

**PROTESTANT TRADITIONS AND THE  
PATHS TO PEACE:  
BEYOND THE LEGACIES OF  
PLANTATION**

---

---

**REPORT ON CONFERENCE  
HELD ON 9 JUNE 2009**

---

---

**PROTESTANT TRADITIONS AND THE PATHS TO PEACE:  
BEYOND THE LEGACIES OF PLANTATION**

**CONFERENCE HELD AT  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN  
9 JUNE 2009**

**REPORT**

Institute for British-Irish Studies  
University College Dublin

## CONTENTS

Conference report .....	5
Conference programme .....	8
List of preregistered participants .....	9

*The support of the Department of the Taoiseach for funding of this conference  
is gratefully acknowledged*

---

## PROTESTANT TRADITIONS AND THE PATHS TO PEACE: BEYOND THE LEGACIES OF PLANTATION

---

CONFERENCE OF THE INSTITUTE FOR BRITISH-IRISH STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN, 9 JUNE 2009

### REPORT

#### **Background**

The conference was the second in a new series of activities launched with the support of the Department of the Taoiseach. A similar conference will take place in 2010 and in subsequent years.

#### **Theme**

The 2009 Taoiseach's conference, organised by the Institute for British-Irish Studies, commemorated the Ulster Plantation of 1609 and the history of Protestantism in Ireland. This conference was built around the concept of the plural Protestant traditions in Ireland. Approximately 400 years after the plantation of Ulster, we asked how far that plantation set the parameters for a prolonged pattern of conflict. Clearly it did not generate a monolithic community with a uniform political programme. If its legacy was a core Protestant political tradition, that tradition was consistently challenged from two directions: on the one hand, by radical Protestants committed to post-Reformation principles; on the other, by a more secular and more accommodationist tradition. The interplay between these traditions was crucially affected by their relation to the other community (comprising Catholics of Gaelic Irish and "old English" backgrounds) and Catholics' views of the Protestants in their midst.

The conference was not, however, intended as primarily a historical conference. The relevance or irrelevance of the past in its various guises and interpretations, for present politics and for current political progress in Northern Ireland, was also explored.

#### **Format**

The conference began by placing the Ulster Plantation in its historical and comparative context. Dr Tadhg O hAnnrachain (UCD) and Dr Robert Armstrong (TCD) traced different aspects of the history of seventeenth century Catholic loyalism and Protestant dissent. Stephen Howe, Professor of the History and Cultures of Colonialism at the University of Bristol, placed plantation in its wider British imperial con-

text, looking at the ways in which the Irish experience threw light on the competing interpretations of empire in British historiography. Professor Joseph Ruane looked at the role of empire in creating a distinctive mentality among Irish Protestant minorities, arguing that in every respect except that of political tradition they resembled the (non-imperial, non-ethnicised) Protestant minority in France, and questioning why the Irish revolutions had not provided an opening for Protestants parallel to that of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Republic in France. Professor Adrian Guelke looked at the Northern Protestant minority comparing the different phasing of change in the unionist political leadership with the changes seen among the Afrikaaner elite in South Africa. A very active audience response followed these papers, questioning the emphasis (of all the speakers) on the colonial heritage and providing a robust alternative picture of Protestantism, North and South.

The keynote political section followed. It had been planned around a DUP schedule, with the date of the conference decided to facilitate the DUP, who had expressed a keen interest in the event. Mr Jeffrey Donaldson was to attend and speak, with a response from Dr Martin Mansergh. Unfortunately the European election results disrupted these plans and Mr Donaldson was forced to cancel his attendance the day before. In the event, Sir George Quigley, Dr Mansergh and Professor Brendan O'Leary presented a lively and engaging set of discussions of the Protestant heritage, the meanings of plantation, and of British imperial interests which took issue with previous discussions, drew attention to parallels of the present socio-political order in Northern Ireland with the Southern US experience of Reconstruction after the Civil War, and which again drew engaged audience responses.

After lunch, attention turned to contemporary Protestant traditions in Northern Ireland. The distinguished anthropologist and curator, Anthony D. Buckley, looked to the variety of cultural repertoires open to Northern Protestants, a theme developed by the Reverend Brian Kennaway of the Irish Association, who traced a hidden centuries-old ecumenical and liberal tradition in Orangeism, and Dr Clifford Stevenson, University of Limerick, who looked at the practical construction of divided (and shared) space in the marching tradition, with particular focus on some localised innovative practices which have ameliorated the divisive effects of marches. Dr Kevin Bean of the Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool, traced the contending republican discourses on Protestantism which coexist in tension in contemporary republicanism, while Professor Orla Muldoon of University of Limerick outlined some of the factors which gave rise to emotional intensity in Protestant and unionist (and Catholic and nationalist) identifications. As the papers progressed, discussion from the floor became still more intense and lively, with dialogue on the nature of republicanism and unionism engaging all of the speakers and the audience.

Finally, under the expert chairmanship of Vincent Browne, Stephen Howe and Brendan O'Leary were joined on the platform by the historian of Irish Protestantism, Ian

d'Alton, and by Professors Mary Daly and John Coakley of UCD, to debate the heritage of plantation. The discussions and debates continued well past the end of the conference into the reception which followed.

The conference had an attendance of approximately one hundred, of whom 85 were pre-registered. For a conference scheduled out of university term, this was a very successful turn-out, and one which has led to a new set of IBIS contacts and contributors. We are in the process of compiling working papers, resulting from the conference.

### **Practical information**

The following documents are attached to this: a copy of the conference programme (annex 1) and a list of preregistered participants (annex 2).

---

## ANNEX 1: CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

---

9:30 - 10:45	<b>Session One: Colonial History and Comparative Perspectives</b> Chair: Dr Brian Jackson (Global Irish Institute, UCD)				
<p><b>Tadhg O'Hannrachain</b> (University College Dublin): <i>The Gaelic Clergy and the Plantation Church in Ulster</i></p> <p><b>Robert Armstrong</b> (Trinity College Dublin): <i>Seventeenth-Century Stories: Protestants on Peace-making and Presbyterians on their Past</i></p> <p><b>Stephen Howe</b> (University of Bristol): <i>Planters, Settlers and Frontiersfolk: Irish Protestant History and Anglo-world Expansion</i></p>					
10:45 - 11:00                      Tea / Coffee Break					
11:00 - 11:50	<b>Session One: Colonial History and Comparative Perspectives (continued)</b> Chair: Dr Brian Jackson (Global Irish Institute, UCD)				
<p><b>Joseph Ruane</b> (University College Cork): <i>Irish Protestants in the European Context: a French-Irish Comparison</i></p> <p><b>Adrian Guelke</b> (Queen's University Belfast) on <i>The Flexibility of Northern Ireland Unionists and Afrikaner Nationalists in Comparative Perspective</i></p>					
11:50 - 12:45	<b>Session Two: The New Politics</b> Chair: Sir George Quigley (IBIS Chair)				
<p><b>Martin Mansergh</b> (TD, Minister of State) and discussion from <b>Brendan O'Leary</b> (University of Pennsylvania) and the floor.</p>					
12:45 - 2:00                      Lunch Break					
2:00 - 3:15	<b>Session Three: Receptions of History and Responses to Change</b> Chair: Professor Brigid Laffan (University College Dublin)				
<p><b>Anthony D Buckley</b> (Anthropologist and former curator at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum): <i>Amity and Enmity: Variety in Ulster Protestant Culture</i></p> <p><b>Brian Kennaway</b> (Irish Association): <i>All Change But No Change: Can we Learn the Lessons from the Past?</i></p> <p><b>Clifford Stevenson</b> (University of Limerick): <i>Beyond Divided Territory: How Changing Understandings of Public Space in Northern Ireland can Facilitate New Identity Dynamics</i></p>					
3:15 - 3:30                      Tea / Coffee Break					
3:30 - 4:20	<b>Session Three (continued): Receptions of History and Responses to Change</b> Chair: Professor Brigid Laffan (University College Dublin)				
<p><b>Kevin Bean</b> (Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool): <i>The Historic Compromise? Changing Republican Analyses of the Unionist and Protestant Traditions</i></p> <p><b>Orla Muldoon</b> (University of Limerick): <i>Identities and Emotions</i></p>					
4:20 - 5:30	<b>Session Four: What are the Legacies of Plantation? (Roundtable)</b> Chair: Mr Vincent Browne				
5:30	John Coakley	Mary Daly	Stephen Howe	Brendan O'Leary	Ian d'Alton
Reception					

---

**ANNEX 2: LIST OF PREREGISTERED PARTICIPANTS\***


---

<b>ANDERSON</b>	Mr Michael	University College Dublin, IBIS Doctoral Scholar
<b>ASSERATTE KASSA</b>	Mr Mulugeta	Embassy of Ethiopia, Counsellor
<b>BANTRY-WHITE</b>	Archdeacon Robin	
<b>BELL</b>	Mr John	Institute for Conflict Research
<b>BOYLAN</b>	Ms Brenda	Dept of the Taoiseach, Northern Ireland Division
<b>BYRNE</b>	Ms Elaine	Irish Times
<b>CAIRNS</b>	Mr Richard	Queen's University Belfast
<b>CARROLL</b>	Ms Jennifer	University College Dublin
<b>CLANCY</b>	Ms Julitta	Meath Peace Group
<b>CLANCY</b>	Mr John	Meath Peace Group
<b>COLLENDER</b>	Ms Jean	Queen's University Belfast
<b>COLLINS</b>	Mr Sean	Drogheda Cross Border Focus
<b>COOPER</b>	Rev David	
<b>CORCORAN</b>	Mr Donal	University College Cork
<b>CRAVEN</b>	Dr Florence	National University of Ireland Maynooth
<b>CUSHNIE</b>	Mr Richard	British Embassy
<b>DANIEL</b>	Mr Ronnie	Irish School of Ecumenics, TCD
<b>DE BURCA</b>	Ms Aoibhin	University College Dublin
<b>DEVLIN</b>	Ms Ann	Irish Association
<b>DUNN</b>	Mr Mark	Queen's University Belfast
<b>EDGELL</b>	Ms Beth	British Council
<b>FITZGERALD</b>	Ms Barbara	British-Irish Association
<b>FRASER</b>	Mr Martin	Dept of the Taoiseach, Northern Ireland Division
<b>GANLY</b>	Ms Tanya	Dept of the Taoiseach, Northern Ireland Division
<b>GANNON</b>	Ms Dara	University College Dublin, IBIS
<b>GRIFFITH</b>	Ms Irene	
<b>GRIFFITH</b>	Mr Lewis	
<b>GRUBISIC</b>	HE Veselko	Embassy of Croatia
<b>HARRINGTON</b>	Ms Emily	Queen's University Belfast
<b>HASTINGS</b>	Mr David	University College Dublin
<b>HEALY</b>	Ms Eimear	Dept of the Taoiseach, Northern Ireland Division
<b>HEDIGAN</b>	Ms Susan	University College Dublin
<b>HOLMES</b>	Dr Janice	The Open University in Ireland
<b>HOWARD</b>	Dr Kevin	Dundalk Institute of Technology
<b>HURLEY</b>	Mr Gearoid	Dept of the Taoiseach, Northern Ireland Division
<b>JACKSON</b>	Ms Jennifer	University College Dublin
<b>KAY</b>	Ms Francesca	British-Irish Association
<b>KEERY</b>	Mr Howard	Special EU Programmes Body
<b>KELLY</b>	Ms Elaine	Dept of the Taoiseach, Northern Ireland Division
<b>KENNEDY</b>	Mr Tony	Community Relations Council
<b>KEOGAN</b>	Ms Sorcha	University of Limerick
<b>KERR</b>	Mr Barry	University College Dublin
<b>KERRISK</b>	Ms Aeveen	School for International Training
<b>KMEC</b>	Mr Vladimir	Irish School of Ecumenics, TCD
<b>LENIHAN</b>	Ms Ida	Drogheda Cross Border Focus
<b>LYNCH</b>	Ms Florence	University of Limerick
<b>MARTIN</b>	Mr Vincent	University College Dublin
<b>MCDERMOTT</b>	Ms Susan	University College Dublin, IBIS Doctoral Scholar
<b>MCGARRY</b>	Mr Paul	Dept of the Taoiseach, Northern Ireland Division
<b>MCGILL</b>	Ms Marianne	Co-operation Ireland
<b>MCKINLEY</b>	Mr Philip	Irish Inter-Church Committee
<b>MCLOUGHLIN</b>	Dr Peter	Queen's University Belfast
<b>MCNEILE</b>	Mr Andrew	

<b>MOORE</b>	Dr Ronald	University College Dublin
<b>MORRIS</b>	Dr Catherine	University College Dublin
<b>MURPHY</b>	Prof Pauline	Irish Association
<b>O'CALLAGHAN</b>	Dr Margaret	Queen's University Belfast
<b>O'CAOINDEALBHAIN</b>	Mr Brian	Co-operation Ireland
<b>O'CEALLAIGH</b>	Mr Daltún	
<b>O'DOHERTY</b>	Mr Vincent	British-Irish Association
<b>O'DWYER</b>	Ms Carol	Dept of the Taoiseach, Northern Ireland Division
<b>O'NEILL</b>	Ms Elizabeth	University College Dublin
<b>OSTERREIDER</b>	Mr Holger	Embassy of Germany, First Secretary
<b>PASSARELLI</b>	Ms Alessia	Trinity College Dublin
<b>PATTERSON</b>	Ms Avril	University College Dublin
<b>POLLAK</b>	Mr Andy	Centre for Cross Border Studies
<b>PORTER</b>	Mr Gareth	The Hurt Group
<b>RANKIN</b>	Dr Kieran	Trinity College Dublin
<b>REED</b>	Mr Richard	Queen's University Belfast
<b>REGAN</b>	Mr Maurice	
<b>ROULSTON</b>	Mr Robbie	University College Dublin
<b>SCHOEN</b>	Ms Ricki	
<b>SHAW</b>	Rev Bill	174 Trust
<b>SHEEHAN</b>	Ms Muireann	University of Limerick
<b>SMITH</b>	Mr Micheal	Dept of Foreign Affairs, Anglo-Irish Division
<b>STEWART</b>	Ms Terry	Irish Association
<b>SZABO</b>	Ms Ingrid	Embassy of Croatia, Third Secretary
<b>TODD</b>	Prof Jennifer	University College Dublin, IBIS Director
<b>VENNARD</b>	Ms Gertie	
<b>WALSHE</b>	Ms Barbara	Irish School of Ecumenics, TCD
<b>WARING</b>	Mr John	
<b>WHYTE</b>	Mrs Jean	Irish Association
<b>WOLFFE</b>	Prof John	The Open University, Milton Keynes

\*Note. This list does not include members of the press, guests of the Dept of the Taoiseach, or other participants who registered on the day.