	16 DECEMBER 1916	NONE	LN	"YMCA Debate: Conscription for Ireland" ref to debate + "YMCA says yes"	p.5
	13 JANUARY 1917	Browne	LN	Private Browne "Sligo United YMCA entertainment"	p.5
	20 JANUARY 1917		LN	"Sligo United YMCA successful meet"	p.5
	10 MARCH 1917		ED (Easy Chair) COLUMN	"YMCA" + "Spring Assizes" "Prohibition Campaign YMCA"	p.5 p.2 – p.3
	19 MAY 1917	MANY	COLUMN	"Sligo United YMCA Jubilee"	p.3

	24 NOVEMBER 1917		*Paper in flux	ADC "YMCA tribute"	p.3
	23 FEBRUARY 1918	NONE	Local and Other Items	Why am I a protestant? YMCA talk	p.2
	23 FEBRUARY 1918		Local and Other Items	Sligo United YMCA town hall concert from Norfolk Regiment ref recruiting event	p.2
	9 MARCH 1918		Local and Other Items	80/100 YMCA now at the front	p.3
	11 MAY 1918			Hazerwood YMCA <u>50-Year</u> Anniversary	p.3
	11 MAY 1918			YMCA Huts at the Front	p.3

**Table F. 6.**



	STATEMENT TABLES EXAMPLES APPENDIX LISTING PER EACH HOW STATEMENT	
	<b>(ix) By excluding any attempt to address accusations of wrongdoing or criticism from the Catholic and nationalist community and pretending to be deaf to the persistent goading and controversy from other papers</b>	

**Table H. 9.**

STATEMENT TABLES EXAMPLES APPENDIX LISTING PER EACH HOW STATEMENT

**(x) By a change of editorial stance in “The Easy Chair”, the framing strategy of broad class-washing and detachment appeared pronounced (the introduction of the “Easy Chair” didn’t last)**

THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT 1915 FEBRUARY				
DATE	NAME	SECTION	ITEM	PAGE NUMBER
6 FEBRUARY 1915	Mr. Thomas Boyd; Mr Thomas <u>Mcmullan</u>	COLUMN	Sligo Independent announces “Editorial change.” <b>Thomas Boyd</b> steps down, <b>Thomas Mc</b> <b>Mullen</b> takes over.	p.5
6 FEBRUARY 1915	Thomas Boyd	LN	“Departure of <u>Mr Thos. Boyd.</u> ”	p.5

3 MARCH 1917			The appearance of the “Easy Chair”, a signal of new editorship but not named, possibly William David Peebles	p.2
3 MARCH 1917		ED (Easy Chair)	“While I shall never...”	p.5
10 MARCH 1917		LN		p.2
		ED (Easy Chair)	“YMCA” + “Spring Assizes”	p.5
10 MARCH 1917		COLUMN	“Prohibition Campaign YMCA”	p.2 – p.3

24 MARCH 1917		Easy Chair (2 COLUMNS)		p.5
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			headings		
	7 APRIL 1917		Easy Chair (2 COLUMNS)		p.3
	7 APRIL 1917		COLUMN	YMCA	p.3
	14 APRIL 1917		Local + other		p.2
	7 APRIL 1917		Easy Chair (2 COLUMNS)		p.3
	7 APRIL 1917		COLUMN	YMCA	p.3
	14 APRIL 1917		Local + other items, under <u>OP ED</u>		p.2
	21 APRIL 1917		Local + other items		p.2
			Easy Chair	“Union Protestant Synod” + “9 million invested”	
	28 APRIL 1917		Easy Chair	“Young Warren, Magistrate”	p.5
	7 APRIL 1917		“Local + Other Items”, no headings	*Content not reported	p.2
	26 MAY 1917	* <u>newspaper</u> now only 4-page edition	Easy Chair	*ED outspoken critic, <u>personalized opinions</u> , noticeable change in tone, evidence of ego,	p.3
	26 MAY 1917	* <u>newspaper</u> now only 4-page edition	Oarsman, a new column dedicated to sport of YMCA	“Boats on Lough Gill”	p.3
	23 JUNE 1917		Easy Chair (ED)	“Irish <u>Freemasonry</u> ”, Duke of Connaught,	p.3

	7 JULY 1917	Robert Dodd, Bracken, W. D. Peebles, Chambers	Easy Chair, Local items, Boating on Lough Gill	*Looks like a new editor has taken over	p.5
	21 JULY 1917		Easy Chair gone!		p.2
	21 JULY 1917		Local items		p.3

**Table I. 10.**