**CORK, LISBURN AND BELFAST IN 1920: CONNECTIONS, CONTROVERSY AND CONFLICT**

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One hundred years ago on Sunday 22 August 1920 the war came to Lisburn. Members of the Cork IRA shot dead District Inspector Oswald Swanzy outside Christ Church cathedral. Extensive riots and destruction ensued, first in Lisburn and then in Belfast with 31 fatalities. Afterwards, Col. Fred Crawford visited Lisburn and recorded in his diary: ‘It reminded me of a French town after it had been bombarded by the Germans as I saw in France in 1916’.[[1]](#endnote-1)

Swanzy’s death was part of a fatal cycle of violence which linked with earlier killings in Cork of Lord Mayor Toms MacCurtain and Lt Col. Gerald Smyth. These events show clearly the effect of unintended consequences and how ‘violence begets violence’. They also reveal how this war involved Irish fighting and killing other Irish. At the same time some brave people were willing to criticise violence from their own side.

By March 1920 Cork had experienced early stages of the War of Independence with a growing numbers of actions and attacks on police barracks by Irish Volunteers, now known as the IRA, with their links to Sinn Fein. On 20 March 1920, however, Tomás MacCurtain, Lord Mayor of Cork, and Commandant of the Cork No.1 IRA brigade, was murdered at his home by some men with blackened faces.

A few days later a coroner’s inquest delivered a verdict of ‘wilful murder’ against a number of persons, including Prime Minister Lloyd George, as well as District Inspector Oswald Swanzy who was in charge of the RIC in the area where the murder occurred.

Vague allegations and hearsay comments have been made about Swanzy’s role. Historian Peter Hart commented: ‘the case against him personally (as opposed to the police in general) was, at best, unproven’.[[2]](#endnote-2) Nonetheless, he was the senior police officer in the area and republicans blamed him.

Why did members of the RIC kill MacCurtain? Daniel Cohalan, catholic bishop of Cork, had no doubt about the reason. In a pastoral letter issued in December 1920 he looked back at events in Cork over the previous nine months, beginning with MacCurtain’s murder.[[3]](#endnote-3) He pointed out that earlier that night RIC Constable Joseph Murtagh had been murdered on Pope’s Quay in Cork.

He stated that it was ‘certain’ that it was the murder of Constable Murtagh that ‘gave occasion to’ the murder of the Lord Mayor. Murtagh had been unarmed and on leave and was shot seven times by the IRA.

Peter Hart noted that this murder followed another incident on 10 March when District Inspector B.W. McDonagh was shot and seriously wounded while guarding ballot boxes in a municipal by-election.[[4]](#endnote-4) That night policemen left their stations to smash windows and look for Sinn Fein supporters.

It is very likely that MacCurtain was murdered in reprisal for these earlier attacks because he was the senior volunteer/IRA figure in the area. Bishop Cohalan strongly condemned Murtagh’s murder as he did MacCurtain’s murder. He declared that ‘the killing of police was, morally, murder’.

In fact, MacCurtain did not approve of Murtagh’s murder.[[5]](#endnote-5) Shortly before his own murder he sent condolences to Murtagh’s family and promised discipline against those responsible. It is probable that the murder of Murtagh was the work of the Cork No. 1 brigade vice commandant, Sean O’Hegarty, and his men. For some time, MacCurtain had clashed with O’Hegarty who wanted a more aggressive policy.[[6]](#endnote-6) The militant O’Hegarty now came to play a dominant role in the Cork No.1 brigade.

In his pastoral letter of December 1920 Bishop Cohalan observed that since MacCurtain’s murder ‘it has become like a devil’s competition in feats of murder and arson between members of the Volunteer organisation and the agents of the crown’. At the same time he bravely issued a decree of excommunication against those guilty of ambush, kidnapping or murder. His words did not go down well with some republicans. On Christmas Eve a large gang of men forced their way into the offices of the *Cork Examiner* which had published his pastoral and destroyed all the printing presses.

The months after MacCurtain’s death saw a sharp rise in violence in Cork city and county, and elsewhere in Munster. The police found themselves under great pressure. They were forced to evacuate barracks in more remote parts which were burnt by republicans. Police fatalities increased considerably. To deal with this situation the government appointed in early June 1920 a new Divisional Commander for Munster in the person of Lt Col. Gerald Smyth. A native of Banbridge, Co. Down, Smyth was a much decorated army officer.[[7]](#endnote-7)

On 19 June, along with other senior officers he visited the RIC station in Listowel, Co. Kerry, where the police were unhappy with a proposal to handover their building to the military and take up more exposed posts. Smyth delivered a speech in which he advocated that the police should take an aggressive approach to anyone carrying arms or suspected of carrying arms.

One of those present, Constable Jeremiah Mee, objected to Smyth’s words which he interpreted as saying that the police could kill with impunity. Smyth ordered Mee’s arrest which the others refused to carry out. Five police officers resigned, including Mee who afterwards joined the republican movement.

A report of this event, based on Mee’s account, was later circulated in the *Irish Bulletin* of Sinn Fein and then published in the *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 July, causing great public outcry. It was claimed that Smyth gave an assurance that ‘no policeman will get into trouble for shooting any man’. Smyth denied strongly that he used these or other words ascribed to him.[[8]](#endnote-8)

District Inspector John M. Regan was asked to reorganise the barracks at Listowel. Later he wrote about Smyth: ‘I knew him when he was in the army in Limerick and would greatly doubt if his words were intended to convey the meaning attributed to them, and the fact that the police in the station were alleged to have practically mutinied afterwards makes their version extremely doubtful’.[[9]](#endnote-9)

We should note that Smyth’s brief printed orders to the police around the time of this original incident, read out in parliament on the day of his funeral, stated his strong opposition to reprisals: ‘I wish to make it perfectly clear to all ranks that I will not tolerate ‘reprisals’. They bring discredit on the police. I will deal most severely with any officer or man concerned in them’.[[10]](#endnote-10)

Whatever the truth, Smyth was now publicly seen as a resolute enemy of republicans. On 17 July, as he sat in the County Club in Cork city, an IRA unit from Cork No 1 Brigade shot him dead. Train staff refused to allow his body to be transported by train. Instead, a motor convoy conveyed the body to his home town of Banbridge, Co. Down, for burial.

These events reverberated in the north. By July 1920 the situation was already very tense in Ulster. People were well aware of events elsewhere from newspaper reports of attacks on police and southern loyalists. In April the IRA attacked tax offices and custom houses in Belfast, Derry and other Ulster towns. In June and early July they destroyed some unoccupied police stations and attacked others in Cookstown, Co. Tyrone and Crossgar, Co. Down.

The violence had not reached the level seen in Munster but still it alarmed many unionists as did the success of Sinn Fein. On 12th July Sir Edward Carson spoke at an Orange demonstration in Belfast. He ‘informed the government that the Loyalists of Ulster would not submit to be left helpless in the face of their enemies. In the last resort they would defend themselves’.[[11]](#endnote-11) So tension was very high.

On Thursday 21 July, Divisional Commander Smyth, member of a well-known local linen family, was buried with full honours in the family grave in Banbridge on Thursday 21 July. Afterwards riots broke out in the town. [[12]](#endnote-12)At first homes and shops of those believed to have Sinn Fein sympathies were attacked. Attention then turned to the homes of other catholics, many of whom were made leave. Catholics were forced out of local mills and only allowed to return by signing a statement denying they supported Sinn Fein.

A fatality occurred when a crowd attacked the home of Daniel Monaghan, a Sinn Fein candidate at a recent poor law election. The inhabitants defended themselves with guns which led to the death of a seventeen year old protestant, William Sterritt, who was in the street at the time. Serious disturbances broke out in Dromore where catholic homes and catholic owned premises were attacked

Belfast saw the worst of the violence. Trouble began in the shipyards, following a lunch-time meeting of workers on 21 July, the first full day back after the 12th holidays and the day of Smyth’s funeral. The *Belfast Telegraph*, 22 July 1920, reported how ‘the barbarous murder of Divisional Commander Smyth in Cork on Saturday night greatly excited feeling’. It also recorded the belief that ex-soldiers were disadvantaged because former shipyard workers had gone to fight in the war and their places had been taken by catholics.

After the meeting fighting broke out which led to the violent expulsion by loyalists from the shipyards of so-called ‘disloyal’ or ‘Sinn Fein’ employees, which meant all catholics, and also so-called ‘rotten prods’, namely protestant labour supporters and socialists. There followed extensive riots in Belfast which lasted 3 days.[[13]](#endnote-13) Many catholics were expelled from other firms.

The final outcome was 19 deaths, 11 catholics and 8 protestants.[[14]](#endnote-14) In his later recounting of these events, Dr Joseph MacRory, catholic bishop of Down and Connor, deplored the cycle of violence which had affected the city. He protested that the catholics of Belfast were punished for ‘the crimes of their co-religionists in the South of Ireland’, what he called ‘this doctrine of vicarious punishment’.[[15]](#endnote-15)

In East Belfast a significant effort to stop the violence and challenge people from his own community was made by the Rev. John Redmond, a voice of ‘common sense and decency’, as historian Alan Parkinson has called him.[[16]](#endnote-16) A former 36th Ulster division chaplain, he had ministered to the mortally wounded Capt. Willie Redmond, M.P., in his last hours at Messines in 1917. He became vicar of St Patrick’s Church of Ireland parish, Ballymacarrett, in early 1920.

When the riots began he went onto the Newtownards Road to stop protestant rioters who were attacking and looting catholic owned premises. With the help of his curate, Rev. Major Frederick Chesnutt-Chesney, who had commanded a company at the Battle of Passchendaele, he organised bands of unarmed volunteers, mostly ex-servicemen, to prevent rioting. At St Patrick’s church on Sunday 25 July, ‘after being beset two days before by a rioting hostile group’ he denounced the previous days of ‘passion and lawlessness’ and warned of the dangers of retaliation which led to counter-retaliation and ‘so the fires of evil keep spreading’.[[17]](#endnote-17)

The final event occurred in Lisburn in August. After the murder of MacCurtain in Cork, District Inspector Oswald Swanzy was transferred to Lisburn where he resided with his mother and sister Irene. On Sunday 22 August 1920, outside Christ Church cathedral, he was murdered by the IRA. Members of Cork No.1 Brigade IRA had discovered his new location and decided to kill him. They informed Michael Collins who authorised the killing. Two Cork men, Dick Murphy and Sean Culhane (who was also involved in Smyth’s murder) travelled to Belfast and, helped by two Belfast IRA volunteers, went to Lisburn.[[18]](#endnote-18)

The murder had immediate terrible consequences. It was assumed widely that the killing had been the work of local IRA or helped by locals. Attacks were made by loyalists on the premises of people believed to be Sinn Fein supporters before the attention of the rioters turned to the shops and homes of all Lisburn catholics. The destruction then extended to protestant owned property. The rioting began on the Sunday and continued for the next two days, as historian Pearse Lawlor has described in graphic detail.[[19]](#endnote-19) It is estimated that 150-250 catholic families fled from Lisburn and that approximately 1000 people, around one third of the town’s catholic population were affected by the riots.[[20]](#endnote-20) There was one fatality of an unknown person whose body was found in a burnt out boot factory.

On the outbreak of the rioting, the Rev. J.B. Bradshaw, a curate at the cathedral, and other clergy sought to restrain the crowd but without success.[[21]](#endnote-21) On Monday a meeting of clergy and other citizens, convened by Canon W.P. Carmody, was held in the cathedral school house. It was addressed by the Rev. H.B. Swanzy, cousin of District Inspector Swanzy. He said that the mother and sister of Swanzy were very anxious that what was going on should stop. Those present formed a peace patrol which went onto the streets but had no impact on the rioters. The Rev. Swanzy stood on a box in Market Square to urge an end to the rioting but was ignored.[[22]](#endnote-22)

Later Swanzy’s mother and sister issued a message to deplore ‘the destruction and loss which has befallen Lisburn’. They stated: ‘They wish through the press to say how truly sorry they are that any person should have suffered any sorrow or loss on account of him. It would have been a real grief to him that anyone should suffer pain or loss of any kind on his behalf’.[[23]](#endnote-23)

After the shooting Culhane and Murphy returned to Belfast where they took the train to Dublin, travelling first class to avoid detection. Culhane later remembered seeing a number of houses on fire in Lisburn as they headed to safety in the south. Then they went to Vaughan’s Hotel in Dublin to meet Michael Collins and Richard Mulcahy, who, Culhane recalled, ‘were profuse in their congratulations’.[[24]](#endnote-24) Historian Robert Lynch has written: ‘As the Corkmen celebrated in Dublin, the nationalist areas of Lisburn were reduced to ruins’.[[25]](#endnote-25)

The violence spread to Belfast with deadly results. Sectarian rioting began in the Crumlin Road area of North Belfast, engulfed streets in West Belfast and then broke out in East Belfast. The fighting continued until the beginning of September. The Rev. John Redmond in East Belfast again tried to stop the rioting in his area. He and other clergy issued an appeal on 26 August to urge self-restraint. He acted on the streets to discourage rioters and stepped in between loyalist and Sinn Fein/ nationalist mobs but his efforts had only limited effect. The outcome of the fighting was the death of 30 persons, 17 protestants and 13 catholics.[[26]](#endnote-26)

Some observations can be made. These events show the effect of unintended consequences, violence leading to more violence and Irish killing Irish.

The attempted murder of District Inspector McDonagh and the murder of Constable Murtagh by the IRA caused the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain. The murder of MacCurtain by members of the RIC resulted in a hardline takeover of the Cork No 1 brigade and a rise in attacks on police. The killing of Divisional Commander Smyth by the IRA eliminated a senior RIC officer who was strongly opposed to police reprisals. MacCurtain’s death ended in the death of District Inspector Swanzy.

The killing of Smyth and Swanzy by Cork IRA members had dire consequences for the citizens of Banbridge, Lisburn and Belfast. By the summer of 1920 tension was already high in the north due to the War of Independence and political uncertainties. These murders served as a catalyst for deadly confrontation in northern streets. All the victims were Irish.

Violence continued to grow after August 1920. In Cork city and county and Belfast there was an escalation of attacks, reprisals and murders. The death toll for Cork has been estimated at 523 for the whole period 1920-1, and the majority of these occurred between August 1920 and July 1921.[[27]](#endnote-27) In Belfast some 80 people were killed from early September 1920 until mid July 1921. [[28]](#endnote-28)

The Truce of 11 July 1921 provided a partial lull in these killings, but not for long. Violence had now become part of the political framework and culture. Over the next ten months in Cork 34 people were killed. In the ensuing civil war about 180 were killed in Cork.[[29]](#endnote-29)

In the north violence was also part of the political scene. The new state of Northern Ireland experienced violence between government and anti-government forces and also sectarian conflict. In Belfast fatalities have been put at around 70 between mid July and December 1921, followed by some 250 deaths, January-June 1922.[[30]](#endnote-30)

Peter Hart commented: ‘MacCurtain and Swanzy died because they were nominally in control.... the victims were helpless and unarmed when shot’.[[31]](#endnote-31) Afterwards MacCurtain, Swanzy and Smyth were remembered but in very different ways.

At a meeting of the Cork city corporation on 23 April 1920 it was agreed that the name of one of Cork’s main streets be changed to MacCurtain Street. Lord Mayor Terence MacSwiney said it was their duty ‘to do honour to their immortal dead’. [[32]](#endnote-32)Later a number of memorials to MacCurtain were erected in Cork, including a statue in the entrance hall of the rebuilt city hall. He was survived by his widow and five children. His son Tomás Og was a leading IRA member, 1935-60.

In Lisburn cathedral there is a brass plaque, erected by Swanzy’s mother and sister in April 1921, in ‘proud and loving memory’ of Swanzy and of ‘all his gallant comrades who like him have been killed in the unfaltering discharge of their duty and in the service of their country’.[[33]](#endnote-33) Irene Swanzy left Ireland and settled eventually in the Fiji Islands. For the next six decades, however, on 22 August every year, she placed in the *Belfast* *Newsletter* and the *Irish Times* a memorial notice for her brother and ‘his gallant comrades’ of the RIC, 1919-22. Mary Swanzy, cousin of Oswald and Irene Swanzy, became ‘arguably Ireland’s finest woman painter’, as art historian Brian Fallon has written recently.[[34]](#endnote-34)

In Banbridge on 4 Oct. 1920 Loyal Orange Lodge 518 was renamed the ‘Col. Smyth Memorial’ in honour of Gerald Smyth. Loyal Orange Lodge 257 was renamed the ‘Sterritt Memorial’ after seventeen year old William Sterritt. After Gerald Smyth’s death his brother Osbert returned from Egypt to join military intelligence in Dublin. On 12 October 1920 he was killed in a shootout with Dan Breen and Sean Treacy. He was buried next to his brother in Banbridge.[[35]](#endnote-35)

During these months in 1920 Cork was intimately linked to Banbridge, Lisburn and Belfast. The War of Independence impacted greatly on all these places, but in different ways. What happened in Cork had grave consequences for the north.

In the larger scene the government, political parties and politicians were involved in a power struggle over the future of Ireland. At another level citizens faced the consequences of this conflict in their communities. Some brave individuals spoke out against the violence from their own side although their words had limited effect.

The War of Independence has been described as a war against the British Empire. It was also a war of Irish against Irish, as these events in 1920 have shown clearly. The killing did not end with the Truce of July 1921. Today, we should remember all the victims of this tragedy.

**Brian M. Walker, Professor Emeritus of Irish Studies, Queen’s University of Belfast. His recent book is *Irish history matters:* *politics, identities and commemoration* (History Press). The RCB Library website archive of the month carries an article by him on Rev. John Redmond.**

1. Robert Lynch, *The northern IRA and the early years of partition* (Dublin, 2004), p.34. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Peter Hart, *The IRA & its enemies: violence and community in Cork 1916-1923* (Oxford, 1998), p.79. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. *Irish Times*, 20 Dec. 1920. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Hart, *The IRA*, pp 77-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Ibid, pp 240-1. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. See Tomás MacCurtain’ and ‘Sean O’Hegarty’ by Patrick Maume in *Cambridge Dictionary of Irish Biography* (online). [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. ‘G.B.F. Smyth’ by Patrick Long in CDIB. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Smyth’s full version of his speech was read out in parliament on 29 July 1920, *Hansard*, vol. 132, 1606-09. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Joost Augusteijn (ed.), *The memoirs of John M. Regan: a catholic officer in the RIC and RUC,* *1909-1948* (Dublin, 2007), p.164. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. *Hansard, 21 July 1920, vol.132, 433.* [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. *Belfast Newsletter*, 13 July 1920. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Pearse Lawlor, *The burnings 1920* (Cork, 2009), pp 64-81. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Jonathan Bardon, *A history of Ulster* (Belfast, 1992 updated edition 2005), pp 471-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. G.B. Kenna, *Facts and figures of the Belfast pogram 1920-1922* (Dublin, 1922, reprint 1990s), pp159-60. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. *Derry Journal*, 27 Feb. 1922. Bishop MacRory’s pastoral letter. Niall Cunningham, ‘’The doctrine of vicarious punishment’: space, religion and the Belfast Troubles of 1920-22’ in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 40, p.13. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Alan Parkinson, *Belfast’s unholy wars* (Dublin, 2004), p.23. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. John Redmond, *Church; state: industry, 1827-1929, in East Belfast* (Belfast, 1962), p.14. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Sean Culhane, Bureau of Military History, document no. W.S. 746 (online). [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Lawlor, *The burnings*, pp 115-51. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Lisburnmuseum.com/virtual-museum/the-swanzy-riots-1920 [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. *Lisburn Standard*, 27 August 1920. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. *Belfast Telegraph*, 24 August 1920 [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. *Lisburn Standard*, 27 August 1920. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Culhane, Bureau of military history [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Lynch, *The northern IRA*, p.35. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Kenna, *Facts and figures*, p.160. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Hart, *The IRA*, p.87. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Kenna, *Facts and figures*, pp 160-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Hart, *The IRA*, p. 116 and 121. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Cunningham, ‘The doctrine of vicarious punishment’, p.30. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Hart, *The IRA*, p.79. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. *Cork Independent*, 30 April 2020. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Lawlor, *The burnings*, p, 154. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Brian Fallon, ‘Adventure in art-Mary Swanzy’ in *Irish Arts Review*, Dec. 2018-Feb. 2019, pp 74-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. Jerry Murland, *Departed warriors: the story of a family in war* (Leicester, 2008), pp212-3

    EMAILS

    Thanks Brian

    I missed that comprehensive account of Banbridge and Lisburn, if it is on DRB already.

    There certainly will be no other kind words spoken of these two army officers, let alone a neutral commentary.

    There was certainly some leadership shown in East Belfast by church men in 1920. Not so today.

    One point. You speak of the 'unintended consequences' of the Cork killings.

    I would not say not they were unintended.

    They might have been sought by the IRA command. Either way they were willingly tolerated and, I am sure, were expected.

    Cosgrave certainly didn't mince his words.

    I wonder were the birth rates between the communities similar at that time, pre most birth control?

    The pogrom description may be a little less used now but will persist.

    I am getting rage on Academia where I slipped my letter on to Niall Meehan's page!

    Best

    Jeff

    I am sending you Sean Barrett's Remembrance Day prayer at TCD if I didn't earlier.

    **From:** Brian Walker <b.m.walker@qub.ac.uk>  
    **Sent:** 24 November 2020 15:35  
    **To:** Jeffrey Dudgeon <jeffreydudgeon@hotmail.com>  
    **Subject:** Re: History Ireland

    Dear Jeff,

    Congratulations on your letter in the recent History Ireland. You were right to challenge calling what happened in Belfast, 1920-2, a pogrom. One additional fact that you could have mentioned is catholic population numbers in this period. They actually increased from 93,243 in 1911 to 95,682 in 1926. Their percentage of the population falls slightly from 24.10 per cent to 23 per cent in 1926. I can think of no other pogrom where the persecuted minority increases in numbers.

    You might ask, what about all those catholic refugees who left at this time?? I suspect the majority returned. When they flee south in 1922 they are looked after for humanitarian and political propaganda reasons. By Sept 1922 the southern govt has changed its mind. There is a brief debate on these northern refugees on 22 Sept in the Dail. Cosgrave says that around 1500 are receiving aid.

     He then goes on to say: 'A very large proportion of the refugees, I am sorry to say, have been able bodied young men, and a considerable number of these have joined the gangs of irregulars and freebooters who are at present disturbing the people's peace'. Subsequently the govt reduces this funding for the refugees as for the teachers. Most probably return to Belfast.

    In his speech Cosgrave is interrupted by Cathal O'Shannon who says they have joined the national army as well. Cosgrave says 'I think not so many by any means'. Actually both are right. Many northerners have joined the Free State Army. When that army is wound down 1923-4 they are out of a job. They have no homes to go to in the south. It seems they had difficulty in getting welfare. So many return north.

    All the best,

    Brian

    PS I attach a copy of an article of mine which has appeared in the Dublin Review of Books this month on Cork, Lisburn and Belfast in 1920. I am sending you my original copy because in the DRB they removed all my references! Am I the only person to speak well of DI Swanzy and Divisional Commander Smyth !!.

    **From:** Jeffrey Dudgeon <jeffreydudgeon@hotmail.com>  
    **Sent:** 24 November 2020 12:25  
    **Subject:** Arthur Aughey's favoured five Irish history books (and 2 others)

    In the three lists (Aughey, O'Leary and Jennifer Todd), 'Queen's Rebels' is equal first with Richard Rose.

    Bew and Patterson get praised for two opposite books.

    Arthur features on a list and as a list maker.

    Is that like a bonfire maker?

    Rosemary Harris gets a look-in too. No mention of 'States of Ireland' however.

    But nothing written in the last 20 years.

    [http://irishhistoriansinbritain.org/?cat=12](https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=http%3A%2F%2Firishhistoriansinbritain.org%2F%3Fcat%3D12&data=04%7C01%7Cb.m.walker%40qub.ac.uk%7C26ecdac0c9e24119d8ab08d890740016%7Ceaab77eab4a549e3a1e8d6dd23a1f286%7C0%7C1%7C637418175481010442%7CUnknown%7CTWFpbGZsb3d8eyJWIjoiMC4wLjAwMDAiLCJQIjoiV2luMzIiLCJBTiI6Ik1haWwiLCJXVCI6Mn0%3D%7C1000&sdata=jbtsJfJLaNH8Kru%2BEA2AULAu40dfEYUaOl4%2BpUjVenI%3D&reserved=0) [↑](#endnote-ref-35)